Drawn by J. Minas — Engraved by Mr. Bovi

ISAAC WALTON.

The Original Painting by Housman is in the Possession of Mr. Hawes at Salisbury.

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THE

LIVES

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE; SIR HENRY WOTTON;

MR. RICHARD HOOKER; MR. GEORGE HERBERT;

AND

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

BY ISAAC WALTON.

WITH

NOTES, AND THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

BY THOMAS ZOUCH, M.A.

THESE WERE HONOURABLE MEN IN THEIR GENERATIONS. ECCLES. xliv. 7.

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Anno 1796.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR RICHARD PEPPER ARDEN,

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

SIR,

PERFECTLY ſenſible of that regard which you entertain for the virtuous character, I experience no difficulty in committing to your patronage a new edition of the following pages.—They contain portraits of genuine excellence, finiſhed by no unſkilful artiſt. Charmed from my earlieſt years with their captivating beauties, I ſhall probably be deemed a partial and prejudiced ſpectator. Be this as it may—when I requeſt your permiſſion to inſcribe to you a volume which exhibits a full and adequate repreſentation of perſons eminent for their great and amiable qualities, I am confident of your kind indulgence. I am,

SIR,

with all poſſible reſpect,

your Honour's moſt obliged

and devoted ſervant,

WYCLIFFE, JAN. 16, 1796.

THOMAS ZOUCH.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT will be neceſſary to obſerve, that a more full and particular account of ſeveral of our Engliſh divines and other eminent perſons mentioned in this volume might eaſily have been introduced. But ſuch a detail would have far exceeded the bounds of my plan, which was only to interſperſe ſome traits of their characters, ſome ſhort extracts from, or references to their works, ſufficient to incite in the reader a deſire of acquiring a more intimate knowledge of them, by a diligent examination of their writings, or a more enlarged inquiry into their lives.

I CANNOT excuſe myſelf from declaring that I retain the moſt lively ſentiments of gratitude for thoſe many inſtances of kindneſs with which, in the proſecution of this work, I have been favoured by ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed character in the republic of letters.

THE nave, tranſept or croſs-ailes, with the chancel of the church of Leighton Bromeſwold, when viewed in the year 1794, were in a ſtate of decay, and great neglect. I am authoriſed, however, to ſay, that John Norris, Eſq. of Magdalen College, in Oxford, lord of the manor of Leighton, and patron of the vicarage, intends, in concurrence with the pariſhioners, to reſtore the dilapidated parts of the fabric to their former ſtrength and beauty.

The

PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE beautiful engraving of the north-eaſt view of the church is not the performance of a profeſſed artiſt, but of a gentleman of mild and amiable manners, who is now languiſhing under the preſſure of undeſerved miſfortune.

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CONTENTS.

THE LIFE OF MR. ISAAC WALTON.

I PRESENT not to the reader the hiſtory of a wiſe ſtateſman, an adventurous ſoldier, or a profound philoſopher. Yet I truſt, that he will experience no ſmall degree of ſatisfaction from contemplating the virtues of a private citizen; who, though he arrogates not to himſelf the ſplendour of high deſcent, or the pride of ſuperfluous wealth, deſerves our approbation and regard. Iſaac, or as he uſually wrote his name, Izaac Walton, adorned with a guileleſs ſimplicity of manners, claims from every good man the tribute of applauſe. It was his ambition (and ſurely a more honourable ambition cannot be excited in the human breaſt) to commend to the reverence of poſterity the merits of thoſe excellent perſons, whoſe comprehenſive learning and exalted piety will ever endear them to our memories.

The important end of hiſtorical knowledge is a prudent application of it to ourſelves, with a view to regulate and amend our own conduct. As the examples of men ſtrictly and faithfully diſcharging their profeſſional duties muſt obviouſly tend to invigorate our efforts to excel in moral worth, the virtuous characters, which are ſo happily delineated in the following pages, cannot fail, if conſidered with ſerious attention, of producing the moſt beneficial and laſting impreſſions on the mind.

The Life of the Author of this biographical collection was little diverſified with events. He was born of a reſpectable family, on the ninth day of Auguſt, 1593, in the pariſh of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford[a]. Of his father no particular tradition is extant. From his mother he derived an hereditary attachment to the Proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the Church

 of

[a] "September 1593. Baptiz. fuit Iſaac filius Jervis Walton, XX° die menſis et anni præ dict."—*(Regiſter of St. Mary's, in the town of Stafford.)*

of England. She was the daughter of Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, ſiſter to Mr. George Cranmer the pupil and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and niece to that firſt and brighteſt ornament of the Reformation, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. No veſtiges of the place or manner of his education have been diſcovered: Nor have we any authentic information concerning his firſt engagements in a mercantile life. It has indeed been ſuggeſted, that he was one of thoſe induſtrious young men, whom the munificence of Sir Thomas Greſham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, had placed in the ſhops, which were erected in the upper buildings of his celebrated Burſe[b]. However this may be, he ſoon improved his fortune by his honeſty, his frugality, and his diligence. His occupation, according to the tradition ſtill preſerved in his family, was that of a wholeſale linen-draper, or Hamburgh merchant[c].

The writers of "The Life of Milton" have, with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, regularly marked out the different houſes ſucceſſively inhabited by the poet, "as if it was an injury to neglect any place, that he honoured by his preſence." The various parts of London, in which Iſaac Walton reſided, have been recorded with the ſame preciſion. It is ſufficient to intimate, that he was for ſome years an inhabitant of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. With Dr. John Donne, then vicar of that pariſh, of whoſe ſermons he was a conſtant hearer, he contracted a friendſhip, which remained uninterrupted to their ſeparation by death. This his pariſhioner attended him in his laſt ſickneſs, and was preſent at the time that he conſigned his ſermons and numerous papers to the care of Dr. Henry King, who was promoted to the See of Chicheſter in 1641.

He married Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, Eſq. of Furnival's Inn; a gentleman, whoſe family, of an ancient extraction, was united by alliance with ſeveral noble houſes, and had poſſeſſed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the Kens of Ken-Place,

"[b] Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton," p. xiii.——The œconomy obſerved in the conſtruction of the ſhops over the Burſe ſcarce allowed him to have elbow-room. They were but ſeven feet and a half long, and five wide. *(See Ward's Life of Sir Thomas Greſham, p.* 12.)

[c] According to Anthony Wood, he followed the trade of a ſempſter. *(Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col.* 305. *See alſo Sir John Hawkins's Life of Walton, p.* xiii. xv.)

Place, in Somerſetſhire. She was the ſiſter of Thomas Ken, afterward the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells. If there be a name to which I have been accuſtomed from my earlieſt youth to look up with reverential awe, it is that of this amiable prelate. The primitive innocence of his life, the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, his taſte for poetry and muſic, his acquirements as a polite ſcholar, his eloquence in the pulpit, for he was pronounced by James II. to be the firſt preacher among the Proteſtant Divines—Theſe endearing qualities enſure to him our eſteem and affection. But what principally commands our veneration is that invincible inflexibility of temper, which rendered him ſuperior to every ſecular conſideration. When from a ſtrict adherence to the dictates of conſcience he found himſelf reduced to a private ſtation, he dignified that ſtation by the magnanimity of his demeanour, by a humble and ſerene patience, by an ardent, but unaffected piety.

In 1643, Mr. Walton, having declined buſineſs, retired to a ſmall eſtate in Staffordſhire, not far from the town of Stafford. His loyalty made him obnoxious to the ruling powers; and we are aſſured by himſelf, that he was a ſufferer during the time of the civil wars[d]. In 1643 the Covenanters came back into England, marching with the Covenant glorioſuſly upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto, "FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS." "This," he adds, "I ſaw, and ſuffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruine of families, the bloodſhed, the decay of common honeſty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now ſinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I conſider this, I praiſe God, that he prevented me from being of that party, which helped to bring in this Covenant, and thoſe ſad confuſions that have followed it." He perſevered in the moſt inviolable attachment to the royal cauſe. In many of his writings he pathetically laments the afflictions of his ſovereign, and the wretched condition of his beloved country involved in all the miſeries of inteſtine diſſentions. The incident of his being inſtrumental in preſerving the leſſer George, which belonged

 to

[d] See "Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon," p. 441.

to Charles II. is related in " Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter[e]."

We may now apply to him what has been ſaid of Mr. Cowley; " ſome few friends, a book, a cheerful heart, and innocent conſcience were his companions." In this ſcene of rural privacy he was not unfrequently indulged with the company of learned and good men. Here, as in a ſafe and peaceful aſylum, they met with the moſt cordial and grateful reception. And we are informed by the Oxford Antiquary, that, whenever he went from home, he reſorted principally to the houſes of the eminent clergymen of the Church of England, of whom he was much beloved. To a man deſirous of dilating his intellectual improvements, no converſation could be more agreeable, than that of thoſe divines, who were known to have diſtinguiſhed him with their perſonal regard.

The Roman Poet, of whom it has been remarked that he made the happieſt union of the courtier and the ſcholar, was of plebeian origin. Yet ſuch was the attraction of his manners and deportment, that he claſſed among his friends the firſt and moſt illuſtrious of his contemporaries, Plotius and Varus, Pollio and Fuſcus, the Viſci and the Meſſalæ. Nor was Iſaac Walton leſs fortunate in his ſocial connexions. The times in which he lived were times of gloomy ſuſpicion, of danger and diſtreſs, when a ſevere ſcrutiny into the public and private behaviour of men eſtabliſhed a rigid diſcrimination of character. He muſt therefore be allowed to have poſſeſſed a peculiar excellency of diſpoſition, who conciliated to himſelf an habitual intimacy with Uſher the Apoſtolical Primate of Ireland, with Archbiſhop Sheldon, with Morton, Biſhop of Durham, Pearſon of Cheſter, and Sanderſon of Lincoln, with the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton, and the judicious Mr. Chillingworth; in ſhort, with thoſe who were moſt

[e] The account is alſo preſeved, by tradition, in the family. " Col. Blague remained at Mr. Barlow's houſe at Blore-Pipe, in Staffordſhire, where, with Mr. Barlow's privity and advice, he hid his Majeſty's George under a heap of duſt and chips, whence it was conveyed through the truſty hands of Mr. Robert Milward of Stafford, to Mr. Iſaac Walton, who conveyed it to London, to Col. Blague, then in the Tower; whence eſcaping not long after, he carried it with him beyond ſeas, and reſtored it to his Majeſty's own hands." *(Plot's Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, Ch. VIII. Sect. 77. See alſo Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.)*

moſt celebrated for their piety and learning. Nor could he be deficient in urbanity of manners or elegance of taſte, who was the companion of Sir Henry Wotton, the moſt accompliſhed gentleman of his age[f]. The ſingular circumſpection which he obſerved in the choice of his acquaintance, has not eſcaped the notice of Mr. Cotton. "My Father Walton," ſays he, "will be ſeen twice in no man's company he does not like; and likes none but ſuch as he believes to be very honeſt men; which is one of the beſt arguments, or at leaſt of the beſt teſtimonies I have, that I either am, or that he thinks me one of thoſe, ſeeing I have not yet found him weary of me[g]."

[f] "My next and laſt example ſhall be that undervaluer of money, the late Provoſt of Eton College, Sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fiſhed and converſed; a man, whom foreign employments in the ſervice of this nation, and whoſe experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulneſs, made his company to be eſteemed one of the delights of mankind."——*(Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.)*

In Sir Henry Wotton's verſes, written by him as he ſate fiſhing on the bank of a river, he probably alludes to Walton himſelf, who often accompanied him in his innocent amuſement:

> "There ſtood my friend, with patient ſkill,
> "Attending of his trembling quill."

That this amiable and excellent perſon ſet a high value on the converſation of his humble friend appears from the following letter:

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"Since I laſt ſaw you, I have been confined to my chamber by a quotidian feaver, I thank "God, of more contumacy than malignity. It had once left me, as I thought, but it was "only to fetch more company, returning with a ſurcrew of thoſe ſplenetick vapours, that "are called Hypocondriacal; of which moſt ſay the cure is good company, and I deſire no "better phyſician than yourſelf. I have in one of thoſe fits endeavoured to make it more "eaſie by compoſing a ſhort *hymn*; and ſince I have apparelled my beſt thoughts ſo lightly as "in verſe, I hope I ſhall be pardoned a ſecond vanity, if I communicated it with ſuch a friend "as yourſelf; to whom I wiſh a cheerful ſpirit, and a thankful heart to value it, as one of "the greateſt bleſſings of our good God; in whoſe dear love I leave you, remaining

"Your poor friend to ſerve you,

"H. WOTTON."

(Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 361. *4th edit.——See the Hymn mentioned in this Letter, in Walton's Life of Dr. Donne, p.* 187.*)*

[g] Complete Angler, P. II. Ch. I.

Before his retirement into the country, he publiſhed "The Life of Dr. Donne." It was originally appended to "LXXX Sermons, preached by that learned and reverend divine, John Donne, Dr. in Divinity, late Dean of the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul's, London, 1640." He had been ſolicited by Sir Henry Wotton, to ſupply him with materials for writing that Life. Sir Henry dying in 1639, before he had made any progreſs in the work, Iſaac Walton engaged in it. This, his firſt eſſay in biography, was by more accurate reviſals corrected, and conſiderably enlarged in ſubſequent editions. Donne has been principally commended as a poet;—Walton, who, as it has been already remarked, was a conſtant hearer of his ſermons, makes him known to us as a preacher, eloquent, animated, affecting. His poems, like the ſky beſpangled with ſmall ſtars, are occaſionally interſperſed with the ornaments of fine imagery. They muſt however be pronounced generally devoid of harmony of numbers, or beauty of verſification. Involved in the language of metaphyſical obſcurity[h], they cannot be read but with faſtidiouſneſs: They abound in falſe thoughts, affected phraſes, and unnatural conceits[i]. His ſermons, though not without that pedantry which debaſes the writings of almoſt all the divines of thoſe times, are often written with energy, elegance, and copiouſneſs of ſtyle. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that all the wit and eloquence of the author have been unable to ſecure them from neglect.

An

[h] Dr. Donne affects the metaphyſics, not only in his ſatires, but in his amorous verſes, where nature only ſhould reign, and perplexes the minds of the fair ſex with nice ſpeculations of philoſophy, when he ſhould engage their hearts and entertain them with the ſoftneſſes of love. In this, if I may be pardoned for ſo bold a truth, Mr. Cowley has copied him to a fault, ſo great a one in my opinion, that it throws his "Miſtreſs" infinitely below his Pindariques and his latter compoſitions, which are undoubtedly the beſt of his poems, and the moſt correct.—*(Mr. Dryden's Dedication, prefixed to the Tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius.)*

[i] Mr. Pope has claſſed the Engliſh Poets by their ſchool. Firſt, School of Provence. Second, School of Chaucer. Third, School of Petrarch. Fourth, School of Dante. Fifth, School of Spenſer. Sixth, School of Donne. In the latter ſchool he has very injudiciouſly placed Michael Drayton, who wrote before Donne, and not in the leaſt in his manner.—"Dr Donne's (poetical) writings are like a voluntary or prelude, in which a man is not tied to any particular deſign of air, but may change his key or mood at pleaſure; ſo his compoſitions ſeem to have been written without any particular ſcope." *(Butler's Remains, Vol. II. p. 498.)*

An inſtance of filial gratitude and affection occurs in a letter from Mr. John Donne, junior, to Mr. Iſaac Walton, thanking him for writing his father the Dean's Life.

"SIR,

"I ſend this book rather to witneſs my debt, than to make any payment. "For it would be incivil in me to offer any ſatisfaction for that that all "my father's friends, and indeed all good men, are ſo equally engaged. "Courteſies that are done to the dead being examples of ſo much piety, "that they cannot have their reward in this life, becauſe laſting as long, "and ſtill (by awaking the like charity in others) propagating the debt "they muſt expect a retribution from him, who gave the firſt inclination.

"2. And by this circle, Sir, I have ſet you in my place, and inſtead of "making you a payment, I have made you a debtor; but 'tis to Almighty "God, to whom I know you will be ſo willingly committed, that I may "ſafely take leave to write myſelf,

"Your thankful ſervant,

From my houſe in Covent-Garden, 24°. June, 1640. } JO. DONNE."

It is difficult to diſcover what correſpondence ſubſiſted between our biographer and the writer of the preceding letter, who, having been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws in the Univerſity of Padua, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford, in 1638[k]. In a will which was printed in 1662, Dr. John Donne, junior, bequeathed all his father's writings, with his "Common Place Book," to Iſaac Walton, for the uſe of his ſon, if he ſhould be brought up a ſcholar. That he was a clergyman, and had ſome preferment in the dioceſe of Peterborough, we learn from a letter written to him by Dr. John Towers, Biſhop of Peterborough, his dioceſan; wherein his Lordſhip thanks him for the firſt volume of his father's ſermons, telling him, that his pariſhioners may pardon his ſilence to them for a while, ſince by it he hath preached to them and to their children's children, and to all our Engliſh pariſhes, for ever. Anthony Wood, although he deſcribes him as a man of ſenſe and parts, is unfavourable

[k] He died in 1682, and was buried in the Churchyard of St. Paul, in Covent-Garden.

able to his memory. He repreſents him as no better than "an atheiſtical buffoon, a banterer, and a perſon of over-free thoughts, yet valued by Charles II." With a ſarcaſm not unuſual to him, he informs his reader, that Dr. Walter Pope "leads an epicurean and heatheniſh life, much like to that of Dr. Donne, the ſon." Biſhop Kennet, in his "Regiſter," p. 318, calling him, by miſtake, Dr. John Downe, names him as the editor of "A Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Matthews, Knight," with a character of the moſt excellent Lady, Lucy Counteſs of Carliſle, by the ſame author; to which are added ſeveral letters of his own to ſeveral perſons of honour, who were contemporary with him, London, 1660, 8vo. I cannot but obſerve, that he neither conſulted the reputation of his father, nor the public good, when he cauſed the "Biathanatos" to be printed. If he was determined, at all events, to diſregard the injunctions of parental authority, would it not have been more expedient to have committed the manuſcript to the flames, rather than to have encountered the hazard of diffuſing certain novel opinions, from which no good conſequences could poſſibly ariſe? For though thoſe effects did not actually follow, which are mentioned by an induſtrious foreign writer[1], who tells us, that on the firſt publication of this work, many perſons laid violent hands on themſelves; yet

[1] The following account of Dr. Donne is given in "Morhoff's Polyhiſtor," L. VI. C. IV. § xviii. "Inter quos numerandum puto JOHANNEM DONNE, Eccleſiæ S. Pauli apud Londinenſes Decanum. Ingenioſiſſimum fuiſſe *Poemata* ejus *juvenilia* oſtendunt Londini A. 1633 in 4 edita, quæ anno ætatis 18 ſcripſit, plena argutiſſimorum conceptuum: Quorum aliquot in Linguam Belgicam vertit Conſtantius Hugonius a Carolo ſecundo Rege ſollicitatus, qui inimitabilem Germanis et Belgis hujus viri ſtylum putabat. *Sermones* vero *ſacros* elegantiſſimos et multos, et in varios S. Scripturæ textus emiſit Londini, diverſis annis. Scripſit et *Meditationes* ſuper morbo ſuo *ſacras*, quæ in Linguam Belgicam converſæ et Amſtelodami 1655, in 12 editæ. ſunt. Scripſit et Librum, quem a tali Viro ſcribi potuiſſe plane mirere, quippe qui αὐτοχειρίαν, certis in caſibus, licitam quoque eſſe affirmaret: Titulus, Βιαθανατος: *That ſelf-murder is not ſo naturally a ſin, that it may never be otherwiſe:* Editus vero liber demum poſt mortem Auctoris eſt: Atque, ut aiunt, ipſo etiam, dum viveret, ejus editionem ſerio deprecante prohibenteque, Londini 1648, in 4to. At mox, cum prodiiſſet, adeo ſe multis hominibus probavit, ut haud pauci ejus Lectione ad mortem voluntariam adacti memorentur: Recuſus certe iterum Londini eſt, 1644. Et haud dubie dedit occaſionem ſcribendo alii Libro, neſcio cujus Anonymi, qui perniciosiſſimam opinionem ex animis hominum evellere haud abs Re tentabat." (*Pellicanicidium, or the Chriſtian Adviſer againſt Self-murder: Together with a Guide, and the Pilgrim's Paſs to the Land of the Living*, Lond. 1653, in 8vo.)

yet the moſt remote probability of danger accruing from it ſhould have induced him entirely to have ſuppreſſed it. But to return from this digreſſion.

The narrative of the viſion in this Life of Dr. Donne hath ſubjected the author to ſome ſevere animadverſions. Let it however be remembered, that he probably related the matter with cautious and diſcreet fidelity, as it was really repreſented to him. The account is not inſerted in the earlier editions of Dr. Donne's Life. Hence we may preſume that the ſtricteſt and moſt ſevere inquiry was made before its introduction. Plutarch is not eſteemed a credulous writer: Yet he has given a full and circumſtantial hiſtory of the appearances that preſented themſelves to Dion and to Brutus. And in modern times Dr. Doddridge, a moſt ſedulous examiner of facts, and of all men the leaſt liable to credulity and weakneſs of underſtanding, publiſhed a relation of an extraordinary viſion. Let it be remarked that, according to the opinion of a medical writer of great eminence, a diſcriminating ſymptom of human inſanity is "the riſing up in the mind of images not diſtinguiſhable by the patient from impreſſions upon the ſenſes."—To a momentary deluſion originating from ſome bodily diſorder we may ſafely attribute the viſions or falſe perceptions, of which many authentic deſcriptions have been tranſmitted to us; and we may eaſily ſuppoſe that Dr. Donne, ſeparated from his beloved wife and family, whom he had left in a very diſtreſsful ſituation, muſt have ſuffered the moſt poignant anxiety of mind, and of courſe much indiſpoſition of body[m].

When the firſt years of man have been devoted to "the diligence of trades and noiſeful gain," we have no reaſon to hope that his mind will be repleniſhed by ſtudy, or enriched with literature. In the *lucrative*, as well as in the *political* life, men are tempted to aſſume ſome of thoſe habits or diſpoſitions, which are not entirely conſiſtent with the principles of juſtice or honour. An eagerneſs to amaſs wealth, not ſeldom extinguiſhes every other affection. But it was not thus with Iſaac Walton. Firm and uncorrupted in his integrity, he no ſooner bade farewel to his commercial con-

C cerns,

[m] See "Plin. Epiſt." L. VII. Epiſt. 27. "Biographia Britannica," in the articles BEN JONSON, ANDREW MARVEL. See alſo "Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion," Vol. I. p 42.

cerns, than he gave the moſt convincing proofs of his attention to the moſt laudable purſuits. He had already written the life of one friend. He now undertook to exhibit a teſtimony of reſpect to the memory of another. In 1651, he was the editor of "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of ſundry Perſonages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art, by the curious Pencil of the ever-memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. late Provoſt of Eaton College." This collection is dedicated "to Lady Mary Wotton, relict of the laſt Lord Wotton, and to her three noble daughters." Theſe ladies communicated to him many original letters, written by their illuſtrious relation. After the Dedication follows "The Life of Sir Henry Wotton." In the ſucceeding editions, the volume is inſcribed to the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Stanhope of Shelford, and great nephew to Sir Henry Wotton[n]. This nobleman accompanying his mother, the Lady Catharine Stanhope, into Holland, where ſhe attended the Princeſs of Orange, daughter to Charles I. had his education along with William, Prince of Orange, afterward advanced to the throne of England, and became very ſerviceable in promoting the reſtoration of the Royal Family. He loved the memory, and imitated the virtues of his generous uncle. By a life of ſtrict temperance he attained to a great age. He died, January 28, 1713[o]. It is proper to

[n] The mother of this Lord Cheſterfield was Catharine the eldeſt daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, and relict of Henry Lord Stanhope, who died before his father the Earl of Cheſterfield. She had been governeſs to Mary Princeſs of Orange, and after the Reſtoration was made Counteſs of Cheſterfield. See "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting," Vol. II. p. 113.

[o] A contemporary writer has thus delineated the characters of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton——"To ſpeak it in a word, the Trojan Horſe was not fuller of heroic Grecians, than King James's reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of learning. And here I deſire the reader's leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance: the one was Mr. John Donne, who, leaving Oxford, lived at the Inns of Court, not diſſolute, but very neat; a great viſitor of ladies, a great writer of conceited verſes, until ſuch time as King James, taking notice of the pregnancy of his wit, was a means that he took him to the ſtudy of divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor was made Dean of St. Paul's, and became ſo rare a preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton (mine old acquaintance alſo, as having been fellow pupils and chamber-

to obſerve, that a later edition of the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, namely that of 1685, is enriched with Sir Henry Wotton's Letters to Lord Zouch, who was eminent among his contemporaries as an able ſtateſman and an accompliſhed ſcholar.

"The Church Hiſtory of Great Britain," compiled by Dr. Thomas Fuller, whoſe writings, though far from being without blemiſh, are of ineſtimable value, was firſt publiſhed in 1655. A converſation, ſeaſoned with much pleaſantneſs and innocent jocularity, is ſaid to have paſſed between the author and his ever cheerful and friendly acquaintance, Mr. Iſaac Walton, upon the general character of this Work. Walton having paid him a viſit, it was aſked by Fuller, who knew how intimate he was with ſeveral of the biſhops and ancient clergy, firſt, What he thought of the hiſtory himſelf, and then, what reception it had met with among them. Walton anſwered, that he thought "it ſhould be acceptable to all tempers; becauſe there were *ſhades* in it for the warm, and *ſun-ſhine* for thoſe of a cold conſtitution; that with *youthful readers* the facetious parts would be profitable to make the ſerious more palatable; while ſome reverend *old readers* might fancy themſelves in his Hiſtory of the Church, as in a flower garden, or one full of evergreens."—"And why not," ſaid Fuller, "the *Church Hiſtory* ſo decked as well as *the Church* itſelf at a moſt *holy ſeaſon*, or the *tabernacle* of old at the *Feaſt of Boughs?*"—"That was but for a ſeaſon," ſaid Walton; "in your *Feaſt of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are ſo overſhadowed throughout, that the parſon is more ſeen than his congregation, and this ſometimes inviſible to its old acquaintance, who may wander in the ſearch, till they are loſt in the labyrinth." "Oh!" ſays Fuller, "the very *Children* of our *Iſrael* may find their way out of this *wilderneſs*." "True," returned Walton, "as indeed they have here ſuch a Moſes to conduct them[p]."

chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years together.) This gentleman was employed by King James in embaſſage to Venice; and indeed the kingdom afforded not a fitter man for matching the capacioufneſs of the Italian wits: A man of ſo able dexterity with his pen, that he hath done himſelf much wrong, and the kingdom more, in leaving no more of his writings behind him." (*Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England*, London, 1684.)

[p] See "Biogr. Brit." p. 2061. [P]

His next work was "The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker[q]," which first appeared in 1662. It was composed at the earnest request of Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London; and with the express purpose of correcting some errors committed by Dr. Gauden, from mere inadvertency and haste, in his account of "*that immortal man*," as he has been emphatically styled, "*who spoke no language but that of truth dictated by conscience.*" Gauden seems to have been extremely deficient in his information, and, dying soon afterward, had no opportunity of revising and amending his very imperfect and inaccurate memoir. This was followed by "The Life of Mr. George Herbert," usually called "the Divine Herbert[r]," in 1670. In 1678, he concluded his biographical labours with "The Life of Dr. Robert Sanderson." Previous to the publication of this last work he received the following interesting letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, who had been for many years the intimate friend of Dr. Sanderson during his residence at Oxford, and after his retirement into the country.

"MY

[q] Sir John Hawkins, in his "Life of Mr. Isaac Walton," inadvertently observes, that Mr. Hooker was personally known to his biographer. The former died in 1600; the latter was then only seven years of age, being born in 1593.

[r] The following letter is transcribed from a MS. in the library bequeathed to the corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Dr. Tomlinson, formerly Rector of Whickham, in the county of Durham.

"SIR,

"You see I have not forgot my promise to you: Here are your two books: If you have "never read the preface to your beloved 'A Kempis,' I fancy, it will please you well; and, "if it do, send up one tender thought for him, who conveys it to your hand. *The Life of* "*good Mr. Herbert is full of discoveries of a sweet composed harmonious mind, that it will not be un-* "*grateful neither:* One hour with such entertainment is better than a life of long enjoyment "of the pleasures of the Louvre. It is Sunday morning, and I am hasting to prayers. "So give me leave to beg a share in your prayers for myself, for your servant my wife, and "for the babies.

"I am, with all sincerity,

Dr. d. 12 June 81

"Sir, your affectionate servant,

"PERTH."

"For Mr. James Aird, from his affec. servant, PERTH."

"MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. WALTON,

"I am heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the Life of that "excellent perſon, and, both for learning and piety, eminent prelate, "Dr. Sanderſon, late Biſhop of Lincoln; becauſe I know your ability to "know, and integrity to write truth: And ſure I am, that the life and "actions of that pious and learned prelate will afford you matter enough "for his commendation, and the imitation of poſterity. In order to the "carrying on your intended good work, you deſire my aſſiſtance, that I "would communicate to you ſuch particular paſſages of his life, as were "certainly known to me. I confeſs I had the happineſs to be particularly "known to him for about the ſpace of twenty years; and, in Oxon, to "enjoy his converſation, and his learned and pious inſtructions while he "was Regius Profeſſor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time "of our late unhappy confuſions) he left Oxon, and was retired into the "country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour "and kindneſs, he anſwered thoſe doubts I propoſed, and gave me that "ſatisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from ſome others of "greater confidence, but leſs judgment and humility. Having in a letter "named two or three books writ *(ex profeſſo)* againſt the being of any "original ſin; and that Adam, by his fall, tranſmitted ſome calamity "only, but no crime to his poſterity; the good old man was exceedingly "troubled, and bewailed the miſery of thoſe licentious times, and ſeemed "to wonder (ſave that the times were ſuch) that any ſhould write, or be "permitted to publiſh any error ſo contradictory to truth, and the doctrine "of the Church of England, eſtabliſhed (as he truly ſaid) by clear "evidence of ſcripture, and the juſt and ſupreme power of this nation, "both ſacred and civil. I name not the books, nor their authors, which "are not unknown to learned men (and I wiſh they had never been "known), becauſe both the doctrine, and the unadviſed abettors of it are, "and ſhall be, to me apocryphal[s].

"Another little ſtory I muſt not paſs in ſilence, being an argument of "Dr. Sanderſon's piety, great ability, and judgment, as a caſuiſt. Diſ-

"courſing

[s] The writer principally alluded to in this part of the Letter, was the excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Biſhop of Donn and Clonner.

" courſing with an honourable perſon[t] (whoſe piety I value more than
" his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a caſe of conſci-
" ence concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which,
" for ſome particular reaſons, he then deſired more fully to be informed; I
" commended to him Dr. Sanderſon's book 'De Juramento;' which hav-
" ing read, with great ſatisfaction, he aſked me,—'If I thought the Doctor
" could be induced to write Caſes of Conſcience, if he might have an
" honorary penſion allowed him, to furniſh him with books for that pur-
" poſe?' I told him 'I believed he would:' And, in a letter to the Doctor,
" told him what great ſatisfaction that honourable perſon, and many more,
" had reaped by reading his book 'De Juramento;' and aſked him, 'whe-
" ther he would be pleaſed, for the benefit of the Church, to write ſome
" tract of Caſes of Conſcience?' He replied, 'That he was glad that any
" had received any benefit by his books:' And added further, 'That if
" any future tract of his could bring ſuch benefit to any, as we ſeemed to
" ſay his former had done, he would willingly, though without any pen-
" ſion, ſet about that work.' Having received this anſwer, that honour-
" able perſon, before mentioned, did, by my hands, return 50l. to the good
" Doctor, whoſe condition then (as moſt good men's at that time were)
" was but low; and he preſently reviſed, finiſhed, and publiſhed that ex-
" cellent book, 'De Conſcientiâ:' A book little in bulk, but not ſo if we
" conſider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there
" are ſo many general propoſitions concerning conſcience, the nature and
" obligation of it explained, and proved with ſuch firm conſequence and
" evidence of reaſon, that he who reads, remembers, and can with prudence
" pertinently apply them *hic et nunc* to particular caſes, may, by their light
" and help, rationally reſolve a thouſand particular doubts and ſcruples of
" conſcience. Here you may ſee the charity of that honourable perſon in
" promoting, and the piety and induſtry of the good Doctor, in performing
" that excellent work.

" And here I ſhall add the judgment of that learned and pious prelate
" concerning a paſſage very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. When he
" was

[t] Robert Boyle, Eſq.

" was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the ſchools as Regius Pro-
" feſſor of Divinity, and by the truth of his poſitions, and evidences of his
" proofs, gave great content and ſatisfaction to all his hearers, eſpecially
" in his clear reſolutions of all difficult caſes which occurred in the expli-
" cation of the ſubject matter of his lectures; a perſon of quality (yet alive)
" privately aſked him, ' What courſe a young divine ſhould take in his
" ſtudies to enable him to be a good caſuiſt?' His anſwer was, ' That a
" convenient underſtanding of the learned languages, at leaſt of Hebrew,
" Greek, and Latin, and a ſufficient knowledge of arts and ſciences pre-
" ſuppoſed: There were two things in human literature, a comprehenſion
" of which would be of very great uſe, to enable a man to be a rational
" and able caſuiſt, which otherwiſe was very difficult, if not impoſſible:
" 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philoſophy; eſpecially that part of
" it which treats of the nature of human actions: To know, *quid ſit actus*
" *humanus (ſpontaneus, invitus, mixtus) unde habent bonitatem et malitiam*
" *moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumſtantiis?* How the variety
" of circumſtances varies the goodneſs or evil of human actions? How far
" knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuſe, increaſe or diminiſh
" the goodneſs or evil of our actions? For every caſe of conſcience being
" only this—*Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?*—He
" who, in theſe, knows not how and whence human actions become
" morally good and evil, never can (in hypotheſi) rationally and certainly
" determine, whether this or that particular action be ſo.——2. The ſecond
" thing, which,' he ſaid, ' would be a great help and advantage to a caſuiſt,
" was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in
" general: to know what a law is; what a natural and poſitive law; what's
" required to the *Latio, diſpenſatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis;* what pro-
" mulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any poſitive law;
" what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuſe, diminiſh,
" or aggravate the tranſgreſſion: For every caſe of conſcience being only
" this—*Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and
" meaſure by which I muſt judge of the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of
" any action; it evidently follows, that he, who, in theſe, knows not the
" nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good caſuiſt, or rationally
" aſſure

" aſſure himſelf, or others, of the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of actions in " particular.'

" This was the judgment and good counſel of that learned and pious " prelate: And having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of " it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him, and want of charity " to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent " ſcribble, which, if nothing elſe, may ſignify thus much, that I am willing " to obey your deſires, and am indeed,

" Your affectionate friend,

LONDON, May 10, 1678. " THOMAS LINCOLN."

Among the literary characters of the ſixteenth century, none appears with more tranſcendent luſtre than that of Sir Henry Savile, a magnificent patron of merit, and a complete gentleman. He ſeems to have traverſed the whole range of ſcience, being equally celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern learning. The life of this illuſtrious ſcholar would be a valuable acquiſition to the Republic of Letters. That it was actually compiled by Mr. Iſaac Walton, we have every reaſon to conclude. Dr. King Biſhop of Chicheſter, in his letter to him, dated Nov. 17, 1664, tells him, that " he has done much for Sir Henry Savile, the contemporary and friend of Mr. Richard Hooker." It is ſeriouſly to be regretted, that the moſt diligent inquiry after this work has hitherto proved unſucceſsful[u].

Among

[u] The following particulars, relative to Sir Henry Savile are collected from Mr. Aubrey's " Lives of Mathematical Writers." He was as learned a gentleman as any of his time. Mr. Hobbes informed Mr. Aubrey, that Sir Henry Savile was ambitious of being thought as great a ſcholar as Joſeph Scaliger. But if in the attainments of claſſic literature he was inferior to Scaliger, in mathematical knowledge Dr. Wallis declared him to be exceeded by none of his contemporaries. He was a very handſome and beautiful man: No lady had a fairer complexion. Queen Elizabeth, to whom he explained Greek authors and politics, favoured him much. He was preferred by her to be Maſter of Eton College, of which he was ſo ſevere a governor, that the ſcholars hated him for his auſterity. To men of wit he gave no encouragement. When a young ſcholar was named to him as a good wit, he would reject him, and chooſe the plodding ſtudent. John Earle, afterward Biſhop of Sarum, being recommended to him, on that account, was the only one of that character, to whom he extended

Among thoſe whom Sir Henry Savile honoured with his friendſhip was Mr. John Hales of Eton. Mr. Anthony Farringdon, an eminent preacher, and a man of extenſive learning and exemplary piety, had collected materials with a view to write the life of this incomparable perſon. On his demiſe, his papers were conſigned to the care of Mr. Iſaac Walton, by Mr. William Fulman, of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, who had propoſed to finiſh the work, and on that occaſion had applied for the aſſiſtance of our biographer. The reſult of this application is not known. "Fulman's Collection of Manuſcripts," written with his own hand, was depoſited in the archives of the library of his college, and Wood laments that he was refuſed acceſs to them. It is unneceſſary to add, that "The Life of Mr. Hales," by Mr. Dez-maizeaux, was publiſhed in 1716.

Angling had been long a favourite diverſion in England. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, the compoſer of "that good plain unperplexed Catechiſm, which is in our good old Service Book," was a lover of, and moſt experienced proficient in this delightful art. It was his cuſtom, beſides his fixed hours of private and public prayer, to ſpend a tenth part of

 his

tended his patronage. He treated the Fellows of Eton College with aſperity; and his influence with the Queen rendered all oppoſition vain. When Mr. Gunter came from London to be appointed his Profeſſor in Geometry, he brought with him his ſector and quadrant, with which he began to reſolve triangles, and to perform ſeveral operations. This diſguſted the grave knight, who conſidered the operations as ſo many tricks below the dignity of a mathematician, and he immediately conferred the profeſſorſhip on another candidate, Mr. Briggs from Cambridge.——Mr. Aubrey learned from Dr. Wallis, that Sir Henry Savile had ſufficiently confuted Joſeph Scaliger's Tract "De Quadraturâ Circuli," in his notes on the very margin of the book: And that, ſometimes, when Scaliger ſays, "A B C D ex Conſtructione," Sir Henry adds with his pen; "et demonſtratio veſtra eſt aſinus ex conſtructione."

In his travels he had contracted a general acquaintance with learned men abroad; by which means he had acceſs to ſeveral Greek MSS. in their libraries, and thus obtained correct copies by his amanuenſis, who tranſcribed the Greek character with admirable ſkill. Fronto Ducæus, a French Jeſuit of Bourdeaux, clandeſtinely engaged a perſon to ſupply him, every week, with the ſheets of Sir Henry Savile's Greek edition of "The Works of Chryſoſtom," printed at Eton, of which he compoſed a Latin tranſlation; and publiſhed "Chryſoſtom's Works," in Greek and Latin; thus ſuperſeding the ſale of the Engliſh impreſſion. Sir Henry Savile died Feb. 19, 1621, having been Provoſt of Eton College twenty-five years.

his time in this amuſement, and alſo to beſtow a tenth part of his revenue, and uſually all his fiſh among the poor, ſaying, that "charity gave life to religion[v]" An elegant Latin poem[w], written by Dr. Simon Ford, was inſcribed to Archbiſhop Sheldon, who, in his younger years, being fond of this diverſion, is ſaid to have acquired a ſuperior ſkill in taking the Umber or Barbel, "a heavy and a dogged fiſh to be dealt withal." Dr. Donne is called "a great practitioner, maſter, and patron of angling[x]:" And we learn from good authority, that Mr. George Herbert loved angling; a circumſtance that is rather to be believed, "becauſe he had a ſpirit ſuitable to anglers, and to thoſe primitive Chriſtians who are ſo much loved and commended." Let not theſe remarks provoke the chaſtiſement of cenſure: Let them not be condemned as nugatory and inſignificant: Amidſt our diſquietudes and deluſive cares, amidſt the painful anxiety, the diſguſtful irkſomeneſs, which are often the unwelcome attendants on buſineſs and on ſtudy, an harmleſs gratification is not merely excuſable, it is in ſome degree neceſſary.

[v] See "Walton's Complete Angler," Part I. Ch. I.——At Brazen-Noſe College, in Oxford, of which Dr. Nowell was Principal, is a portrait of him with a fiſhing-rod over his head, a paper of fiſhing-hooks in his hand, and this inſcription:

ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSOR,
S. PAULI DECANUS OBIIT 13 FEB. ANNO DOM. 1601, R. R. ELIZ. 44.
AN. DECANATUS 42. ÆTATIS SUÆ 95; CUM NEQUE OCULI
CALIGARENT, NEQUE AURES OBTUSIORES, NEQUE MEMORIA
INFIRMIOR, NEQUE ANIMI ULLÆ FACULTATES VIETÆ ESSENT.
PISCATOR HOMINUM.

(Gutch's Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, p. 370.)

Among other acts of beneficence, this venerable man founded the Free Grammar School of Middleton, in Lancaſhire, in 1572, and endowed it with a ſmall ſtipend for two maſters.

[w] "Muſæ Anglicanæ," Vol. I. p. 97.—Gervaſe Markham, the author of "The Whole Art of Angling," 4to. 1656, rather proceeds too far, when he tells his reader, that an angler ſhould be "a general ſcholar, and ſeen in all the liberal ſciences;" that he ſhould be "a grammarian, a logician, and a philoſopher."

[x] The Author of "The Angler's Sure Guide," 8vo. 1706, has attributed a book entitled, "The Secrets of Angling, by J. D." to Dr. Donne.

neceſſary[y]. In the ſkilful management of the angle, Iſaac Walton is acknowledged to bear away the prize from all his contemporaries. The river which he ſeems principally to have frequented, for the purpoſe of purſuing his inoffenſive amuſement, was the Lea, which, riſing above the town of Ware in Hertfordſhire, falls into the Thames a little below Blackwall; "unleſs we will ſuppoſe that the vicinity of the New River to the place of his habitation might ſometimes tempt him out with his friends, honeſt Nat and R. Roe, whoſe loſs he ſo pathetically mentions, to ſpend an afternoon there[z]." In his tract of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation," he has compriſed the cleareſt and fulleſt inſtructions for the attainment of a thorough proficiency in the art. James Duport, the Greek Profeſſor at Cambridge, who was far from being a novice in the uſe of the rod[a], diſdained not, on this occaſion, to addreſs our author in a beautiful Latin Iambic Ode, of which the following claſſic verſion will not be unacceptable to the reader[b].

"Hail Walton! honoured friend of mine,
"Mighty maſter of the line!
"Whether down ſome valley's ſide
"You walk to watch the ſmooth ſtream glide,
"Or on the flow'ry margin ſtand
"To cheat the fiſh with cunning hand,

 "Or

[y] "The Experienced Angler," a little tract, written by Colonel Robert Venables, is now before me. The peruſal of it calls to memory the days of youth, the guileleſs ſcenes of earlier life, ſpent with innocent companions, in "delightful walks by pleaſant rivers, in ſweet paſtures, and among odoriferous flowers." The concluding obſervation in this little book applies to all readers: "*Make not a daily practice, which is nothing elſe but a profeſſion, of any recreation; leſt your immoderate love and delight therein bring a croſs with it, and blaſt all your content and pleaſure in the ſame.*" I mention this entertaining work, becauſe Iſaac Walton has prefixed to it not a preface, but an "Epiſtle to the Author," who was perſonally unknown to him. Having accidentally ſeen the diſcourſe in manuſcript, he held himſelf obliged, in point of gratitude, for the great advantage he had received thereby, to tender his particular acknowledgment. The teſtimony of ſo expert an angler could not fail of recommending the tract.

[z] "Biographical Dictionary," in the article WALTON ISAAC.

[a] He calls himſelf "Candidatum arundinis."

[b] For this verſion I am indebted to Mr. James Tate, B. A. Fellow of Sidney Suſſex College, Cambridge.

" Or on the green bank, ſeated ſtill,
" With quick eye guard the dancing quill.
" Thrice happy ſage! who, diſtant far
" From the wrangling forum's war,
" From the city's buſtling train,
" From the buſy hum of men,
" Haunt ſome gentle ſtream, and ply
" Your honeſt crafts, to lure the fry:
" And while the world around you ſet
" The baſe decoy and treacherous net,
" Man againſt man, th' inſidious wile,
" Or, the rich dotard to beguile,
" Bait high with gifts the ſmiling hook
" All gilt with Flattery's ſweeteſt look;
" Arm'd for the innocent deceit,
" You love the ſcaly brood to cheat,
" And tempt that water-wolf, the pike,
" With rav'ning tooth his prey to ſtrike,
" Or in the minnow's living head
" Or in the writhed brandling red
" Fix your well-charged hook, to gull
" The greedy perch, bold biting fool,
" Or with the tender moſs-worm tried
" Win the nice trout's ſpeckled pride,
" Or on the carp, whoſe wary eye
" Admits no vulgar tackle nigh,
" Eſſay your art's ſupreme addreſs,
" And beat the fox in ſheer fineſſe:
" The tench, phyſician of the brook,
" Owns the magic of your hook,
" The little gudgeon's thoughtleſs haſte
" Yields a brief yet ſweet repaſt,
" And the whiſker'd barble pays
" His coarſer bulk to ſwell your praiſe.
" Such the amuſement of your hours,
" While the ſeaſon aids your powers;
" Nor ſhall my friend a ſingle day
" Ere paſs without a line away.
" Nor theſe alone your honours bound,
" The tricks experience has found;

" Sublimer

" Sublimer theory lifts your name
" Above the fiſher's ſimple fame,
" And in the practice you excel
" Of what none elſe can teach as well,
" And wield at once with equal ſkill
" The uſeful powers of either quill.
" With all that winning grace of ſtyle,
" What elſe were tedious, to beguile,
" A ſecond Oppian, you impart
" The ſecrets of the angling art;
" Each fiſh's nature, and how beſt
" To fit the bait to every taſte,
" Till in the ſcholar, that you train,
" The accompliſh'd maſter lives again.
" And yet your pen aſpires above
" The maxims of the art you love;
" Tho' virtues, faintly taught by rule,
" Are better learnt in angling's ſchool,
" Where Temperance, that drinks the rill,
" And Patience, ſovereign over ill,
" By many an active leſſon bought,
" Refine the ſoul, and ſteel the thought.
" Far higher truths you love to ſtart,
" To train us to a nobler art,
" And in the lives of good men give
" That chiefeſt leſſon, how to live;
" While Hooker, philoſophic ſage,
" Becomes the wonder of your page,
" Or while we ſee combin'd in one
" The Wit and the Divine in Donne,
" Or while the Poet and the Prieſt,
" In Herbert's ſainted form confeſt,
" Unfold the temple's holy maze
" That awes and yet invites our gaze:
" Worthies theſe of pious name
" From your pourtraying pencil claim
" A ſecond life, and ſtrike anew
" With fond delight the admiring view.
" And thus at once the peopled brook
" Submits its captives to your hook,

" And

"And we, the wiſer ſons of men,
"Yield to the magic of your pen,
"While angling on ſome ſtreamlet's brink
"The muſe and you combine to think."

In this volume of "The Complete Angler," which will be always read with avidity, even by thoſe who entertain no ſtrong reliſh for the art which it profeſſes to teach, we diſcover a copious vein of innocent pleaſantry and good humour. The ſcenes deſcriptive of rural life are inimitably beautiful. How artleſs and unadorned is the language! The dialogue is diverſified with all the characteriſtic beauties of colloquial compoſition. The ſongs and little poems, which are occaſionally inſerted, will abundantly gratify the reader, who has a taſte for the charms of paſtoral poeſy. And, above all, thoſe lovely leſſons of religious and moral inſtruction, which are ſo repeatedly inculcated throughout the whole work, will ever recommend this exquiſitely pleaſing performance[c]. It was firſt printed in 1653, with the figures of the fiſhes very elegantly engraved, probably by Lombart, on plates of ſteel; and was ſo generally read as to paſs through five editions during the life of the author. The ſecond edition is dated in 1655, the third in 1661; and in 1668, the fourth appeared with many valuable additions, and improvements. The lovers of angling, to whom this treatiſe is familiar, are appriſed, that the art of fiſhing with the fly is not diſcuſſed with ſufficient accuracy; the few directions that are given, having been principally

[c] I venture to quote the following beautiful paſſage. "Content will never dwell but in a meek and quiet ſoul. And this may appear, if we read and conſider what our Saviour ſays in St. Matthew's Goſpel: For there he ſays, 'Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy: Bleſſed be the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God: Bleſſed be the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God: And bleſſed be the meek, for they ſhall poſſeſs the earth.' Not that the meek ſhall not alſo obtain mercy, and ſee God, and be comforted, and at laſt come to the kingdom of heaven; but in the mean time he, and he only, poſſeſſes the earth as he goes towards that kingdom of heaven, by being humble, and cheerful, and content with what his good God has allotted him. He has no turbulent, repining, vexatious thoughts, that he deſerves better; nor is vext, when he ſees others poſſeſt of more honour, or more riches than his wiſe God has allotted for his ſhare: But he poſſeſſes what he has with a meek and contented quietneſs, ſuch a quietneſs as makes his very dreams pleaſing both to God and himſelf." (*Complete Angler, P. I. Ch.* xxi.)

cipally communicated by Mr. Thomas Barker, who has written a very entertaining tract on the ſubject. To remedy this defect, and to give leſſons how to angle for a trout or grayling in a clear ſtream, a fifth and much improved edition was publiſhed in 1676, with a ſecond part by Charles Cotton[d], of Beresford, in Staffordſhire, Eſq. This gentleman, who is repreſented as the moſt laborious trout-catcher, if not the moſt experienced angler for trout and grayling that England ever had, to teſtify his regard for Mr. Walton, had cauſed the words PISCATORIBUS SACRUM, with a cypher underneath, comprehending the initial letters of both their names, to be inſcribed on the front of his fiſhing-houſe. This little building was ſituated near the banks of the river Dove, which divides the two counties of Stafford and Derby. Here Mr. Walton uſually ſpent his vernal months, carrying with him the beſt and choiceſt of all earthly bleſſings, a contemplative mind, a cheerful diſpoſition, an active and an healthful body. So beauteous did the ſcenery of this delightful ſpot appear to him, that, to uſe his own words, "the pleaſantneſs of the river, mountains, and meadows about it, cannot be deſcribed, unleſs Sir Philip Sidney, or Mr. Cotton's father were again alive to do it[e]."

In the latter years of the reign of Charles II. the violence of faction burſt forth with renovated fury. The diſcontents of the Nonconformiſts were daily increaſing; while Popery aſſumed freſh hopes of re-eſtabliſhing itſelf by

[d] Dr. Plot, in "The Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire," p. 48, ſtyles Charles Cotton, of Beresford, Eſq. "his worthy, learned, and moſt ingenious friend." Beresford lies in the county of Stafford, on the banks of the river Dove; and not far from Dovedale; of the beauties of which, ſee "Aikin's Deſcription of the Country round Mancheſter," p. 501.

[e] "Oh my beloved nymph, fair Dove!
"Princeſs of rivers! how I love
"Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,
"And view thy ſilver ſtream
"When gilded by a ſummer's beam!
"And in it all thy wanton fry
"Playing at liberty:
"And, with my angle upon them,
"The all of treachery
"I ever learnt induſtriouſly to try,"

(The Retirement, by Mr. Cotton, St. vi.)

by fomenting and encouraging the divisions, that unhappily subsisted among Protestants. A tract, entitled "The Naked Truth, or the True State of the Church," was published in 1675, and attributed to Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford. Eager to accomplish an union of the Dissenters with the Church of England, and to include them within its pale, this prelate hesitated not to suggest the expediency of proposing several concessions to them, with respect to the rites and ceremonies then in use, and even to comply with their unreasonable demand of abolishing Episcopacy. It may be easily presumed, that these proposals met with no very favourable reception: They were animadverted upon with much spirit and ability, in various publications[f]. In the mean time, animosities prevailed without any prospect of their termination. From fanaticism on one side, and from superstition on the other, real danger was apprehended. Those, who exerted themselves in maintaining the legal rights and liberties of the established Church, were denominated 'Whigs.' Most of them were persons eminent for their learning, and very cordially attached to the established Constitution: Others, who opposed the Dissenters, and were thought to be more in fear of a republic than a Popish successor, were distinguished by the name of 'Tories.' At this critical period, Isaac Walton expressed his solicitude for the real welfare of his country, not with a view to embarrass himself in disputation,—for his nature was totally abhorrent from controversy,—but to give an ingenuous and undissembled account of his own faith and practice, as a true son of the Church of England. His modesty precluded him from annexing his name to the treatise, which he composed at this time; and which appeared, first, in 1680, under the title of "Love and Truth[g], in two modest and peaceable

[f] Three celebrated tracts on this subject were anonymous. 1. "Animadversions on a pamphlet, entitled 'The Naked Truth,' *London*, 1676." This was written by Dr. Francis Turner, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; and afterward successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely. 2. "Lex Talionis, or the Author of The Naked Truth stripped naked, 1676." This work is attributed to Mr. Philip Fell, one of the fellows of Eton College. 3. "A Modest Survey of the most Considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, entitled 'Naked Truth.' In a Letter to a Friend, 1676." Dr. Burnet owned himself to be the author of this last tract.

[g] The author, in the choice of the title affixed to his tract, might allude to *Ephes.* iv. 15. "Speaking the *Truth* in *Love*."

peaceable Letters, concerning the Diſtempers of the preſent Times; written from a quiet and conformable Citizen of London, to two buſie and factious Shopkeepers in Coventry, 'But let none of you ſuffer as a buſie-body in other Men's Matters[h],' 1 *Pet.* iv. 15. 1680." The ſtyle, the ſentiment, the argumentation, are ſuch as might be expected from a plain man, actuated only by an honeſt zeal to promote the public peace. And if we conſider that it was written by him in the 87th year of his age, a period of life when the faculties of the mind are uſually on the decline, it will be ſcarce poſſible not to admire the clearneſs of his judgment, and the unimpaired vigour of his memory. The real purport of this work, which is not altogether unapplicable to more recent times, and which breathes the genuine ſpirit of benevolence and candour, is happily expreſſed in the author's own words to the perſon, whom he addreſſes in the ſecond letter.

"This I beſeech you to conſider ſeriouſly: And, good couſin, let me adviſe you to be one of the thankful and quiet party; for it will bring peace at laſt[i]. Let neither your diſcourſe nor practice be to encourage, or aſſiſt in making a ſchiſm in that church, in which you were baptized and adopted a Chriſtian; for you may continue in it with ſafety to your ſoul; you may in it ſtudy ſanctification, and practiſe it to what degree God, by his grace, ſhall enable you. You may faſt as much as you will; be as humble as you will; pray both publicly and privately as much as you will; viſit and comfort as many diſtreſſed and dejected families as you will; be as liberal and charitable to the poor as you think fit and are able. Theſe, and all other of thoſe undoubted Chriſtian graces, that accompany ſalvation, you may practiſe either publicly or privately, as much and as often as you think fit; and yet keep in the communion of

E that

[h] This tract is aſſigned to Mr. Iſaac Walton, on the beſt authority, that of Archbiſhop Sancroft, who, in a volume of Miſcellanies—(*Miſcellanea* 14, 2, 34.)—in the library of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, has, with his own hand, marked its title thus: "Is. Walton's 2 letters conc. ye Diſtemps of ye Times, 1680."

[i] Such kind advice accorded with his uſual ſentiments.

"Ven. This is my purpoſe, and ſo let every thing that hath breath praiſe the Lord. Let the bleſſing of St. Peter's Maſter be with mine.

"Pisc. And upon all that are lovers of virtue, and dare truſt in his Providence, and be "quiet, and go an angling. 'Study to be quiet,'" 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 11. (*Complete Angler, P. I. c.* 2.)

that church, of which you were made a member by your baptiſm. Theſe graces you may practiſe, and not be a buſie-body in promoting *ſchiſm* and *faction;* as God knows your father's friends, *Hugh Peters* and *John Lilbourn* did, to the ruine of themſelves, and many of their diſciples. Their turbulent lives and uncomfortable deaths are not, I hope, yet worn out of the memory of many. He that compares them with the holy life and happy death of Mr. *George Herbert*, as it is plainly, and, I hope, truly writ by Mr. *Iſaac Walton*, may in it find a perfect pattern for an humble and devout Chriſtian to imitate: And he that conſiders the reſtleſs lives and uncomfortable deaths of the other two (who always lived like the ſalamander, in the fire of contention), and conſiders the diſmal conſequences of ſchiſm and ſedition, will (if prejudice and a malicious zeal have not ſo blinded him that he cannot ſee reaſon) be ſo convinced, as to beg of God to give him a meek and quiet ſpirit; and that he may, by his grace, be prevented from being a buſie-body, in what concerns him not."

Such admonitions as theſe could only proceed from a heart overflowing with goodneſs,—a heart, as was ſaid concerning that of Sir Henry Wotton, "in which Peace, Patience, and calm Content did inhabit."

His intercourſe with learned men, and the frequent and familiar converſations which he held with them, afforded him many opportunities of obtaining ſeveral valuable anecdotes relative to the hiſtory of his contemporaries. The following literary curioſity is preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, at Oxford:

"ffor y^r ffriends q^ue this:

"I only knew Ben Johnſon: But my Lord of Winton knew him very "well[k]; and ſays, he was in the 6°, that is, the upermoſt fforme in Weſt-"minſter ſcole, at which time his father dyed, and his mother married a "brickelayer, who made him (much againſt his will) help him in his trade; "but in a ſhort time, his ſcole-maiſter, Mr. Camden, got him a better im-"ployment, which was to atend or acompany a ſon of Sir Walter Rauley's, "in his travills. Within a ſhort time after their return, they parted (I "think not in cole bloud) and with a loue ſutable to what they had in "their

[k] Dr. Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the early part of his life, was "one of Ben Jonſon's ſons."

" their travilles (not to be comended). And then Ben began to ſet up for " himſelfe in the trade by which he got his ſubſiſtance and fame, of which " I need not give any account. He got in time to have a 100l. a yeare " from the king, alſo a penſion from the cittie, and the like from many of the " nobilitie and ſome of the gentry, wch was well pay'd, for love or fere of his " railing in verſe, or proſe, or boeth. My lord told me, he told him he was " (in his long retyrement and ſicknes, when he ſaw him, which was often) " much afflickted, that hee had profained the ſcripture in his playes, and " lamented it with horror: yet that, at that time of his long retyrement, " his penſion (ſo much as came in) was giuen to a woman that gouern'd " him (with whome he liu'd and dyed nere the Abie in Weſtminſter;) and " that nether he nor ſhe tooke much care for next weike: and wood be " ſure not to want wine: of wch he uſually tooke too much before he went " to bed, if not oftener and ſoner. My lord tells me, he knowes not, but " thinks he was born in Weſtminſter. The queſtion may be put to Mr. " Wood very eaſily upon what grounds he is poſitive as to his being born " their; he is a friendly man, and will reſolve it. So much for braue Ben. " You will not think the reſt ſo tedyous as I doe this.

" ffor y^r^ 2 and 3 q^ue^ of Mr. Hill, and Bilingſley, I do neither know " nor can learn any thing worth teling you.

" for y^r^ two remaining q^uc^ of Mr. Warner[1], and Mr. Harriott this:

" Mr. Warner did long and conſtantly lodg nere the water-ſtares, or " market, in Woolſtable. Woolſtable is a place not far from Charing-" Croſſe, and nerer to Northumberland-houſe. My lord of Wincheſter " tells me, he knew him, and that he ſayde, he firſt found out the cercula-" tion of the blood, and diſcouer'd it to Dr. Haruie (who ſaid that 'twas he " (himſelfe) that found it) for which he is ſo memorally famoſe. Warner " had a penſion of 40l. a yeare from that Earle of Northumberland that lay " ſo long a priſner in the Towre, and ſom allowance from Sr. Tho. " Ayleſbury, and with whom he uſually ſpent his ſumer in Windſor Park, " and was welcom, for he was harmles and quet. His winter was ſpent at

 " the

[1] Of this great mathematician, ſee "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 461.

" the Woolſtable, where he dyed in the time of the parlement of 1640, " of which or whome, he was no louer.

" Mr. Herriott[m], my lord tells me, he knew alſo: That he was a more " gentile man than Warner. That he had 120l. a yeare penſion from the " ſaid Earle, who was a louer of ther ſtudyes) and his lodging in Syon- " houſe, where he thinks, or believes, he dyed.

" This is all I know or can learne for your friend; which I wiſh may be " worth the time and trouble of reading it.

Nou[r]. 22, 80. " J. W.

" I forgot to tell, that I heard the ſermon preacht for the Lady Danvers, " and have it: but thanke your ffriend[n]."

A life of temperance, ſobriety, and cheerfulneſs, is not ſeldom rewarded with length of days, with an healthful, honourable, and happy old age[o]. Iſaac Walton retained to the laſt a conſtitution unbroken by diſeaſe, with the full poſſeſſion of his mental powers. In a letter to Mr. Cotton from London, April 29, 1676, he writes; " Though I be more than a hundred miles from you, and in the eighty-third year of my age; yet I will forget both, and next month begin a pilgrimage to beg your pardon." He had written " The Life of Dr. Sanderſon," when he was in his eighty-fifth year. We find him active with his pen, after this period, at a time when, " ſilvered o'er with age," he had a juſt claim to a writ of eaſe. On the ninetieth anniverſary of his birth-day, he declares himſelf in his will to be of

[m] Of Mr. Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, ſee " Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 459. The opinions which have been entertained concerning the infidel principles of Hariot, are ſufficiently confuted by the inſcription on his monument, erected by his executors, Sir Thomas Ayleſbury and Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, in which he is expreſsly called, " Veritatis Indagator ſtudioſiſſimus, Dei triniunius Cultor piiſſimus."

[n] This was the ſermon preached by Dr. Donne, in the pariſh church of Chelſey, at the funeral of Lady Danvers, the mother of Mr. George Herbert. See " Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 331. Annexed to this extract, in Mr. Aubrey's MSS. in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, are theſe words: " This account I received from Mr. Iſaac Walton (who wrote Dr. Donne's life, &c.) Decemb. 2, 1680, he being then eighty-ſeven years of age. This is his own hand-writing, J. A."

[o] " Eſt etiam quieté et puré et eleganter actæ Ætatis placida ac lenis Senectus." *Cic. de Senectute.*—" Non cani, non rugæ, repenté auctoritatem arripere poſſunt: Sed honeſté acta ſuperior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis." *Ib.*

of perfect memory. In the very year in which he died, he prefixed a Preface to a work edited by him: "Thealma and Clearchus, a Paſtoral Hiſtory, in ſmooth and eaſy Verſe; written long ſince by John Chalkhill, Eſq. an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spenſer." Flatman, who is known both as a poet and a painter, hath in ſuch true colours delineated the character of his much-eſteemed friend, that it would be injurious not to tranſcribe the following lines:—

"TO MY WORTHY FRIEND MR. ISAAC WALTON, ON THE PUBLICATION OF THIS POEM.

"Long had the bright Thealma lay obſcure:
"Her beauteous charms, that might the world allure,
"Lay, like rough diamonds in the mine, unknown,
"By all the ſons of folly trampled on,
"Till your kind hand unveil'd her lovely face,
"And gave her vigour to exert her rays.
"*Happy old man! whoſe worth all mankind knows,*
"*Except himſelf; who charitably ſhows,*
"*The ready road to virtue and to praiſe,*
"*The road to many long and happy days,*
"*The noble arts of generous piety,*
"*And how to compaſs true felicity;*
"*Hence did he learn the art of living well:*
"*The bright Thealma was his oracle:*
"*Inſpir'd by her he knows no anxious cares,*
"*Through near a century of pleaſant years:*
"*Eaſy he lives, and cheerful ſhall he die*
"*Well ſpoken of by late poſterity,*
"As long as Spenſer's noble flames ſhall burn,
"And deep devotions throng about his urn;
"As long as Chalkhill's venerable name
"With noble emulation ſhall inflame
"Ages to come, and ſwell the rolls of fame.
"Your memory ſhall for ever be ſecure,
"And long beyond our ſhort-liv'd praiſe endure;
"As Phidias in Minerva's ſhield did live,
"And ſhar'd that immortality, he alone could give."

The claſſic reader, when he recollects the ſtory of Phidias, will eaſily acknowledge the propriety of the encomium paſſed on Mr. Walton, who ſecured

ſecured immortal fame to himſelf, while he conferred it upon others. That divine artiſt, having finiſhed his famous ſtatue of Minerva, with the moſt conſummate exquiſiteneſs of ſkill, afterward impreſſed his own image ſo deeply on her buckler, that it could not be effaced without deſtroying the whole work.

The beauties of "Thealma and Clearchus," and the character of the author, are not unaptly deſcribed in the editor's own language. He intimates in the Preface, that "the reader will find what the title declares, a Paſtoral Hiſtory, in ſmooth and eaſy verſe; and will in it find many hopes and fears finely painted and feelingly expreſſed. And he will find the firſt ſo often diſappointed, when fulleſt of deſire and expectation; and the latter ſo often, ſo ſtrangely, and ſo unexpectedly relieved by an unforeſeen Providence, as may beget in him wonder and amazement." He adds, that "the reader muſt here alſo meet with paſſions heightened by eaſy and fit deſcriptions of joy and ſorrow; and find alſo ſuch various events and rewards of innocent truth and undiſſembled honeſty, as is like to leave in him (if he be a good-natured reader) more ſympathizing and virtuous impreſſions than ten times ſo much time ſpent in impertinent, critical, and needleſs diſputes about religion." Mr. Chalkhill died before he had perfected even the fable of his poem. He was a man generally known in his time, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a ſcholar, very innocent and prudent; and indeed his whole life was uſeful, quiet, and virtuous[p]. So amiable were the manners, ſo truly excellent the character of all thoſe, whom Iſaac Walton honoured with his regard.

when

[p] In a volume, entitled "The Muſes Library, London, 1737," are inſerted extracts from this poem, viz. "The Arcadian Golden Age," "A Deſcription of the Prieſteſſes of Diana," "The Image of Jealouſy," "A Deſcription of the Power of the Witch Orandra, together with her Cave."

Dr. Johnſon has revived the celebrity of Mr. Chalkhill, by an elegant tranſlation of the following lines:

"Or we ſometimes paſs an hour
"Under a green willow,

"That

When Leoniceni, one of the moſt profound ſcholars in Italy, in the fifteenth century, was aſked by what art he had, through a period of ninety years, preſerved a ſound memory, perfect ſenſes, an upright body, and a vigorous health, he anſwered, "by innocence, ſerenity of mind, and temperance." Iſaac Walton, having uniformly enjoyed that happy tranquillity, which is the natural concomitant of virtue, came to the grave in a full age, "like as a ſhock of corn cometh in his ſeaſon."

"So would I live, ſuch gradual death to find,
"Like timely fruit, not ſhaken by the wind,
"But ripely dropping from the ſapleſs bough;
"And dying, nothing to myſelf would owe.
"Thus, daily changing, with a duller taſte
"Of leſs'ning joys, I by degrees would waſte;
"Still quitting ground by unperceiv'd decay,
"And ſteal myſelf from life and melt away." DRYDEN.

He died during the time of the great froſt, on the 15th day of December, 1683,

"That defends us from a ſhower
"Making earth our pillow;
"Where we may
"Think or pray,
"Before death
"Stops our breath.
"Other Joys
"Are but toys
"And to be lamented.

(See WALTON's COMPLETE ANGLER, P. I. Ch. 16.)

"Nunc per gramina fuſi
"Densâ fronde ſalicti,
"Molles ducimus horas.
"Hic, dum debita morti
"Paulum Vita moratur,
"Nunc reſcire priora,
"Nunc inſtare futuris,
"Nunc ſummi Prece ſanctâ
"Patris Numen adire eſt.
"Quicquid quæritur ultra
"Cæco ducit amore,
"Vel ſpe ludit inani
"Luctus mox pariturum.

(Dr. JOHNSON's WORKS, Vol. I. p. 190.)

1683, at Winchester, in the prebendal house of Dr. William Hawkins, his son-in-law, whom he loved as his own son. It was his express desire, that his burial might be near the place of his death, privately, and free from any ostentation, or charge. On the stone which covers his remains within the cathedral of that city these lines are yet extant.

"Here resteth the body of
"MR. ISAAC WALTON,
"Who died the 15th of Decr. 1683.
"Alas! he's gone before,
"Gone to return no more.
"Our panting breasts aspire
"After their aged Sire,
"Whose well-spent life did last
"Full ninety years and past.
"But now he hath begun
"That which will ne'er be done,
"Crown'd with eternal bliss,
"We wish our souls with his.
"VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI."

He survived his wife many years. She died in 1662, and was buried in our Lady's Chapel, in the Cathedral of Worcester. In the north wall is placed a small oval monument of white marble, on which is the following inscription, written, no doubt, by her affectionate husband.

Ex — — — terris
D. +
S. +. M.
Here lyeth buried so much as
could dye of ANA the wife of
IZAAC WALTON,
who was
a woman of remarkeable prudence,
and of the primitive piety: her great
and general knowledge being adorn'd
with such true humility, and blest
with soe much Christian meekness as
made her worthy of a more memorable
Monument.
She died (alas that she is dead)
the 17th of April, 1662, aged 52.
Study to be like her.

He had one ſon Iſaac, who never married, and a daughter Anne, the wife of Dr. William Hawkins, a Prebendary in the Church of Wincheſter, and Rector of Droxford in Hampſhire. Dr. William Hawkins left a ſon William, and a daughter Anne. The latter died unmarried. The ſon, who was a Serjeant at Law, and author of the well-known treatiſe of "The Pleas of the Crown," lived and died in the Cloſe of Sarum. He publiſhed a ſhort account of the life of his great uncle in 1713, and alſo his works in 1721, under the title of "The Works of the right reverend learned and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, 4 vol." Theſe works include only Ken's Poetical Compoſitions, which do not merit any great encomium, though they are written in a ſtrain of real piety and devotion. This William Hawkins had a ſon and three daughters, the eldeſt of whom Mrs. Hawes, relict of the Rev. Mr. Hawes, rector of Bemerton, is the only ſurviving perſon of that generation[q].

I have omitted to enumerate among the friends of our biographer Dr. George Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter[r], and Dr. Seth Ward, Biſhop of

 Saliſbury.

[q] The following ſepulchral inſcriptions are in the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter.

H. S. E.
GULIELMUS HAWKINS
S. T. P.
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ PREBENDARIUS,
QUI OBIIT JUL. 17.
ANNO DOMINI 1691.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 58.

H. S. E.
ANNA ETIAM IZAAC WALTON FILIA
QUÆ OBIIT SUPER-MEMORATI GULIELMI VIDUA
AUG. 18, 1715.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.

[r] Mr. Edward Powell, in commendatory Verſes, prefixed to "The Complete Angler," has commemorated the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between Biſhop Morley and Mr. Iſaac Walton.

"He that converſed with angels ſuch as were
"*Oldſworth* and *Fealty*, each a ſhining ſtar

"Shewing

Salisbury[f]. To be esteemed, to be caressed by men of such comprehensive learning and extraordinary abilities is honourable indeed. They were his choicest and most confidential companions. After the Restoration, he and his daughter had apartments constantly reserved for them in the houses of these two prelates. Here he spent his time in that mutual reciprocation of benevolent offices, which constitutes the blessedness of virtuous friendship. He experienced many marks of favour from the Bishop of Winchester, of whose kindness to him he has signified his remembrance in the ring bequeathed at his death, with this expressive motto, "A MITE FOR A MILLION." It was doubtless through his recommendation, that Ken obtained the

"Shewing the way to Bethlehem; each a saint:
"Compar'd to whom our zealots do but paint:
"*He that our pious and learn'd Morley knew,*
"*And from him suck'd wit and devotion too.*

A distinguished trait in the character of this prelate, who was first known to the world as the friend of Lord Falkland, and to whom Mr. Waller owns himself indebted for his taste of the ancient classics, may be discovered from the following narrative. "Being consulted by the mayor of a country corporation, what method he should take effectually to root out the fanatics in the year of his mayoralty; the bishop, now growing old, first preached friendliness to him, by ordering him a glass of Canary, as oft as he started the question in company; and next admonished him, when alone, to let those people live quietly, in many of whom, he was satisfied, there was the true fear of God, and who were not likely to be gained by rigour and severity." See "Kennet's Register," p. 816.

[f] After the Restoration, many divines, who had been educated among the Puritans, and had gone into the notions and scheme of Presbytery, upon mature thoughts, judged it lawful, and even eligible to *conform* for the honour and interest of the Christian religion, and for the peace and happiness of this church and nation. Among these was Dr. Seth Ward, celebrated for his mathematical studies. Having been appointed President of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1659, he was ejected in 1660: In which year he was admitted Precentor of Exeter, Dean in 1661, and Bishop in 1662. He was translated to the see of Salisbury in 1667, and upon his death, in 1688, was succeeded by Dr. Burnet, who has given a character of him in "The History of his own Times." A few years before his death, he suffered a fatal decay, not only in his body, but in his intellectual faculties. For, to the mortification of all human sufficiency and wisdom, this great master of reason so entirely lost the use of his understanding, as to become an object of compassion, and uneasiness to himself, and a burden to his friends and attendants. See "Dr. Walter Pope's Life of Seth, Bishop of Salisbury."

the patronage of Dr. Morley; who, having appointed him his chaplain, presented him to the rectory of Woodhay, in Hampshire; and then preferred him to the dignity of a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Winton.

The worthy son of a worthy father had no cause to complain that his merit was unnoticed, or unrewarded. Mr. Isaac Walton, junior, was educated at Christ Church, in Oxford. Whilst he was Bachelor of Arts, he attended his uncle, Mr. Ken[t], to Rome, where he was present at the jubilee appointed by Pope Clement X. in 1675. On this occasion Ken was wont to say, "That he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels; since, if it were possible, he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the Protestant religion than he was before." During his residence in Italy, that country, which is justly called the great School of Music and Painting, the rich Repository of the noblest productions of Statuary and Architecture, both ancient and modern, young Mr. Walton indulged and improved his taste for the fine arts[u]. On his return to England, he retired to the University of Oxford, to prosecute his studies. Having afterward accepted an invitation from Bishop Ward, to become his domestic chaplain, he was preferred to the rectory of Polshot, near Devizes in Wiltshire, and elected a Canon of Salisbury. He afforded much assistance to Dr. John Walker, when engaged in his "History of the Sufferings of the Clergy," communicating to him a variety of materials for that excellent work. He

 possessed

[t] He was not admitted to the degree of D. D. till 1679.

[u] "VIATOR. But what have we got here? a rock springing up in the middle of the river.—"This is one of the oddest sights that ever I saw.

"PISC. Why, Sir, from that pike that you see standing up there distant from the rock, "this is called Pike Pool; and young Mr. Isaac Walton was so pleased with it, as to draw it "in landscape in black and white, in a black book I have at home, as he has done several "prospects of my house also, which I keep for a memorial of his favour, and will shew you "when we come up to dinner.

"VIAT. Has young Mr. Isaac Walton been here too?

"PISC. Yes marry has he, Sir, and that again and again too; and in France since, and at "Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where; but I intend to ask him a great many hard "questions, so soon as I can see him, which will be, God willing, next month."——(*Complete Angler, P. II Ch. 6.*)

poſſeſſed all the amiable qualities that adorned the character of his father, a calm philanthropy, a genuine piety, an unaffected humility. It was at the houſe of this his nephew, that Dr. Ken was upon a viſit, when a ſtack of chimnies fell into his bed-chamber, Nov. 27, 1703, without doing him any harm; whilſt Dr. Kidder, his immediate ſucceſſor in the ſee of Bath and Wells, was unfortunately killed with his lady by a ſimilar accident, during the ſame ſtorm, in his palace at Wells. Mr. Walton, junior, died in 1716. His remains lie interred at the feet of his friend and patron, Biſhop Ward, in the Cathedral of Saliſbury[u].

It would be highly improper to aſcribe to Mr. Iſaac Walton that extent of knowledge, which characteriſes the ſcholar: Yet thoſe who are converſant in his writings will probably entertain no doubt of his acquaintance with books[x]. His frequent references to ancient and modern hiſtory, his ſeaſonable

[u] On a Plain flat ſtone is this inſcription:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS WALTON, HUJUS ECCLESIÆ
CANONICUS RESIDENTIARIUS,
PIETATIS NON FUCATÆ,
DOCTRINÆ SANÆ,
MUNIFICENTIÆ, BENEVOLENTIÆ
EXEMPLAR DESIDERANDUM.
PASTORIS BONI ET FIDELIS FUNCTUS OFFICIO PER ANNOS
38 IN PAROCHIA DE POLSHOT WILTS.
OBIIT VICESIMO NONO DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOMINI 1716,
ÆTATIS 69.

[x] Walton, in his "Complete Angler," frequently cites authors that have written only in Latin, as Geſner, Aldrovandus, Rondeletius, and others. The voluminous Hiſtory of Animals, compoſed by Geſner, is tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Edward Topſel. This tranſlation was publiſhed in 1658, and as it contained numberleſs particulars, extracted from the works of various writers concerning frogs, ſerpents, and caterpillar s, it furniſhed our author with much intelligence. "Pliny's Natural Hiſtory" was tranſlated by Dr. Philemon Holland. Alſo there were verſions of the tract of Janus Dubravius "de Piſcinis et Piſcium Naturâ," and of "Lebault's Maiſon ruſtique," ſo often referred to by him in the courſe of his Work. (See the "Biographical Dictionary, *London*, 1784.")——In "The Life of Dr. Sanderſon," Walton has quoted Thucydides. It muſt be remembered, that Hobbes printed his Engliſh tranſlation of "The Hiſtory of the Græcian War," in 1628.

able applications of ſeveral paſſages in the moſt approved writers, his alluſions to various branches of general ſcience, theſe and other circumſtances concur in confirming the aſſertion, that though he did not partake of the benefits of early erudition, yet in maturer age, he enlarged his intellectual acquiſitions, ſo as to render them fully proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. The fruits of his truly commendable induſtry he has generouſly conſecrated to poſterity. Deprived of the advantage of a learned education, he hath with great fidelity preſerved the memory of thoſe, who were "by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wiſe and eloquent in their inſtructions, honoured in their generations; and the glory of their times," each of whom, in his edifying pages, "being dead yet ſpeaketh." He may be literally ſaid "to have laboured not for himſelf only, but for all thoſe that ſeek wiſdom." How intereſting and affecting are many of his narratives and deſcriptions! The viſion of ghaſtly horror that preſented itſelf to Dr. Donne, at the time of his ſhort reſidence in Paris,—the pleaſant meſſages which Sir Henry Wotton and the good-natured prieſt exchanged with each other in a church at Rome, during the time of veſpers,—the domeſtic incidents which excited the tender commiſeration of Mr. Edwin Sandys and Mr. George Cranmer, while they viſited their venerable tutor at his country parſonage of Drayton Beauchamp[y],—the affectionate and patient condeſcenſion of Mr. George Herbert, compaſſionating the diſtreſſes of the poor woman of Bemerton,—the interview of Dr. Sanderſon and Mr. Iſaac Walton accidentally meeting each other in the ſtreets of London,—theſe and numberleſs other ſimilar paſſages will always be read with reiterated pleaſure.

We ſhall indeed be diſappointed, if we expect to find in the following volume the brilliancy of wit, the elaborate correctneſs of ſtyle, or the aſcititious graces and ornaments of fine compoſition. But that pleaſing ſimplicity of ſentiment, that plain and unaffected language, and, may I add, that

[y] A circumſtance mentioned in this narrative, reminds me of the deſcription of a domeſtic picture, in "The Life of Melanchthon," who was ſeen by one of his friends, "with one hand rocking the cradle of his child, with the other holding a book."

that natural eloquence[z], which pervades the whole, richly compenſates the want of elegance, and rhetorical embelliſhment[a]. Truth is never diſplayed to us in more grateful colours, than when ſhe appears, not in a gariſh attire, but in her own native garb, without artifice, without pomp. In that garb Iſaac Walton has arrayed her. Deeply impreſſed with the excellence of thoſe exemplary characters which he endeavours to portray, he ſpeaks no other language than that of the heart, and thus imparts to the reader his own undiſguiſed ſentiments, ſo friendly to piety and virtue. Aſſuredly, no pleaſure can be placed in competition with that, which reſults from the view of men ſedulouſly adjuſting their actions with integrity and honour. To accompany them, as it were, along the path of life, to join in their converſation, to obſerve their demeanour in various ſituations, to contemplate their acts of charity and beneficence, to attend them into their cloſets, to behold their ardour of piety and devotion; in ſhort, to eſtabliſh, as it were, a friendſhip and familiarity with them,—this doubtleſs, muſt be pronounced an happy anticipation of that holy intercourſe, which will, I truſt, ſubſiſt between beatified ſpirits in another and a better ſtate.

Thoſe parts of this volume are more peculiarly adapted to afford ſatiſfaction, improvement, and conſolation, in which is related the behaviour of theſe good men at the hour of death. Here we find ourſelves perſonally and intimately intereſted. "A battle or a triumph," ſays Mr. Addiſon, "are conjunctures, in which not one man in a million is likely to be engaged;

[z] This quality is, I truſt, not improperly applied to Mr. Iſaac Walton's writings. "True eloquence," ſays Milton, "I find to be none but the ſerious and hearty love of *truth:* And that, whoſe mind ſoever is fully poſſeſſed with a fervent deſire to know good *things*, and with the deareſt *charity* to infuſe the knowledge of them into others; when ſuch a man would ſpeak, his words, like ſo many nimble and airy ſervitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own places."

[a] I indulge myſelf in quoting only one paſſage. Having deſcribed the poignancy of Dr. Donne's grief on the death of his wife, the author pathetically concludes. "Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the reſtleſs night, and began the weary day in lamentations." The repetition is exquiſitely beautiful. It reminds me of Orpheus lamenting over Eurydice, in Virgil's Georgics:

"Te veniente Die, te decedente canebat."

gaged; but when we ſee a perſon at the point of death, we cannot forbear being attentive to every thing he ſays or does; becauſe we are ſure, that ſome time or other, we ſhall ourſelves be in the ſame melancholy circumſtances. The general, the ſtateſman, or the philoſopher, are perhaps characters which we may never act in; but the dying man is one whom, ſooner or later, we ſhall certainly reſemble." Thus while theſe inſtructive pages teach us how to live, they impart a leſſon equally uſeful and momentous—how to die[b]. When I contraſt the death-bed ſcenes, which our author has deſcribed, with that which is exhibited to us in the laſt illneſs of a modern philoſopher, who at that awful period had no ſource of conſolation but what he derived from reading Lucian and other books of amuſement, diſcourſing cheerfully with his friends on the trifling topics of common converſation, playing at his favourite game of whiſt, and indulging his pleaſantry on the fabulous hiſtory of "Charon and his Boat,"—without one ſingle act of devotion, without any expreſſion of penitential ſorrow, of hope, or confidence in the goodneſs of God, or in the merits of a Redeemer;—when this contraſt, I ſay, is preſented to my view, it is impoſſible not to adopt the language of the prophet, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my laſt end be like his[c]."

Is it neceſſary to add, that we are here preſented with two pleaſing portraits of female excellence, in the mother and in the wife of Mr. George Herbert? In the firſt were united all the perſonal and mental accompliſhments of her ſex: The enlightened piety of the latter, her native humility, her truly Chriſtian charity, exhibit her as a perfect model of every thing good and praiſe-worthy, while her marriage with Mr. Herbert, though attended with ſome unuſual circumſtances, proves inconteſtably, that an union, originating from "good ſenſe, from inclination, and from an equality

[b] Dr. Thomas Townſon, the late Archdeacon of Richmond, read "Iſaac Walton's Lives" during his laſt illneſs, with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp, and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of thoſe meek and holy men, deſcribed by the pleaſing and faithful biographer. He alſo read, and, aſſuredly, with ſimilar intentions, Mr. Herbert's "Country Parſon."—Of this pious and learned man, the ornament of the eighteenth century, ſee "Churton's Memoirs of Dr. Townſon."

[c] See "The Life of David Hume, Eſq." p. 43, 46.

equality of age, of dignity, and of fortune," can ſeldom fail of being attended with happineſs.

It is ſaid of Socrates, that all who knew him, loved him: And that if any did not love him, it was becauſe they did not know him. May we not affirm the ſame of that worthy perſon, who is the ſubject of this memoir? Such was the ſweetneſs of his temper, ſo affectionate was the regard which his friends profeſſed for him, that, in their epiſtolary correſpondence, though they were far ſuperior to him in rank and condition of life, they uſually addreſſed him in the language of tenderneſs and ſoothing endearment, ſtyling him, "Good Mr. Walton;" "Honeſt Iſaac;" "Worthy Friend;" "Dear Brother;" "Moſt Ingenious Friend." No one better deſerved theſe kind appellations. Let it always be recorded to his honour, that he *never retracted any promiſe, when made in favour even of his meaneſt friend* [d]. Neal, in his "Hiſtory of the Puritans," introduces an erroneous quotation from "Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker." Dr. Warburton, in his notes on that hiſtory (*Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p.* 895,) commenting upon this quotation, ſpeaks of "the quaint traſh of a fantaſtical life-writer." Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe that an epithet, more adapted to the aſperity of faſtidious cenſure, than to the cool and deliberate judgment of candid and equitable criticiſm, ſhould be juſtly applied to a man of real merit, who ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in promoting the cauſe of religion, as well by his writings as by his exemplary conduct.

The corporation of Stafford have publicly pronounced him their worthy and generous benefactor. Of his ſingular munificence to the poor inhabitants of this his native town, we find ſeveral inſtances in his life-time: And, at his death, he conſigned ſome bequeſts of conſiderable value to be appropriated to their uſe [e].

In

[d] See "Mr. Cotton's Epiſtle Dedicatory to his moſt worthy Father and Friend, Mr. Iſaac Walton the elder," prefixed to the Second Part of "The Complete Angler."

[e] It appears from a table fixed in the Church of St. Mary's, in the borough of Stafford, that Mr. Iſaac Walton gave, in his life-time, a garden of eight ſhillings a year, to buy coals for the poor yearly about Chriſtmas; and that he alſo gave twenty-two pounds, to build a ſtone-wall around St. Chad's churchyard in the ſaid borough; and did alſo ſet forth nine boys apprentices, beſtowing five pounds on each.

At

In an ancient inſcription yet extant, it is ſaid of a Roman Citizen, that he knew not how to ſpeak injurioufly—NESCIVIT MALEDICERE. We may obſerve of Iſaac Walton, that he was ignorant how to write of any man with acrimony and harſhneſs. This liberality of diſpoſition will ever recommend him to his readers. Whatever are the religious ſentiments of the perſons, whom he introduces to our notice, how widely ſoever they differ from his own; we diſcover not, in his remarks, the petulance of indiſcriminate reproach, or the malignancy of rude invective. The mild ſpirit of moderation breathes almoſt in every page. I can only lament one inſtance of ſeverity, for which however ſeveral pleas of extenuation might readily be admitted.

He is known to have acquired a reliſh for the fine arts. Of paintings and prints he had formed a ſmall, but valuable collection[f]. And we may preſume, that he had an attachment to and a knowledge of muſic. His affection for ſacred muſic[g] may be inferred from that animated, I had al-

f. moſt

At his death, he bequeathed one meſſuage or tenement, at Shalford in the county of Staffordſhire, with all the land thereto belonging, of the clear yearly value of twenty pounds ten ſhillings and ſixpence; of which, ten pounds are appropriated, every year, to the putting out two boys, ſons of honeſt and poor parents, to be apprentices to tradeſmen, or handicraftſmen; and five pounds to ſome maid-ſervant, that hath attained the age of twenty-one years (not leſs), and dwelt long in one ſervice; or to ſome honeſt poor man's daughter, that hath attained to that age, to be paid her at, or on the day of her marriage. What money or rent ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, he directs to be employed in the purchaſe of coals, for ſome poor people, that ſhall need them: the ſaid coals to be diſtributed in *the laſt week of January, or every firſt week in February; becauſe he conſiders that time to be the hardeſt, and moſt pinching time.*

[f] In his laſt will, he leaves to his ſon "all his books, not yet given, at Farnham Caſtell, and a *deſke of prints and pictures;* alſo a cabinet, in which are ſome little things, that he will value, though of no great worth."

[g] "He that at midnight, when the very labourer ſleeps ſecurely, ſhould hear, as I have often done, the ſweet deſcants, the natural riſing and falling, the doubling and redoubling of the nightingale's voice, might well be lifted above earth, and ſay, Lord, what muſic haſt thou provided for the ſaints in heaven, when thou affordeſt bad men ſuch muſic upon earth?"—*(Complete Angler, P. I. Ch. I.)*

moſt ſaid, that enraptured language which he adopts, whenever the ſubject occurs to him. It will be eaſily recollected, that Ken, his brother-in-law, whoſe morning, evening, and midnight hymns, endear his memory to the devout Chriſtian, began the duties of each day with ſacred melody. And that between men perfectly congenial in their ſentiments and habits of virtue, a ſimilarity of diſpoſition in this inſtance ſhould prevail, is far from being an unreaſonable ſuggeſtion. That he had an inclination to poetry, we may conclude from his early intimacy with Michael Drayton, "the Golden-mouthed Poet;" a man of an amiable diſpoſition, of mild and modeſt manners, whoſe poems are much leſs read than they deſerve to be. It is needleſs to remark that on the firſt publication of a work it was uſual for the friends of the author to prefix to it recommendatory verſes. Iſaac Walton, whoſe circle of friends was very extenſive indeed, often contributed his ſhare of encomium on theſe occaſions. To his productions of this kind no other commendations can be allowed, than that they were ſincere memorials of his grateful and tender regard. It muſt however be added, that he never debaſed his talents by offering the incenſe of Adulation, at the ſhrine of Infamy and Guilt. The perſons, whom he favoured with theſe marks of his attention, were not undeſerving of praiſe. Such, for inſtance, was William Cartwright, who, though he died in the thirtieth year of his age, was the boaſt and ornament of the Univerſity of Oxford, as a divine, a philoſopher, and a poet[h]. Dr. Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, declared him to be, "the utmoſt man can come to;" and Ben Jonſon was wont to ſay of him, "My ſon Cartwright writes all like a man." And here an opportunity preſents itſelf of aſcertaining the author of "The Synagogue, or the Shadow of the Temple," a collection of ſacred poems uſually annexed to Mr. George Herbert's "Temple." Mr. Walton has addreſſed ſome encomiaſtic lines to him, as his friend; and in "The Complete Angler," having inſerted from that collection, a little poem, entitled "The Book of Common Prayer," he expreſsly aſſigns it, and of courſe the whole work

[h] See "Comedies, Tragi-comedies, with other Poems, by William Cartwright, late Student of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the Univerſity. *London*, 1651."

work, to a reverend and learned divine, Mr. Chriſtopher Harvie, *that profeſſes to imitate Mr. Herbert, and hath indeed done ſo moſt excellently;* and of whom he adds pleaſantly, " you will like him the better, becauſe he is a " friend of mine, and I am ſure no enemy to angling[i]."

Faithfully attached to the Church of England, he entertained the higheſt veneration for her diſcipline and doctrines. He had not been an inattentive ſpectator of the rapid progreſs of the ſectaries, haſtening from one degree of injuſtice to another, until an univerſal anarchy conſummated the ruin of our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. In his Laſt Will he has announced an ingenuous and decided avowal of his religious principles, with a deſign, as it has been conjectured, to prevent any ſuſpicions that might ariſe of his inclination to Popery, from his very long and very true friendſhip with ſome of the Roman Communion[k]. But a full and explicit declaration of his Chriſtian faith, and the motives which enforced his ſerious and regular attendance upon the ſervice of that Church in which he was educated, are delivered, with great propriety and good ſenſe, in his own words. For thus he writes in a letter to one of his friends. " I go ſo conſtantly to the

[i] See " The Complete Angler," P. LXVIII. and p. 123, edit of 1773. We find the name of Chriſtopher Harvie ſubſcribed to " Verſes addreſſed to the Reader of the Complete Angler." He is probably the ſame perſon, who was the author of " The Right Rebel. *London*, 1661," 8vo.—a treatiſe, diſcovering the true uſe of the name, by the nature of rebellion; with the properties and practices of rebels, applicable to all, both old and new fanaticks: by Chriſtopher Harvey, Vicar of Clifton in Warwickſhire. He was a miniſter's ſon, in Cheſhire, and was educated in Braze-noſe College, Oxford. See " Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 268.

[k] A ſteady friendſhip ſubſiſted between Mr. Walton and Mr. James Shirley, who, having been ordained a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, renounced his religion, for that of the Church of Rome. He is deſcribed by Phillips, in his " Theatrum Poetarum," printed at London, in 1675, as " a juſt pretender to more than the meaneſt place among the Engliſh poets, but moſt eſpecially for dramatic poeſy; in which he hath written both very much, and, for the moſt part, with that felicity, that by ſome he is accounted little inferior to Fletcher himſelf." See " The Life of Mr. Herbert," p. 390.

" church ſervice to adore and worſhip my God, who hath made me of " nothing, and preſerved me from being worſe than nothing. And this " worſhip and adoration I do pay him inwardly in my ſoul, and teſtifie it " outwardly by my behaviour; as namely, by my adoration, in my for- " bearing to cover my head in that place dedicated to God, and only to his " ſervice; and alſo, by ſtanding up at profeſſion of the Creed, which con- " tains the ſeveral articles that I and all true Chriſtians profeſs and believe; " and alſo my ſtanding up at giving glory *to the Father*, *to the Son*, and *to* " *the Holy Ghoſt*, and confeſſing them to be three perſons, and but one " God.

" And, ſecondly, I go to church to praiſe my God for my creation and " redemption; and for his many deliverances of me from the many dan- " gers of my body, and more eſpecially of my ſoul, in ſending me redemp- " tion by the death of his Son, my Saviour; and for the conſtant aſſiſt- " ance of his holy ſpirit: a part of which praiſe I perform frequently in " the Pſalms, which are daily read in the public congregation.

" And, thirdly, I go to church publicly to confeſs and bewail my ſins, " and to beg pardon for them, for his merits who died to reconcile me and " all mankind unto God, who is both his and my father; and, as for the " words in which I beg this mercy, they be the Letany and Collects of " the Church, compoſed by thoſe learned and devout men, whom you and " I have truſted to tell us which is and which is not the written word of " God; and truſted alſo to tranſlate thoſe ſcriptures into Engliſh. And, in " theſe Collects, you may note, that I pray *abſolutely* for pardon of ſin, " and for grace to believe and ſerve God: But I pray for *health*, and *peace*, " and *plenty*, *conditionally;* even ſo far as may tend to his glory, and the " good of my ſoul, and not further. And this confeſſing my ſins, and " begging mercy and pardon for them, I do in my adoring my God, and " by the humble poſture of kneeling on my knees before him: And, in " this manner, and by reverend ſitting to hear ſome choſen parts of God's " word read in the public aſſembly, I ſpend one hour of the Lord's day " every forenoon, and half ſo much time every evening. And ſince this " uniform and devout cuſtom of joyning together in *public confeſſion*, and

" *praiſe*

"*praiſe*, and *adoration* of God, and in one manner, hath been neglected; "the power of Chriſtianity and humble piety is ſo much decayed, that it "ought not to be thought on but with ſorrow and lamentation; and I "think, eſpecially by the Nonconformiſts."

The reaſons which he has aſſigned for his uninterrupted attention to the diſcharge of another duty will afford ſatisfaction to every candid reader. "Now for preaching, I praiſe God, I underſtand my duty both to him and "my neighbour the better, by hearing of ſermons. And though I be de-"fective in the performance of both (for which I beſeech Almighty God to "pardon me), yet I had been a much worſe Chriſtian, if I had not fre-"quented the bleſſed ordinance of preaching; which has convinced me of "my many ſins paſt, and begot ſuch terrors of conſcience, as have begot in "me holy reſolutions. This benefit, and many other like benefits, I and "other Chriſtians have had by preaching: And God forbid that we ſhould "ever uſe it ſo, or ſo provoke him by our other ſins as to withdraw this "bleſſed ordinance from us, or turn it into a curſe, by preaching *hereſie* and "*ſchiſm;* which too many have done in the late time of rebellion, and indeed "now do in many conventicles; and their auditors think ſuch preaching is "ſerving God, when God knows it is contrary." Such were the rational grounds, on which he founded his faith and practice.

No excuſe is pleaded for again noticing the opportunities of improvement, which he experienced from his appropriated intimacy with the moſt eminent divines of the Church of England. Genuine friendſhip exiſts but among the virtuous: A friend is emphatically ſtyled "the medicine of "life;" the ſovereign remedy that ſoftens the pangs of ſorrow, and alleviates the anguiſh of the heart. We cannot therefore ſufficiently felicitate the condition of Iſaac Walton, who imbibed the very ſpirit of friendſhip; and that with men renowned for their wiſdom and learning; for the ſanctity of their manners, and the unſullied purity of their lives. "If," to uſe the words of one of his biographers, "we can entertain a doubt that Walton "was one of the happieſt of men, we ſhew ourſelves ignorant of the nature "of that felicity; to which it is poſſible even in this life for virtuous and "good men, with the bleſſing of God, to arrive[1]."

The

[1] "Biographical Dictionary." Ed. 1784.

The features of the countenance often enable us to form a judgment, not very fallible, of the diſpoſition of the mind. In few portraits can this diſcovery be more ſucceſsfully purſued than in that of Iſaac Walton. Lavater, the acute maſter of phyſiognomy, would, I think, inſtantly acknowledge in it the deciſive traits of the original:—Mild complaiſance, forbearance, mature conſideration, calm activity, peace, ſound underſtanding, power of thought, diſcerning attention, and ſecretly active friendſhip. Happy in his unblemiſhed integrity, happy in the approbation and eſteem of others, he inwraps himſelf in his own virtue. The exultation of a good conſcience eminently ſhines forth in the looks of this venerable perſon.

——————— "CANDIDA SEMPER
"GAUDIA, ET IN VULTU CURARUM IGNARA VOLUPTAS."

Hacket, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, uſed this motto, "SERVE GOD, AND BE CHEERFUL." Our Biographer ſeems to have adhered to this golden maxim, during the whole tenor of his life. His innocence, and the inoffenſive plainneſs of his manners, his love of truth, his piety, and the unbiaſſed rectitude of his conduct diffuſed over his mind a ſerenity and complacency, which never forſook him. Let no one, however elevated in rank or ſtation, however accompliſhed with learning, or exalted in genius, eſteem himſelf undervalued, when it ſhall be pronounced concerning him, that his religious and moral qualities are placed in the balance, or compared with thoſe of ISAAC WALTON.

ERRATA.

Page 21, *line* 32,—Angelicanæ, *read* Anglicanæ.
—— 30, —— 35,—motre, *read* matre.
—— 38, —— 14,—1608, *read* 1648.
—— 53, —— 16,—meditated, *read* mediated.
—— 96, —— 8,—restored to health, but he, *read* restored to health :" But he.
—— 121, —— 28,—Sir Henry Wotton, *read* Sir Edward Wotton.
—— 132, —— 20,—Angli, *read* Anglia.
—— 146, —— 27,—July 25, *read* July 27.
—— —— —— ——July 27, *read* July 31.
—— 147, —— 25,—KIII. *read* XIII.
—— 176, —— 32,—Dr. Marter, *read* Dr. Martin Luther.
—— 181, —— 20,—Odvardo, *read* Odoardo.
—— —— —— 21,—lango, *read* lungo.
—— —— —— 22,—fa, *read* fu.

WALTON'S LIVES.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER[a].

MY LORD,

I DID ſome years paſt, preſent you with a plain relation of the life of Mr. Richard Hooker, that humble man, to whoſe memory princes, and the moſt learned of this nation, have paid a reverence at the mention of his name.---And now, with Mr. Hooker's, I preſent you alſo the life of that pattern of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert; and, with his, the life of Dr. Donne, and your friend Sir Henry Wotton, all reprinted.---The two firſt were written under your roof; for which

[a] Dr. George Morley, diſtinguiſhed by his unſhaken loyalty and attachment to Charles I. was, at the Reſtoration, firſt made Dean of Chriſt-church, and then Biſhop of Worceſter. In 1662 he was tranſlated to the ſee of Wincheſter. Though nominated one of the Aſſembly of Divines, he never did them the honour, nor himſelf the injury, to ſit among them. During his abſence from his native country, he endeared himſelf to ſeveral learned foreigners, particularly to Andrew Rivettus, Heinſius, Salmaſius, and Bochart. He conſtantly attended the young exiled King; but not being permitted to follow him into Scotland, he retired to Antwerp, where for about three or four years he read the ſervice of the Church of England twice every day, catechized once a week, and adminiſtered the communion once a month to all the Engliſh in the town who could come to it, regularly and ſtrictly obſerving all the parochial duties of a clergyman, as he did afterwards at Breda for four years together. Walker, in his Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Clergy, having quoted Anthony Wood's character of this prelate, concludes with this exclamation: "O that but a ſingle portion of "his ſpirit might always reſt on the eſtabliſhed clergy!" He died in 1684.

(Le Neve, Fuller, and Wood.)

which reaſon, if they were worth it, you might juſtly challenge a Dedication: And indeed, ſo you might of Dr. Donne's and Sir Henry Wotton's; becauſe, if I had been fit for this undertaking, it would not have been by acquired learning or ſtudy, but by the advantage of forty years friendſhip, and thereby with hearing and diſcourſing with your Lordſhip, that hath enabled me to make the relation of theſe Lives paſſable (if they prove ſo) in an eloquent and captious age.

And indeed, my Lord, though theſe relations be well-meant ſacrifices to the memory of theſe worthy men, yet I have ſo little confidence in my performance, that I beg pardon for ſuperſcribing your name to them, and deſire all that know your Lordſhip, to apprehend this not as a Dedication (at leaſt by which you receive any addition of honour), but rather as an humble, and a more public acknowledgment of your long continued, and your now daily favours to,

My Lord,

Your moſt affectionate

And moſt humble ſervant,

IZAAK WALTON.

TO THE READER.

THOUGH the ſeveral introductions to theſe ſeveral lives have partly declared the reaſons how, and why I undertook them, yet ſince they are come to be reviewed, and augmented, and reprinted, and the four are now become one book [b], I deſire leave to inform you that ſhall become my reader, that when I ſometime look back upon my education and mean abilities, it is not without ſome little wonder at myſelf, that I am come to be publicly in print [c]. And though I have in thoſe introductions declared ſome of the accidental reaſons that occaſioned me to be ſo, yet let me add this to what is there ſaid, that by my undertaking to collect ſome notes for Sir Henry Wotton's writing the Life of Dr. Donne [d], and by Sir Henry's dying before he performed it, I became like thoſe men that enter eaſily into a law-ſuit or a quarrel, and having begun, cannot make a fair retreat and be quiet,

[b] He had not then written the life of Biſhop Sanderſon.

[c] In the preceding Epiſtle Dedicatory, our author modeſtly reſigns all claim to "acquired learning or ſtudy."

[d] Sir Henry Wotton addreſſed the following letter to Mr. Iſaac Walton, who had requeſted him to perform his promiſe of writing the life of Dr. Donne.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,

"I am not able to yield any reaſon, no not ſo much as may ſatisfie myſelf, why a moſt "ingenuous letter of yours hath lain ſo long by me (as it were in lavender) without an anſwer, "ſave this only, the pleaſure I have taken in your ſtyle and conceptions, together with a "meditation of the ſubject you propound, may ſeem to have caſt me into a gentle ſlumber. "But, being now awaked, I do herein return you moſt hearty thanks for the kind proſecu- "tion of your firſt motion, touching a juſt office due to the memory of our ever-memorable "friend; to whoſe good fame, though it be needleſs to add any thing (and, my age con- "ſidered, almoſt hopeleſs from my pen), yet I will endeavour to perform my promiſe, if it "were

quiet, when they desire it.—And really, after such a manner, I became engaged into a necessity of writing the life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of writing the life of his and my ever honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton.

And having writ these two lives, I lay quiet twenty years, without a thought of either troubling myself or others, by any new engagement in this kind; for I thought I knew my unfitness. But, about that time, Dr. Gauden[e] (then Lord Bishop of Exeter) published the life of Mr. Richard Hooker (so he called it), with so many dangerous mistakes, both of him and

" were but even for this cause, that in saying somewhat of the life of so deserving a man, I " may perchance over-live mine own.

" That which you add of Dr. King (now made Dean of Rochester, and by that translated " into my native soil) is a great spur unto me; with whom I hope shortly to confer about " it in my passage towards Boughton Malherb (which was my genial air), and invite him to " a friendship with that family, where his predecessor was familiarly acquainted. I shall " write to you at large by the next messenger (being at present a little in business), and then " I shall set down certain general heads, wherein I desire information by your loving dili- " gence, hoping shortly to have your own ever-welcome company in this approaching time " of the *fly* and the *cork*. And so I rest your very hearty poor friend to serve you.

" H. WOTTON."

(*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p.* 360. *edit.* 3.)

[e] Dr. John Gauden, born at Mayland in Essex, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was Dean of Bocking, and Master of the Temple, in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. In 1660 he was made Bishop of Exeter, and from thence promoted to Worcester in 1662, in which year he died, aged 57 years. " Cum Gilbertus Cantuariensis Majestatem ejus certiorem " fecisset Gaudenum vitâ functum esse, " non dubito" regerit Rex, " quin facile erit reperire " hominem eo longe digniorem, qui in ejus locum sufficiatur."

(*Vita Johannis Barwick, p.* 251.)

Whatever credit may be due to the animadversions of several writers on the conduct of Dr. Gauden, it will be only an act of justice to intimate, that the editor of the works of Mr. Richard Hooker, and the author of the Memoirs of the Life of Bishop Brownrigg, and of many other very valuable writings, deserves much of posterity. His way of preaching is said to have been most admirable and edifying. The King, when he nominated him to the see of Exeter, bore this testimony to his merit, by observing, " That he upon all occasions had " taken

and his books, that discoursing of them with his Grace Gilbert, that now is Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, he enjoined me to examine some circumstances, and then rectify the Bishop's mistakes, by giving the world a fuller and truer account of Mr. Hooker and his books than that bishop had done; and I know I have done so. And let me tell the reader, that till his Grace had laid this injunction upon me, I could not admit a thought of any fitness in me to undertake it; but when he twice enjoined me to it, I then declined my own, and trusted his, judgment, and submitted to his commands; concluding, that if I did not, I could not forbear accusing myself of disobedience, and indeed of ingratitude, for his many favours. Thus I became engaged into the third life.

For the life of that great example of holiness, Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: For though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: For I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition; especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not by me writ in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing: so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon

"taken worthy pains in the pulpit and at the press to rescue his Majesty and the church of "England from all the mistakes and heterodox opinions of several and different factions; "as also from the sacrilegious hands of those false brethren, whose scandalous conversation "was consummate in devouring church-lands, and then with impudence to make sacrilege "lawful." (*Wood's Ath. Ox. vol.* ii. *col.* 208.)——It must be owned, that he was one of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and that he took the covenant; to which, however, he made some scruples and objections, so that his name was soon struck out of the list. He abandoned the cause of the Parliament as soon as they relinquished their first avowed principles of reforming only, instead of extirpating monarchy and episcopacy.

upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none ſo great, as may not by this confeſſion purchaſe pardon from a good-natured reader.

And now I wiſh, that as that learned Jew, Joſephus, and others, ſo theſe men had alſo writ their own lives; but ſince it is not the faſhion of theſe times, I wiſh their relations or friends would do it for them, before delays make it too difficult. And I deſire this the more, becauſe it is an honour due to the dead, and a generous debt due to thoſe that ſhall live and ſucceed us, and would to them prove both a content and ſatisfaction. For when the next age ſhall (as this does) admire the learning and clear reaſon which that excellent caſuiſt Dr. Sanderſon (the late Biſhop of Lincoln) hath demonſtrated in his ſermons and other writings; who, if they love virtue, would not rejoice to know, that this good man was as remarkable for the meekneſs and innocence of his life, as for his great and uſeful learning; and indeed as remarkable for his fortitude in his long and patient ſuffering (under them that then called themſelves the godly party) for that doctrine which he had preached and printed in the happy days of the nation and the church's peace? And who would not be content to have the like account of Dr. Field[f], that great ſchoolman, and others of noted learning? And though I cannot hope that my example or reaſon can perſuade to this undertaking, yet I pleaſe myſelf, that I ſhall conclude my preface with wiſhing that it were ſo.

J. W.

[f] Dr. Richard Field, Chaplain to James I. and Dean of Glouceſter, died Nov. 21, 1616,—the friend of Mr. Richard Hooker, and one of the moſt learned men of his age. He was the author of a work entitled, "Of the Church, fol. 1610."—James I. when he firſt heard him preach, ſaid, "This is a *Field* for God to dwell in."—With the ſame alluſion Fuller calls him that learned divine, "whoſe memory ſmelleth like a *Field* that the Lord hath bleſſed."—Anthony Wood mentions a manuſcript, written by Nathaniel Field, Rector of Stourton, in Wiltſhire, containing "ſome ſhort Memorials concerning the Life of that Rev. Divine, Dr. Richard Field, Prebendary of Windſor," &c. The feature which peculiarly marked his diſpoſition, was an averſion to thoſe diſputes on the Arminian points, which then began to diſturb the peace of the church, and from which he dreaded the moſt unhappy conſequences. It was his ambition to concilitate, not to irritate.

TO MY OLD AND MOST WORTHY FRIEND,

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

ON HIS

LIFE OF DOCTOR DONNE, &c.

WHEN, to a Nation's loſs, the virtuous die,
There's juſtly due from ev'ry hand and eye
That can, or write, or weep, an elegy.

Which though it be the pooreſt, cheapeſt way,
The debt we owe, great merits to defray,
Yet it is almoſt all that moſt men pay.

And theſe are monuments of ſo ſhort date,
That with their birth they oft receive their fate;
Dying with thoſe whom they would celebrate.

And though to verſe great reverence is due,
Yet what moſt poets write proves ſo untrue,
It renders truth in verſe ſuſpected too.

Something more ſacred then, and more entire
The memories of virtuous men require,
Then what may with their funeral-torch expire:

This hiſtory can give; to which alone
The privilege to mate oblivion
Is granted, when deny'd to braſs and ſtone.

Wherein,

Wherein, my friend, you have a hand ſo ſure,
Your truths ſo candid are, your ſtyle ſo pure,
That what you write may Envy's ſearch endure.

Your pen, diſdaining to be brib'd or preſt,
Flows without vanity, or intereſt;
A virtue with which few good pens are bleſt.

How happy was my father then[g]! to ſee
Thoſe men he lov'd, by him he lov'd, to be
Reſcu'd from frailties and mortality.

Wotton and Donne, to whom his ſoul was knit,
Thoſe twins of virtue, eloquence, and wit,
He ſaw in Fame's eternal annals writ.

Where one has fortunately found a place,
More faithful to him than his marble was[h],
Which eating age[i], nor fire ſhall e'er deface.

A monument that, as it has, ſhall laſt
And prove a monument to that defac'd;
Itſelf, but with the world, not to be raz'd.

And even in their flow'ry characters,
My father's grave, part of your friendſhip ſhares;
For you have honour'd his in ſtrewing theirs.

Thus

[g] The character of Mr. Charles Cotton, the father of Charles Cotton the poet, is moſt beautifully delineated by the noble hiſtorian.

(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, fol. 1759. *p.* 16.*)*

[h] His monument in St. Paul's church before the late dreadful fire, 1665.

[i] Jamq; opus exegi, quod, nec Jovis Ira, nec *Ignis*,
Nec poterit Ferrum, nec *edax* abolere *Vetuſtas*. OVID.

Thus by an office, though particular,
Virtue's whole common-weal obliged are;
For in a virtuous act all good men ſhare.

And by this act, the world is taught to know,
That the true friendſhip we to merit owe,
Is not diſcharg'd by compliment and ſhow.

But yours is friendſhip of ſo pure a kind,
From all mean ends and intereſt ſo refin'd,
It ought to be a pattern to mankind:

For, whereas moſt men's friendſhips here beneath,
Do periſh with their friends' expiring breath,
Yours proves a friendſhip living after death;

By which the generous Wotton, reverend Donne,
Soft Herbert, and the church's champion
Hooker, are reſcu'd from oblivion.

For though they each of them his time ſo ſpent,
As rais'd unto himſelf a monument,
With which Ambition might reſt well content;

Yet their great works, though they can never die,
And are in truth ſuperlatively high,
Are no juſt ſcale to take their virtues by:

Becauſe they ſhew not how th' Almighty's grace,
By various and more admirable ways,
Brought them to be the organs of his praiſe.

But what their humble modeſty would hide,
And was by any other means deny'd,
Is by your love and diligence ſupply'd.

Wotton,—a nobler ſoul was never bred!—
You, by your narrative's moſt even thread,
Through all his labyrinths of life have led;

Through his degrees of honour and of arts,
Brought him ſecure from Envy's venom'd darts,
Which are ſtill levell'd at the greateſt parts;

Through all th' employments of his wit and ſpirit,
Whoſe great effects theſe kingdoms ſtill inherit,
The trials then, new trophies of his merit;

Nay, through diſgrace, which oft the worthieſt have,
Thro' all ſtate-tempeſts, thro' each wind and wave,
And laid him in an honourable grave.

And yours, and the whole world's beloved Donne,
When he a long and wild career had run,
To the meridian of his glorious ſun;

And being then an object of much ruth,
Led on by vanities, error, and youth,
Was long ere he did find the way to truth:

By the ſame clew, after his youthful ſwing,
To ſerve at his God's altar here you bring,
Where an once wanton muſe doth anthems ſing.

And though by God's moſt powerful grace alone
His heart was ſettled in Religion,
Yet 'tis by you we know how it was done;

And know, that having crucify'd vanities
And fixt his hope, he clos'd up his own eyes,
And then your friend a ſaint and preacher dies.

The

The meek and learned Hooker too, almoſt
I'the Church's ruins over-whelm'd and loſt,
Is by your pen recover'd from his duſt.

And Herbert;—he, whoſe education,
Manners, and parts, by high applauſes blown,
Was deeply tainted with Ambition,

And fitted for a court, made that his aim;
At laſt, without regard to birth or name,
For a poor country-cure does all diſclaim;

Where, with a ſoul compos'd of harmonies,
Like a ſweet ſwan, he warbles as he dies
His Maker's praiſe, and his own obſequies.

All this you tell us, with ſo good ſucceſs,
That our oblig'd poſterity ſhall profeſs,
T'have been your friend, was a great happineſs.

And now! when many worthier would be proud
T'appear before you, if they were allow'd,
I take up room enough to ſerve a crowd:

Where to commend what you have choicely writ,
Both my poor teſtimony and my wit
Are equally invalid and unfit:

Yet this, and much more, is moſt juſtly due,
Were what I write as elegant as true,
To the beſt friend I now or ever knew.

But, my dear friend, 'tis ſo, that you and I,
By a condition of mortality,
With all this great, and more proud world, muſt die:

In

In which eſtate I aſk no more of Fame,
Nor other monument of Honour claim,
Then that of your true friend, t'advance my name.

And if your many merits ſhall have bred
An abler pen to write your life when dead,
I think an honeſter cannot be read.

JAN. 17, 1672. CHARLES COTTON[k].

[k] The author of "Scarronides, or Virgile Traveſtie," and of other poems. He compoſed the ſecond part of "The Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation;" being a continuation of Iſaac Walton's tract on the ſame ſubject. In this work he thus ſpeaks of our Biographer: "I have the happineſs to know his perſon, and to be intimately acquainted with "him, and in him to know the worthieſt man, and to enjoy the beſt and trueſt friend any "man ever had: Nay, I ſhall yet acquaint you further, that he gives me leave to call him "Father, and I hope is not aſhamed to own me for his adopted Son."

COPY OF A LETTER

WRIT TO

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

BY

DOCTOR KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER[1].

HONEST IZAAK,

THOUGH a familiarity of more than forty years continuance, and the conſtant experience of your love, even in the worſt of the late ſad times, be ſufficient to endear our friendſhip; yet, I muſt confeſs my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private reſpect to many that know and love you, but by your new demonſtration of a public ſpirit, teſtified in a diligent, true, and uſeful collection of ſo many material paſſages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of

[1] Dr. Henry King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſon of Dr. John King, Biſhop of London, and great nephew of Robert King the firſt Biſhop of Oxford, and the laſt Abbot of Oſney, was the author of a new metrical tranſlation of the Pſalms, (of which he has given a modeſt account in a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, dated Oct. 30, 1651. *Uſher's Letters*, *p.* 567,) and alſo of poems, elegies, paradoxes, ſonnets, divers Latin and Greek poems, with ſome ſermons and religious tracts. Whilſt he was Dean of Rocheſter, he was ſuſpected of favouring the Puritans: The king, deſirous of gratifying that party, made him Biſhop of Chicheſter: But during the time of Cromwell's uſurpation, he ſuffered with his brethren, and was compelled to go abroad. He returned at the Reſtoration, and ſurviving that event nine years, died Oct. 1, 1669. He was advanced to a biſhopric, when Epiſcopacy was in a ſinking ſtate; "It being conceived," ſays Jacob, "the moſt effectual method for the reſtitution of that order, to prefer perſons not only of unblameable lives, and eminent for their learning, but ſuch as were generally beloved by all diſintereſted people. The king's choice amongſt theſe was very happy in this great divine, who lived a moſt religious life, and did not die till after his order was reſtored."

of which, ſince deſired by ſuch a friend as yourſelf, I ſhall not deny to give the teſtimony of what I know concerning him and his learned books; but ſhall firſt here take a fair occaſion to tell you, that you have been happy in chooſing to write the Lives of three ſuch perſons, as poſterity hath juſt cauſe to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen: of all which I ſhall give you my unfeigned cenſure.

I ſhall begin with my moſt dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's church, who not only truſted me as his executor, but three days before his death, delivered into my hands thoſe excellent Sermons of his, now made public; profeſſing before Dr. Winniff[m], Dr. Monford[n], and, I think, yourſelf then preſent at his bed-ſide, that it was by my reſtleſs importunity, that he had prepared them for the preſs; together with which (as his beſt legacy) he gave me all his ſermon-notes, and his other papers, containing an extract of near fifteen hundred authors. How theſe were

[m] Dr. Thomas Winniff, ſucceſſively Dean of Glouceſter and of St. Paul's, was promoted to the biſhopric of Lincoln in 1641, on the tranſlation of Dr. Williams to York. His mildneſs, meekneſs, and humility, were equalled only by his learning, integrity, and eloquence. He experienced vexation and trouble in his promotion, and was under the neceſſity of retiring to a country pariſh, Lambourn in Eſſex, where he died in 1654. A monument was there erected to his memory, on which he is deſcribed as one "Ex eorum numero Epiſcoporum, quibus "incumbebat nutantis Epiſcopatûs molem pietatis ac probitatis ſuæ Fulcimine ſuſtentare." He has been cenſured, along with Uſher, Prideaux, and others, for the moderation which he always diſplayed towards the Puritans, and indeed towards all thoſe who were not well affected to the church of England. But ſurely ſuch a moderation is more commendable than the harſhneſs and acrimony of intemperate zeal. Lord Clarendon naming four other divines, who were appointed biſhops at the ſame time with Dr. Winniff, characteriſes them as "of "great eminency in the church, frequent preachers, and not a man to whom the faults of "the then governing clergy were imputed, or againſt whom the leaſt objection could be "made."

[n] Dr. Thomas Mountfort, a Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, died Feb. 27, 1632. It appears from Strype's Life of Whitgift, that this perſon was ſuſpended for having clandeſtinely married Edward, Earl of Hertford, and Frances Pranel, widow of Henry Pranel, Eſq. without bans or licenſe. Upon his ſubmiſſion and earneſt deſire to be abſolved, he obtained abſolution from Archbiſhop Whitgift himſelf.

were got out of my hands, you, who were the meſſenger for them, and how loſt both to me and yourſelf, is not now ſeaſonable to complain: But, ſince they did miſcarry, I am glad that the general demonſtration of his worth was ſo fairly preſerved, and repreſented to the world by your pen in the hiſtory of his life; indeed ſo well, that beſide others, the beſt critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales[o] of Eaton College) affirmed to me, he had not ſeen a life written with more advantage to the ſubject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's[p].

After the performance of this taſk for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for your friend Sir Henry Wotton; betwixt which two there was a friendſhip begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendſhip of age: and doubtleſs this excellent perſon had writ the life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him; by which means his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy menage of your pen: a work which you would have declined, if imperious perſuaſions had not been ſtronger than your modeſt reſolutions againſt it. And I am thus far glad, that the firſt life was ſo impoſed upon you, becauſe it gave an unavoidable cauſe of writing the ſecond: If not; it is too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry, without this teſtimony added to yours; that he was a man of as florid a wit, and as elegant a pen, as any former (or ours, which in that kind is a moſt excellent,) age hath ever produced.

And

[o] The ever memorable John Hales, Greek Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Oxford, and afterward Fellow of Eton College, from his vaſt erudition, called "The Walking Library," was eſteemed to be one of the greateſt ſcholars in Europe. Having attended the Ambaſſador of James I. to the Synod of Dort, he compoſed, in a ſeries of letters, a regular and moſt faithful narrative of the proceedings of that aſſembly. His adherence to the royal cauſe, involved him in diſtreſs. Obliged to ſell his moſt valuable collection of books at a low price, he died in extreme miſery, May 19, 1656, aged 72 years. It is juſtly remarked, that "it was none of the leaſt injuries of thoſe times, that ſo eminent a man as Hales ſhould live and die under ſuch neceſſities as he did, by which his life was ſhortened."

[p] This was ſpoken of the firſt edition of Iſaac Walton's Life of Dr. Donne, which was printed in 1640; and not, as Wood affirms, in 1653.

And now having made this voluntary obſervation of our two deceaſed friends, I proceed to ſatisfy your deſire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Schiſmaticorum Malleus*, ſo great a champion for the Church of England's rights againſt the factious torrent of Separatiſts, that then ran high againſt church-diſcipline; and in his unanſwerable books continues to be ſo againſt the unquiet diſciples of their ſchiſm, which now under other names ſtill carry on their deſign[q], and, who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the ſcarce-cloſed wounds of a newly-bleeding ſtate and church.

And firſt, though I dare not ſay that I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory reports to the honour of St. Ignatius[r], "that he lived in the time of St. John, and had ſeen him in his childhood." So, I alſo joy, that in my minority I have often ſeen Mr. Hooker with my father, who was after Biſhop of London; from whom, and others, at that time, I have heard moſt of the material paſſages which you relate in the Hiſtory of his Life; and, from my father received ſuch a character of his learning, humility, and other virtues, that, like jewels of invaluable price, they ſtill caſt ſuch a luſtre, as envy or the ruſt of time ſhall never darken.

From my father I have alſo heard all the circumſtances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accuſers, and gained their confeſſion: and I could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the ſame grave with the malicious authors[s].

I

[q] The Separatiſts from the Church of England, were originally called by a general term, "Puritans." Split into parties, they were ſoon diſcriminated by the various appellations of "Preſbyterians," "Independents," "Browniſts," "Familiſts," &c.

[r] Ignatius, Biſhop of Antioch, is in the liſt of *the Apoſtolic Fathers*, among whom were placed ſuch Chriſtian doctors as had converſed with the apoſtles themſelves, or their diſciples. This pious and venerable man, who being expoſed to wild beaſts by the order of Trajan, ſuffered martyrdom with the utmoſt conſtancy, was educated under the apoſtle and evangeliſt St. John, and intimately acquainted with St. Peter and St. Paul.

[s] The writer of this letter experienced, in his own perſon, a pleaſure equal to any, of which human nature is capable, that of vindicating the injured fame of a beloved parent. When

Dr.

I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker, was occasioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer; who, after the death of Mr. Hooker, was so careful to preserve his invaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus Christi College, to transcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers; many of which were imperfect: for his study had been rifled, or worse used, by Mr. Chark, and another, of principles to like his. But these papers were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer[t], who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father, after whose death they rested in my hand, till Dr. Abbot[u], then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, by authorizing Dr. John Barkeham[x] to require, and bring them to him to his palace in Lambeth; at which time, I have heard, they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of

Dr. John King, Bishop of London, a man of solid gravity and piety, and of such an excellent volubility of tongue as well as invention, that James I. denominated him "*the King* of Preachers," was traduced as having abjured that religion, which in the course of a long life he had uniformly defended and adorned, this his son detected the falsehood of the accusation, and in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, clearly exposed the artifices of an infamous, but at that time no unusual calumny.

[t] President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. After the death of Mr. Hooker he published the five books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, with an excellent preface, subscribed I. S. the initial letters of his name. *(See Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. I. p. 393.)*

[u] The character of this prelate, justly to be admired for his truly Christian moderation and mildness, has been most happily pourtrayed by the pen of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, for many years the venerable Speaker of the British House of Commons, in "The Life of Dr. George Abbot, &c. reprinted with some additions, &c. Guildford, 1777."

[x] Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, as well as to his successor, Dr. Abbot, and Dean of Bocking in Essex: An able divine and an amiable man. To his knowledge in divinity he added other literary accomplishments, being an accurate historian, well skilled in coins and antiquities, and so great a proficient in heraldry, that he is generally supposed to have been the author of that celebrated work, which was published in the name of John Guillim. He was also the editor of Crakanthorpe's book against the Archbishop of Spalato, entitled "Defensio Ecclesiæ," &c. Speed, at the conclusion of his History of Great Britain, gratefully acknowledges "The most acceptable helps both of books and collections (especially in matters re-"moter from our times) from that worthy divine, Master John Barkeham, a gentleman com-"posed of learning, vertue, and courtesie, as being no lesse ingeniously willing, than learn-"edly able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours." He bequeathed his valuable coins to Archbishop Laud, through whose munificence they were deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Archbiſhop Laud; and were then, by the brethren of that faction, given, with all the library, to Hugh Peters[7], as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Church's confuſion: And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand; yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them ſpeak that language for which the faction then fought, which indeed was—*to ſubject the ſovereign power to the people.*

But I need not ſtrive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his prince whilſt he lived, the ſorrow expreſſed by King James at his death, the value our late ſovereign (of ever-bleſſed memory) put upon his works, and now, the ſingular character of his worth by you, given in the paſſages of his Life, eſpecially in your Appendix to it, do ſufficiently

[7] Hugh Peters, a man of looſe morals, having been expelled in the earlier part of his life from the Univerſity of Cambridge, became afterward an itinerant preacher in New England, Holland, and other countries, and was at length appointed one of Oliver Cromwell's Chaplains, and a Colonel in the army. He and Dr. Burgeſs are claſſed among thoſe precious-gifted teachers, to whom Butler alludes in the heroical epiſtle of Hudibras to his Lady, ver. 305, 306. He occaſionally preached the lecture at Stepney, and from thence was called by William Greenhill, the noted Independant, "The Evening Star of Stepney." Many inſtances are recorded of the violence of his zeal againſt monarchy. When Oxford was ſurrendered in 1646, for the uſe of the Parliament, he was one of the chaplains who, by propagating the moſt ſeditious doctrines in the town and in the univerſity, endeavoured to ſeduce the inhabitants and the young ſcholars from their allegiance.——In the pulpit he not unfrequently acted the part of a buffoon or merry-andrew. He uſed to ſay, that it would never be well till 150—"The three L's, the Lords, the Levites, and the Lawyers," were put down. He preached divers ſermons to perſuade the army to deſtroy the king, whom he compared to Barabbas.——It was given in evidence againſt him, that he was wont to call the king *tyrant* and *fool*; and that, on the Sunday after his Majeſty was brought to his trial, in the courſe of his ſermon, he uttered theſe words,—"Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in "peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation."

Such was the man who got poſſeſſion, not only of the Archbiſhop's library at Lambeth, but alſo of the invaluable one which belonged to the King. A commiſſion was granted by Charles II. dated Sept. 10, 1660, to Thomas Roſs, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, and Elias Aſhmole, Eſquires, empowering them to examine Hugh Peters concerning the books and medals which he was ſuſpected of having embezzled. It was well known that he had ranſacked the royal library and cloſet, and that their moſt valuable curioſities were taken out, and diſperſed over Europe. In his examination [*Biogr. Brit. vol. II. p.* 230. *K.*] he declared, that he gave up the key and cuſtody of them to Major General Ireton.—Of his behaviour, during his trial and at his execution, ſee *the State Trials.*

ſufficiently clear him from that imputation. And I am glad you mention how much value Thomas Stapleton, Pope Clement the VIII. and other eminent men of the Romiſh perſuaſion, have put upon his books: Having been told the ſame in my youth by perſons of worth that have travelled Italy.

Laſtly, I muſt again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other perſon, by reaſon of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the Cranmers (my old friends alſo), who have been men of noted wiſdom, eſpecially Mr. George Cranmer, whoſe prudence added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very uſeful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchleſs books: one of their letters I herewith ſend you, to make uſe of if you think fit. And let me ſay further; you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's beſt friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbiſhop Whitgift, of whoſe incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more ſhort and ſignificant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for the learned Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongſt the ſurviving monuments of whoſe learning (give me leave to tell you ſo) two are omitted; his edition of Euclid[z], but eſpecially his tranſlation of "King James's Apology for the Oath of Allegeance," into elegant Latin; which flying in that dreſs as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave ſent to Salamanca unto Franciſcus Suarez[a] (then reſiding there as preſident of that college) with a command to

[z] Or rather his works entitled "Prælectiones tredecim in Principium Elementorum Euclidis Oxoniæ Habitæ. Oxon, 1621." 4to. Sir Henry Savile having read thirteen lectures upon the firſt eight propoſitions of Euclid, ſurrendered the chair to Mr. Briggs, taking leave of his audience in his laſt lecture with theſe words, "Trado Lampadem ſucceſſori meo, "doctiſſimo viro, qui vos ad intima Geometriæ Myſteria perducet."

(Ward's Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 121.)

[a] A celebrated Jeſuit, the author of many controverſial and other tracts. He was born in 1548, and died in 1617. His works are contained in 23 vol. folio. The treatiſe here alluded to is entitled "Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ, contra Angelicanæ Sectæ Errores, una cum Reſponſione ad Jac. Regis Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis. Mag. 1619." A copy of this book was burnt in England by public authority. It is related of him, that he met death with the moſt joyful tranquillity and compoſure of mind, uttering theſe words, "Non puta-

"bam

to anſwer it. And it is worth noting, that when he had perfected the work which he calls "Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ," it was tranſmitted to Rome for a view of the inquiſitors; who, according to their cuſtom, blotted out what they pleaſed, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been uſed ſince his death) added whatſoever might advance the Pope's ſupremacy, or carry on their own intereſt; commonly coupling together *Deponere et Occidere*, the depoſing, and then killing of princes. Which cruel and unchriſtian language, Mr. John Saltkel[b], the Amanuenſis to Suarez, when he wrote that anſwer (but ſince a convert, and living long in my father's houſe), often profeſſed the good old man (whoſe piety and charity Mr. Saltkel magnified much) not only diſavowed, but deteſted. Not to trouble you further; your reader (if according to your deſire, my approbation of your work carries any weight), will here find many juſt reaſons to thank you for it; and poſſibly for this circumſtance here mentioned (not known to many), may happily apprehend one to thank him, who heartily wiſhes your happineſs, and is unfeignedly,

Sir, your ever-faithful and affectionate old friend,

CHICHESTER, Nov. 17, 1664.

HENRY CHICHESTER.

"bam tam dulce, tam ſuave eſſe mori." (*Dictionaire Hiſtorique, &c. à Paris*, 1777.)——Dr. Robert Abbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury, delivered a courſe of lectures againſt Suarez. They were publiſhed after his death by his ſon, with this title, "De ſupremâ poteſtate regiâ exercitationes habitæ in Academiâ Oxonienſi, contra Rob. Bellarmine et Francis Suarez. Londini, 1619." 4to.——Pope Paul V. diſhonoured his title of Holineſs, and caſt an indelible ſtain on his infallibility, by an expreſs approbation of the doctrine advanced in the writings of Suarez in defence of the murder of Kings.

[b] Mr. John Saltkel or Salkeild; for ſome years a Member of the Church of Rome and a Jeſuit. He was profoundly read in theological and other authors; but, being for the fame of his learning brought before King James, he was ſo far convinced by his Majeſty's arguments, as to come over to the Church of England, for which he was wont to ſtyle himſelf "The Royal Convert," and the King honoured him ſo far, as to call him "The Learned Salkeld" in his works and writings. (*Echard's Hiſtory of England, vol. II. p.* 871.)—— "Never had England more learned biſhops and doctors: Which of them ever returned "from his majeſty's diſcourſe without admiration? What king chriſtened, hath written ſo "learned volumes? To omit the reſt, his laſt of this kind, wherein he hath ſo held up Car- "dinal Bellarmine and his maſter Pope Paulus, is ſuch, that Pleſſis and Mouline, the two great "lights of France, profeſs to receive their light in this diſcourſe from his beams, and the "learned Jeſuit, Salkeild, could not but be converted with the neceſſity of thoſe demonſtra- "tions" (*Holy Panegyric, Biſhop Hall's Works, p.* 1142.)——Mr. Salkeld became Rector of Church Taunton in Devonſhire, in 1635, and was afterward, for his loyalty, deprived of his preferment, and died at Ulculm, in Feb. 1659-60.

THE LIFE

OF

DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

LATE DEAN OF SAINT PAUL's CHURCH, LONDON.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IF that great maſter of language and art, Sir Henry Wotton, the late Provoſt of Eaton College, had lived to ſee the publication of theſe ſermons[c], he had preſented the world with the Author's life exactly written; and it was pity he did not; for it was a work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it: betwixt whom, and the Author, there was ſo mutual a knowledge, and ſuch a friendſhip contracted in their youth, as nothing but death could force a ſeparation. And, though their bodies were divided, their affections were not: for that learned Knight's love followed his friend's fame beyond death and the forgetful grave[d]; which he teſtified by entreating me, whom he acquainted with his deſign, to inquire of ſome particulars that concerned it, not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, might make my diligence uſeful: I did moſt gladly undertake the employment, and continued it with great content till I had made my collection ready to be augmented and completed by his matchleſs pen: but then, death prevented his intentions.

When I heard that ſad news, and heard alſo that theſe ſermons were to be printed, and want the Author's life, which I thought to be very remarkable: Indignation or grief (indeed I know not which) tranſported me ſo far, that I reviewed my forſaken collections, and reſolved the world ſhould ſee the beſt plain picture of the Author's life that my artleſs pencil, guided by the hand of truth, could preſent to it.

 And

[c] It muſt be remembered that the life of Dr. Donne was originally prefixed to the firſt volume of his ſermons, printed in 1640.

[d] The grave which cauſes forgetfulneſs. In this ſenſe the epithet is uſed in Milton——

——————" If the ſleepy drench
" Of that *forgetful* lake benumb not ſtill. PAR. LOST, B. II. ver. 73.

" Obliviofo lævia Maſſico
" Cibaria exple. HOR. L. II. Od. VII. ver. 21.

Ουτι πω ἰις Αιδαν γε τον ἰκλελαθοντα φυλαξης. THEOCR. Ειδυλλ. α. 63.

And if I ſhall now be demanded, as once Pompey's poor bondman was[c];—(the grateful wretch had been left alone on the ſea-ſhore, with the forſaken dead body of his once glorious lord and maſter: and, was then gathering the ſcattered pieces of an old broken boat to make a funeral pile to burn it, which was the cuſtom of the Romans)—"Who art thou that alone "haſt the honour to bury the body of Pompey the great* ?" ſo, who am I that do thus officiouſly ſet the Author's memory on fire? I hope the queſtion will prove to have in it, more of wonder than diſdain. But wonder indeed the reader may, that I, who profeſs myſelf artleſs, ſhould preſume with my faint light to ſhew forth his life whoſe very name makes it illuſtrious! but be this to the diſadvantage of the perſon repreſented: Certain I am, it is to the advantage of the beholder, who ſhall here ſee the Author's picture in a natural dreſs, which ought to beget faith in what is ſpoken; for he that wants ſkill to deceive, may ſafely be truſted.

And if the Author's glorious ſpirit, which now is in heaven, can have the leiſure to look down and ſee me, the pooreſt, the meaneſt of all his friends, in the midſt of his officious duty, confident I am, that he will not diſdain this well-meant ſacrifice to his memory: for, whilſt his converſation made me and many others happy below, I know his humility and gentleneſs were then eminent; and, I have heard divines ſay, thoſe virtues that were but ſparks upon earth, become great and glorious flames in heaven.

Before I proceed further, I am to entreat the reader to take notice, that when Doctor Donne's Sermons were firſt printed, this was then my excuſe for daring to write his life; and, I dare not now appear without it.

[c] Philip, the freed-man of Pompey, watched the dead body of his maſter, till the multitude had ſatisfied their curioſity; and then waſhing it with ſea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding ſome rotten planks of a little fiſherman's boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. Lucan has given a long deſcription of Pompey's unhappy deſtiny. According to his account, the body was thrown into the ſea, and Servius Codrus, once his quæſtor and his friend, brought it to ſhore, and paid the laſt honours to it.

E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus
Quæſtor ab Idalio Cinyrææ litore Cypri:
In fauſtus magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Auſus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæſitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretq; ad litora magnum.

LUCAN. L. VIII. ver. 720.

* Plutarch's Lives.

THE LIFE OF JOHN DONNE.

MASTER John Donne was born in London, in the year 1573, of good and virtuous parents: and though his own learning and other multiplied merits may justly appear sufficient to dignify both himself and his posterity, yet the reader may be pleased to know, that his father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that deserve and have great reputation in that country.

By his mother he was descended of the family of the famous and learned Sir Thomas Moor[f], sometime Lord Chancellor of England; as also from that worthy and laborious Judge Rastall[g], who left posterity the vast statutes of the law of this nation most exactly abridged.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and in his eleventh year was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin Tongue. This, and some other of his remarkable abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this

 age

[f] Fuller's Church History, B. x. p. 112.

[g] John Rastall, a celebrated printer, married Elizabeth the sister of Sir Thomas Moor. William, their son, was brought up to the bar, and was appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench in 1558. Upon the demise of Queen Mary, he steadily adhered to his religion, left England, and spent the remainder of his days at Louvain. He published the works of his uncle Sir Thomas Moor in one volume. He also formed a collection of and wrote a comment on the statutes, and a very useful book entitled "Les Termes de la Ley," or "An explication of certain difficult and obscure words and terms of the common laws and statutes of this realm now in use." The author of several tracts against Bishop Jewell was John Rastall, who left the Church of England, in which he had been ordained priest, went to Rome, and, with this his kinsman was admitted into the society of Jesus.

age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula[h]; of whom ſtory ſays, that he was rather born, than made wiſe by ſtudy.

There he remained ſome years in Hart-Hall[i], having, for the advancement of his ſtudies, tutors of ſeveral ſciences to attend and inſtruct him, till time made him capable, and his learning, expreſſed in public exerciſes, declared him worthy to receive his firſt degree in the ſchools, which he forbore by advice from his friends, who being for their religion of the Romiſh perſuaſion, were conſcionably averſe to ſome parts of the oath that is always tendered at thoſe times, and not to be refuſed by thoſe that expect the titulary honour of their ſtudies.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was tranſplanted from Oxford to Cambridge[k]; where, that he might receive nouriſhment from both ſoils, he ſtayed till his ſeventeenth year; all which time he was a moſt laborious ſtudent,

[h] Picus Prince of Mirandula, a duchy in Italy, now the property of the Dukes of Modena, was born in 1463, and having reſigned his ſovereignty in favour of his nephew, he died in 1494. He is ſaid to have made ſo wonderful a progreſs in ſtudy, as to underſtand twenty-two languages at the age of eighteen years, and at the age of twenty-four years to diſpute with great ſucceſs, *de omni ſcibili.* "Picus Mirandula 32 ætatis anno quo obiit omni diſciplinarum genere non modo tinctus, ſed plane imbutus erat, ut Encyclopediam Scientiarum jure ſibi vindicare potuerit, longiore vitâ plané digniſſimus princeps." *(Scaligerana.)*——He was honoured with this pompous Epitaph

"Hic ſitus eſt Picus Mirandula: cætera norunt
"Et Tagus et Ganges, forſan et Antipodes."

On which it has been juſtly remarked, that "his name, then celebrated in the remoteſt corners of the earth, is now almoſt forgotten, and his works then ſtudied, admired, and applauded, are now mouldering in obſcurity." *(Dr. Johnſon's works, vol. 2. p. 273.)*——The life of this prodigy of learning, written with great elegance of language by John Francis Prince of Mirandula is inſerted in *Bates's Vitæ ſelectorum, &c. p.* 90.

[i] "He continued for three years at Hart-Hall, which was ſo called from Elias de Hertford, who lived in the tenth year of Edward the firſt. An. Dom. 1282. In 1312 it changed its name to Stapledon Hall, but upon the ſettlement of Exeter College it returned to its former appellation." *(Le Neve.)*——In 1740 it was by a royal charter erected into a college by the name of "Hertford College in the Univerſity of Oxford," to conſiſt of a principal, four ſenior, and eight junior Fellows.

[k] To Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was fellow pupil with Mr. Samuel Brook, who ſucceeded Dr. Leonard Maw in the maſterſhip of that college.

ſtudent, often changing his ſtudies, but endeavouring to take no degree, for the reaſons formerly mentioned.

About the ſeventeenth year of his age, he was removed to London, and then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, with an intent to ſtudy the law; where he gave great teſtimonies of his wit, his learning, and of his improvement in that profeſſion: which never ſerved him for other uſe than an ornament and ſelf-ſatisfaction.

His father died before his admiſſion into the ſociety; and being a merchant, left him his portion in money. (It was 3000l.) His mother and thoſe to whoſe care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him tutors both in the mathematics, and in all the other liberal ſciences, to attend him. But with theſe arts they were adviſed to inſtil into him particular principles of the Romiſh Church; of which thoſe tutors profeſt (though ſecretly) themſelves to be members.

They had almoſt obliged him to their faith; having for their advantage, beſides many opportunities, the example of his dear and pious parents, which was a moſt powerful perſuaſion, and did work much upon him, as he profeſſeth in his preface to his Pſeudo-Martyr[1]; a book of which the reader ſhall have ſome account in what follows.

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himſelf to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Chriſtian. And reaſon, and piety had both perſuaded him, that there could be no ſuch ſin as Schiſm, if an adherence to ſome viſible church were not neceſſary.

About the nineteenth year of his age; he being then unreſolved what religion to adhere to, and conſidering how much it concerned his ſoul to chooſe the moſt orthodox, did therefore (though his youth and health, promiſed him a long life), to rectify all ſcruples that might concern that, preſently

[1] "I had alonger work to do than many other men: for I was firſt to blot out certaine impreſſions of the Romane religion and to wreſtle both againſt the examples and againſt the reaſons, by which ſome hold was taken, and ſome anticipations early layde upon my conſcience, both by perſons who by nature had a power and ſuperiority over my will, and others who by their learning and good life ſeemed to me juſtly to claime an intereſt for the guiding and rectifying of mine underſtanding in theſe matters." (*Preface to the Pſeudo-martyr*, which is pronounced by Mr. Granger to be the moſt valuable of Donne's proſe-writings.)

(*Biographical Hiſt. vol* 1. *p.* 357.)

presently lay aside all study of the law, and of all other sciences that might give him a denomination; and begun seriously to survey and consider the body of divinity[m], as it was then controverted betwixt the reformed and the Roman Church. And as God's blessed spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his own words in his preface to Pseudo-martyr) so he calls the same holy spirit to witness this protestation; that, in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself; and, by that which he took to be the safest way; namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties: and indeed, truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and, he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had found her.

Being to undertake this search, he believed the Cardinal Bellarmine[n] to be the best defender of the Roman cause, and therefore betook himself to the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty: and wilful delays had been inexcusable both towards God and his own conscience; he therefore

[m] The principal heads of this controversy have been discussed with great ability and candour by the most eminent divines of our church, and particularly by those of them, who lived in the reign of James II. Mr. Pope, in a letter to Bishop Atterbury, tells his Lordship, that when he was fourteen years old, he read the controversies between the two churches. He adds, "and the consequence was, I found myself a Papist and a Protestant by turns, according to the last book I read." This, as the writer of his life observes, is an admirable description of every reader busied in religious controversy, without possessing the principles on which a right judgment of the points in question is to be regulated.—If Mr. Pope had pursued this inquiry with the same preparatory knowledge, with the same humble diffidence that attended Dr. Donne, it is reasonable to think that the result of his researches would have been different from what he has represented it.

[n] Robert Bellarmine, raised to the purple in 1599 by Pope Clement VIII. was born in 1542, and died at Rome in 1621. He was esteemed by the Jesuits as the brightest ornament of their order, and the Protestant writers have always considered him as the most learned advocate of the church of Rome. His great work has been called "Opus absolutissimum, quod controversiarum fermé omnium corpus dici queat." The following eulogium is prefixed to a print of him by Bolswert. "*Robertus Bellarminus* Politianus Societatis *Jesu* animi submissione "quam purpurâ major: nec pio minus quam docto in hæreses controversiarum calamo orbi "notissimus: virtutum ut amator ita cultor omnium. Quam a Motre Virgine carnem acce-"perat, quam a sacro lavacro innocentiam Deo reddidit: nullius sibi vitâ omni mendacii con-"scius: cujus etiam medicam manum in vario morborum genere experti non pauci. Vivere "hic desiit, cælo incepit anno MDCXXI. ætatis suæ LXXIX.

therefore proceeded in this ſearch with all moderate haſte, and about the twentieth year of his age, did ſhew the then Dean of Glouceſter[o] (whoſe name my memory hath now loſt) all the Cardinal's works marked with many weighty obſervations under his own hand; which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a moſt dear friend.

About a year following he reſolved to travel; and the Earl of Eſſex going firſt the Cales, and after the Iſland voyages, the firſt anno 1596, the ſecond 1597, he took the advantage of thoſe opportunities, waited upon his Lordſhip, and was an eye-witneſs of thoſe happy and unhappy employments[p]. But he returned not back into England, till he had ſtaid ſome years firſt in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many uſeful obſervations of thoſe countries, their laws and manner of government, and returned perfect in their languages.

The time that he ſpent in Spain was, at his firſt going into Italy, deſigned for travelling to the holy land, and for viewing Jeruſalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furtheſt parts of Italy, the diſappointment of company, or of a ſafe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into thoſe remote parts, denied him that happineſs; which he did often occaſionally mention with a deploration.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wiſdom, the Lord Elſemore[q], then keeper of the great ſeal, and Lord Chancellor

[o] Dr. Anthony Rudd, born in Yorkſhire, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died Biſhop of St. David's in 1614. Of his ſermon preached in 1596 before Queen Elizabeth, from Pſ. xc. 12, in which by perſonally alluding to her advanced years, and plainly telling her Majeſty, that "age had furrowed her face, and beſprinkled her hair with its meal," he incurred her heavy diſpleaſure." *(See Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, B. X. Cent.* xvii. *p.* 69.)

[p] Of this expedition in 1596, in which Cadiz was taken from the Spaniards, a narrative written by the Earl of Eſſex is inſerted in Cambden's Annals of England, &c.

[q] Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, a native of Cheſhire, the founder of the houſe of Egerton. In conſideration of his ſingular merits he had the care of the Great Seal committed to him, May 6, 1596, under the title of Lord Keeper, and by King James I. he was created Baron of Elleſmore, and conſtituted Lord Chancellor of England. His literary character is pourtrayed in the following letter written by Sir Francis Bacon, when he preſented him with a copy of "The Advancement of Learning."

"May,

Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting his perſon and behaviour, took him to be his chief Secretary; ſuppoſing and intending it to be an introduction to ſome more

"May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

"I humbly preſent your lordſhip with a work, wherein as you have much commandment "over the author, ſo your Lordſhip hath great intereſt in the argument: for, to ſpeak with-"out flattery, few have like uſe of learning or like judgment in learning, as I have obſerved "in your Lordſhip. And again your Lordſhip hath been a great planter of learning, not only "in thoſe places in the church, which have been in your own gift, but alſo in your com-"mendatory vote no man hath more conſtantly held "detur digniori"; and therefore both "your Lordſhip is beholden to learning, and learning beholden to you; which maketh me "preſume, with good aſſurance, that your Lordſhip will accept well of theſe my labours, "the rather becauſe your Lordſhip in private ſpeech hath often begun to me in expreſſing "your admiration of his Majeſty's learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whoſe "virtue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And ſo "with ſignification of my moſt humble duty and affection to your Lordſhip,

"I remain."

1605. *(Bacon's Works, vol. III. p. 229.)*

This excellent perſon died at the age of ſeventy years, March 15, 1616-17, having on the third of that month reſigned the Great Seal, which on the ſeventh was given to Sir Francis Bacon. "It was ſaid of Bankes the Attorney (General) that he exceeded Bacon in eloquence, "*Chancellor Elleſmore in judgment*, and William Noy in law."

(Lord Strafforde's Letters, vol. I. p. 427.)

"TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"Whilſt thy weigh'd judgments, Egerton, I hear,
"And know thee then a judge not of one year,
"Whilſt I behold thee live with pureſt hands,
"That no affection in thy voice commands,
"That ſtill thou'rt preſent to the better cauſe
"And no leſs wiſe than ſkilful in the laws,
"Whilſt thou art certain to thy words once gone,
"As is thy conſcience, which is always one:
"The virgin long ſince fled from earth I ſee
"T' our times return'd hath made her heaven in thee. *(Ben Jonſon.)*

Lloyd in his *State Worthies, p.* 756, obſerves, that "Chriſtendom afforded not a perſon "which carried more gravity in his countenance and behaviour, than Sir Thomas Egerton, "inſomuch that many have gone to the Chancery on purpoſe only to ſee his venerable garb, "(happy they who had no other buſineſs) and were highly pleaſed at ſo acceptable a picture."

more weighty employment in the State; for which, his Lordſhip did often proteſt, he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordſhip in this time of Maſter Donne's attendance upon him, account him to be ſo much his ſervant, as to forget he was his friend; and to teſtify it, did always uſe him with much courteſy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he eſteemed his company and diſcourſe to be a great ornament.

He continued that employment for the ſpace of five years, being daily uſeful, and not mercenary to his friends. During which time he (I dare not ſay unhappily) fell into ſuch a liking, as (with her approbation) increaſed into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady Elſemore[r], and daughter to Sir George Moor[s], then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had ſome intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wiſdom, did therefore remove her with much haſte from that to his own houſe at Lotheſley, in the county of Surry; but too late, by reaſon of ſome faithful promiſes which were ſo interchangeably paſſed, as never to be violated by either party.

Theſe promiſes were only known to themſelves; and the friends of both parties uſed much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering miſchief, that hath denied aged and wiſe men a foreſight of thoſe evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father, a paſſion that carries us to commit errors with as much eaſe as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied induſtry to the attainment of what we deſire. And ſuch an induſtry did, notwithſtanding much watchfulneſs againſt it, bring them ſecretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how), and at laſt to a marriage too, without the allowance of thoſe friends, whoſe approbation

K always

[r] Siſter to Sir George Moor of Loxly-Farm, in the county of Surry, Knight, and widow of Sir John Wooley, of Pirford in Surry, Knight, and mother of that Sir Francis Wooley, who kindly took Dr. Donne and his wife under his protection.

[s] This gentleman was Treaſurer or Receiver General of the revenues of Henry Prince of Wales in 1604. In 1610 he was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1615 Lieutenant of the Tower. *(See Wood's A. O. vol. I. page 492.)*

always was, and ever will be neceſſary, to make even a virtuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempeſt, on thoſe that were unwilling to have it ſo; and that preapprehenſions might make it the leſs enormous, when it was known, it was purpoſely whiſpered into the ears of many that it was ſo, yet by none that could affirm it. But to put a period to the jealouſies of Sir George (doubt often begetting more reſtleſs thoughts then the certain knowledge of what we fear), the news was, in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour, Henry Earl of Northumberland[t]: But it was to Sir George ſo immeaſurably unwelcome, and ſo tranſported him, that as though his paſſion of anger and inconſideration might exceed theirs of love and error, he preſently engaged his ſiſter the Lady Elſemore, to join with him to procure her Lord to diſcharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordſhip.—This requeſt was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembered, that errors might be overpuniſhed, and deſired therefore to forbear till ſecond conſiderations might clear ſome ſcruples, yet he became reſtleſs until his ſuit was granted, and the puniſhment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not at Mr. Donne's diſmiſſion give him ſuch a commendation, as the great Emperor Charles the Fifth did of his Secretary Eraſo[u], when he preſented him to his ſon and ſucceſſor

[t] Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland of that name; "a learned man himſelf "and the generous favourer of all good learning," as he is called by Anthony Wood. This nobleman, upon the marriage of his youngeſt daughter Lady Lucy Percy, a lady of the moſt diſtinguiſhed wit and beauty, with the Lord Haye, afterward created Viſcount Doncaſter and Earl of Carliſle, diſcovered the ſame harſhneſs of diſpoſition, which he probably cenſured in the father-in-law of Dr. Donne. The treatment which he received from James I. to whom he always ſhewed the moſt faithful attachment, affords one among many inſtances of the injuſtice of that monarch, who fined this nobleman 30,000l. and "impriſoned him in the "Tower from 1605 to 1619 upon a mere ſuſpicion, without the leaſt proof of his having had "knowledge of the powder-plot, as Cecyll himſelf confeſſed in a letter to Sir Thomas Ed-"munds, dated Dec. 2. 1605." (*Birch's View of the Negociations, &c. p.* 245.)

[u] On the 16th of January 1556, his Majeſty paſſed the act "of the Renunciation of the "Crown of Spain and all its dominions to his ſon Philip in the preſence of Francis de Eraſſo "his

ſucceſſor Philip the Second, ſaying, " That in his Eraſo, he gave to him a " greater gift than all his eſtate, and all the kingdoms which he then re- " ſigned to him;" yet the Lord Chancellor ſaid, " He parted with a " friend and ſuch a ſecretary as was fitter to ſerve a king than a ſubject."

Immediately after his diſmiſſion from his ſervice, he ſent a ſad letter to his wife, to acquaint her with it; and, after the ſubſcription of his name, writ,

JOHN DONNE, ANNE DONNE, UN-DONE;

And God knows it proved too true: For this bitter phyſic of Mr. Donne's diſmiſſion was not ſtrong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler, for he was not ſatisfied till Mr. Donne and his ſometime compupil in Cambridge that married him, namely, Samuel Brook[x] (who was after Doctor

" his Secretary and all the Spaniards then at Bruſſels." (*Stevens's Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of Charles V. written in Spaniſh by D. F. Prudencio de Sandoval, Biſhop of Pamplona, &c. p.* 453.) It was probably at this very time that the Emperor recommended this faithful ſecretary to his ſon.

[x] Samuel Brook, deſcended from a reſpectable family at York, was the ſon of Robert Brook, an eminent merchant, and Lord Mayor of that city in 1582 and in 1595. He was admitted of Trinity College in Cambridge in 1596; and on September 26, 1612, being then Chaplain to Prince Henry, he was choſen Divinity Profeſſor in Greſham College, on the recommendation of that Prince, whoſe unhappy death followed, Nov. 6th enſuing. In 1613 he was elected one of the twelve preachers of the Univerſity, and the year following he wrote a Latin paſtoral, which was acted with applauſe before King James in Trinity College Hall, on Friday, March 10. Copies of this performance are yet extant with this title, " Melanthe, " Fabula paſtoralis, acta cum Jacobus, Magnæ Brit. Franc. et Hiberniæ Rex, Cantabrigiam " ſuam nuper inviſerat, ibidemq; muſarum atque animi gratiâ dies quinque commoraretur. " Egerunt Alumni Coll. San. et individuæ Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ. Excudebat Cantrellus " Legge, Mart. 27, 1615." In 1630 he is ſaid to have compoſed an Arminian Treatiſe of Predeſtination, with which he acquainted Biſhop Laud, who encouraged him in the work, recommending it to the reviſal of Dr. Lindſey and Dr. Beale, two great Arminians, and promiſing to peruſe it himſelf, as appears by ſundry letters. (*Pryne's Canterbury's Doom. p.* 167.) Of this tract Mr. Horſey, in the funeral oration delivered in Trinity College Chapel, thus ſpeaks, " Nec illum prætereo fœtum nuperrime formatum " *de magno et ſecreto Prædeſtina-* " *tionis Myſterio Diſputationes.*" Quanti nobis eſſet a Tineis et Latebris redimere has pretioſas " chartas, ut typis fideliter excuſæ in manus omnium pervenirent." In 1615 he was created D. D. and in 1618 was promoted to the Rectory of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, in London. He resigned

in Divinity, and Maſter of Trinity College) and his brother Mr. Chriſtopher Brook[y], ſometime Mr. Donne's Chamber-fellow in Lincoln's-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his wife, and witneſſed the marriage, were all committed to three ſeveral priſons.

Mr. Donne was firſt enlarged, who neither gave reſt to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an intereſt, until he had procured an enlargement for his two impriſoned friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were ſtill cloudy; and being paſt theſe troubles, others did ſtill multiply upon him, for his wife was (to her extreme ſorrow) detained from him; and though with Jacob he endured not an hard ſervice for her, yet he loſt a good one, and was forced to make good his title, and to get poſſeſſion of her by a long and reſtleſs ſuit in law, which proved troubleſome and ſadly chargeable to him, whoſe youth, travel, and needleſs bounty had brought his eſtate into a narrow compaſs.

It is obſerved, and moſt truly, that ſilence and ſubmiſſion are charming qualities, and work moſt upon paſſionate men: and it proved ſo with Sir George; for theſe, and a general report of Mr. Donne's merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would entice had a ſtrange kind of elegant irreſiſtible art), theſe and time had ſo diſpaſſionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his daughter's choice, ſo he alſo could not but

reſigned his Profeſſorſhip of Greſham College in 1629, upon his appointment to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College in Cambridge, vacated by the death of Dr. Leonard Maw, Biſhop of Bath and Wells. In 1631 he was made Archdeacon of Wells, and in that year he died; and was buried in Trinity College Chapel, without either monument or epitaph. He is deſcribed as a man of wit and learning. And Mr. Horſey commends him for his "concionandi copia." Of his writings there is extant only one diſcourſe, from the title of which we may form an idea of the nature of the queſtions, which were then uſually diſcuſſed in the divinity ſchools. "De auxilio divinæ gratiæ exercitatio theologica, nimirum, an poſſibile ſit duos eandem "habere gratiæ menſuram, et tamen unus convertatur et credat, alter non: e Johan. xi. "45, 46." *(Ward's Profeſſors of Greſham College.)*

[y] A Bencher and Summer Reader at Lincoln's Inn, to the chapel of which he was a benefactor. He is much commended as a poet by Ben Jonſon, Drayton, and others of his cotemporaries. He wrote an elegy, conſecrated to the never dying memory of Henry Prince of Wales, London 1613, 4to. He alſo publiſhed Eclogues dedicated to his much loved friend Mr. William Brown of the Inner Temple, London, 1614, 8vo. To this gentleman Dr. Donne hath inſcribed two poems, "The Storme" and "The Calme."

but ſee a more than ordinary merit in his new ſon; and this at laſt melted him into ſo much remorſe (for love and anger are ſo like agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in parents, though it may be quenched, yet is eaſily rekindled, and expires not till death denies mankind a natural heat), that he laboured his ſon's reſtoration to his place; uſing to that end, both his own and his ſiſter's power to her Lord, but with no ſucceſs, for his anſwer was, "That though he was unfeignedly ſorry for what he had done, "yet it was inconſiſtent with his place and credit to diſcharge and readmit "ſervants at the requeſt of paſſionate petitioners."

Sir George's endeavour for Mr. Donne's readmiſſion was by all means to be kept ſecret:—(For men do more naturally reluct for errors, than ſubmit to put on thoſe blemiſhes that attend their viſible acknowledgment)—But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be ſo far reconciled as to wiſh their happineſs, and not to deny them his paternal bleſſing, but yet refuſed to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donne's eſtate was the greateſt part ſpent in many chargeable travels, books, and dear-bought experience: He out of all employment that might yield a ſupport for himſelf and wife, who had been curiouſly and plentifully educated, both their natures generous, and accuſtomed to confer, and not to receive courteſies: Theſe and other conſiderations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his ſufferings, ſurrounded him with many ſad thoughts, and ſome apparent apprehenſions of want.

But his ſorrows were leſſened and his wants prevented by the ſeaſonable courteſy of their noble kinſman, Sir Francis Wolly of Pirford in Surry[z], who intreated them to a cohabitation with him, where they remained with much freedom to themſelves, and equal content to him for ſome years; and, as their charge increaſed (ſhe had yearly a child), ſo did his love and bounty.

It hath been obſerved by wiſe and conſidering men, that wealth hath ſeldom been the portion, and never the mark to diſcover good peo-

[z] The ſon of Sir John Wooley, Knight, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, who, though a layman, was promoted to the Deanery of Carliſle on the death of Sir Thomas Smith. He was knighted ſome time after his advancement to that dignity. He cauſed a monument to be

people[a]; but, that Almighty God, who diſpoſeth all things wiſely, hath of his abundant goodneſs denied it (he only knows why) to many, whoſe minds he hath enriched with the greater bleſſings of knowledge and virtue[b], as the fairer teſtimonies of his love to mankind; and this was the preſent condition of this man of ſo excellent erudition and endowments, whoſe neceſſary and daily expences were hardly reconcileable with his uncertain and narrow eſtate; which I mention, for that at this time there was a moſt generous offer made him for the moderating of his worldly cares, the declaration of which ſhall be the next employment of my pen.

God hath been ſo good to his church, as to afford it in every age ſome ſuch men to ſerve at his altar as have been pious ſly ambitious of doing good to mankind; a diſpoſition that is ſo like to God himſelf, that it owes itſelf only to him, who takes a pleaſure to behold it in his creatures. Theſe times (anno 1608), he did bleſs with many ſuch, ſome of which live to be patterns of apoſtolical charity, and of more than human patience. I have ſaid this, becauſe I have occaſion to mention one of them in my following diſcourſe; namely, Dr. Morton, the moſt laborious and learned Biſhop of Durham; one that God hath bleſſed with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful

be erected to himſelf and his parents in the cathedral church of St. Paul's. He is there repreſented as ſitting between his father and mother. The inſcription begins

"D. O. M.

"Joannes Wolleius, eques auratus, Reginæ Elizabethæ a Secretioribus Conſiliis, Secretarius "Linguæ Latinæ, Cancellarius Ordinis Periſcelidis, Doctrinâ, Pietate, Fide, Probitate, Gra- "vitate clariſſimus.

"Obiit anno 1595."

Then follow twenty-four Latin hexameter verſes, in which are contained the hiſtory and character of Sir John Wooley, Elizabeth his wife, afterwards Lady Elſemore, and Sir Francis Wooley their ſon. *(Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's.)*

[a] "I returned and ſaw under the ſun, that the race is not to the ſwiſt, nor the battle to the ſtrong; *neither yet bread to the wiſe*, nor yet *riches to men of underſtanding*." Eccleſ. ix. 11.

[b] According to the Greek Poet,

Σοφια δε πλουτου κτημα τιμιωτερον.

cheerful heart at the age of 94 years (and is yet living[c]); one, that in his days of plenty had ſo large a heart as to uſe his large revenue to the encouragement of learning and virtue, and is now (be it ſpoken with ſorrow) reduced to a narrow ſtate, which he embraces without repining, and ſtill ſhews the beauty of his mind by ſo liberal a hand, as if this were an age in which to-morrow were to care for itſelf. I have taken a pleaſure in giving the reader a ſhort but true character of this good man, my friend, from whom I received this following relation.—He ſent to Mr. Donne, and intreated to borrow an hour of his time for a conference the next day. After their meeting, there was not many minutes paſſed before he ſpake to Mr. Donne to this purpoſe. " Mr. Donne, the occaſion of ſend-" ing for you is to propoſe to you, what I have often revolved in my own " thought ſince I laſt ſaw you, which nevertheleſs I will not declare but " upon

[c] " The learned, pious, and painful Biſhop of Durham (Morton) hath fought in front " againſt Roman ſuperſtition and idolatry." *(Sir Edward Deering's Speech againſt the Remonſtrants.)*——This *learned and charitable* prelate, as Iſaac Walton ſomewhere calls him, not more diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendor of his parentage, than by his habitual temperance and diligence in ſtudy, died Sept. 22, 1659, in the 95th year of his age, after having received the moſt injurious treatment from the Parliament. No apology is neceſſary for the inſertion of the following affecting ſtory concerning him. " Having ſuffered impriſonment at different times, and undergone many hardſhips, he was expelled from Durham-houſe. Wandering from place to place, he at laſt went to London with about ſixty pounds—(which it ſeems was then his all);—he was overtaken on the road by Sir Chriſtopher Yelverton, who being known to the Biſhop was unknown to him; and in diſcourſe aſking the old gentleman, " What he was," the good Biſhop replied, " I am that old man, the Biſhop of Durham, notwithſtanding all " your votes:" For Sir Chriſtopher was not free from the ſtain of the times. Whereupon Sir Chriſtopher demanded where he was going: " To London," replied the old gentleman; " to live a little while and then die." On this Sir Chriſtopher entered into further diſcourſe with him, took him home with him into Northamptonſhire, where he became tutor to that ſon of his, which was afterwards the incomparably learned Sir Henry Yelverton, and prefaced this moſt excellent Biſhop's little piece of Epiſcopacy." *(Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 18.)*——" He was," ſays his excellent pupil, " an ancient Biſhop, and had all the qualifications fit for his order, either to adorn or govern a church; but above all he was eminent for his invincible patience under ſo many violent perſecutions and almoſt neceſſities, always rejoicing in his loſſes, and proteſting that he thought himſelf richer with nothing and a good conſcience, than thoſe were who had devoured his goodly biſhopric. He was forty-four years a biſhop, a thing ſo extraordinary, that but one exceeded him in this iſland." *(Sir H. Yelverton's Preface to* Επισκοπος αποστολικος, *or the Epiſcopacy of the Church of England juſtified.)*

"upon this condition, that you ſhall not return me a preſent anſwer, but "forbear three days, and beſtow ſome part of that time in faſting and prayer[d], "and after a ſerious conſideration of what I ſhall propoſe, then return "to me with your anſwer. Deny me not, Mr. Donne, for it is the effect "of a true love, which I would gladly pay as a debt due for yours to "me."

This requeſt being granted, the Doctor expreſſed himſelf thus:—"Mr. "Donne, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation "of a ſtate-employment, and I know your fitneſs for it, and I know too "the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promiſes; and let "me tell you, that my love, begot by our long friendſhip and your merits, "hath prompted me to ſuch an inquiſition after your preſent temporal eſtate, "as makes me no ſtranger to your neceſſities, which I know to be ſuch as "your generous ſpirit could not bear, if it were not ſupported with a pious "patience: You know I have formerly perſuaded you to wave your court-"hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again perſuade you to "embrace, with this reaſon added to my former requeſt: The King hath "yeſterday[e] made me Dean of Glouceſter, and I am alſo poſſeſſed of a be-"nefice, the profits of which are equal to thoſe of my Deanery; I will "think

[d] The condition required by Dr. Morton of Mr. Donne, that he ſhould not give an anſwer to the Doctor's propoſal, until he had paſſed three days in faſting and prayer, deſerves notice, as marking the high devotional ſpirit of the times: For it is to be remembered that this was not the propoſition of an enthuſiaſtic puritan, but of a very eminent and reſpectable divine of the Church of England. If our anceſtors carried matters of this nature too far (which there is no reaſon to think they did), their ſucceſſors have run into the contrary extreme. A principle of piety exerciſed in referring our concerns to the providential direction of the Supreme Being, would be no bar to the wiſdom, ability, and ſucceſs of our lawful undertakings. This ſentiment, that prayer and labour ſhould co-operate, is expreſſed by Donne himſelf, in one of his poems, though with no elegance of language.

"In none but us are ſuch mixt engines found,
"As hands of double office; for the ground
"We till with them, and them to heaven we raiſe;
"Who prayerleſs labours or without this prays,
"Doth but one half—that's none." *(Biogr. Brit. 2d. Edit.)*

[e] He was preſented by the King to the Deanery of Glouceſter, June 22, 1607, through the recommendation of Archbiſhop Bancroft.

"think my Deanery enough for my maintenance (who am and resolve to "die a single man) and will quit my benefice, and estate you in it (which the "patron is willing I shall do), if God shall incline your heart to embrace "this motion. Remember, Mr. Donne, no man's education or parts "make him too good for this employment, *which is to be an Ambassador "for the God of glory; that God, who, by a vile death, opened the gates of life "to mankind.* Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, "and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this, Mr. Donne's faint breath and perplexed countenance gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict, but he performed his promise, and departed without returning an answer till the third day, and then his answer was to this effect:

"My most worthy and most dear friend, since I saw you I have been "faithful to my promise, and have also meditated much of your great "kindness, which hath been such as would exceed even my gratitude, but "that it cannot do, and more I cannot return you; and I do that with an "heart full of humility and thanks, though I may not accept of your "offer: But, Sir, my refusal is not for that I think myself too good for "that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough; "nor for that my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, "being assisted with God's grace and humility, render me in some mea-"sure fit for it; but I dare make so dear a friend as you are my con-"fessor; some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, "that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him by penitential "resolutions against them, and by the assistance of his grace banished them "my affections; yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to man, "as to free me from their censures, and it may be that sacred calling from "a dishonour[f]. And besides, whereas it is determined by the best of Ca-"suists, that *God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second "motive to embrace that calling*, and though each man may propose to

 "himself

[f] There is not the least reason to suppose that Mr. Donne ever disgraced his character by any act of immorality. He probably mixed more in the world than he thought consistent with the profession of a clergyman: He had not given that valediction to the pleasures and amusements of life, which he deemed requisite. When he devoted his time to the study of poetry, he chose subjects for his pen, which at a later period of life appeared to him too trifling and ludicrous.

" himſelf both together, yet the firſt may not be put laſt without a viola-
" tion of conſcience, which he that ſearches the heart will judge. And
" truly my preſent condition is ſuch, that if I aſk my own conſcience whether
" it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time ſo perplexed about it,
" that I can neither give myſelf nor you an anſwer. You know, Sir, who
" ſays, *Happy is that man whoſe conſcience doth not accuſe him for that thing*
" *which he does*[g]. To theſe I might add other reaſons that diſſuade me;
" but I crave your favour that I may forbear to expreſs them, and thank-
" fully decline your offer."

This was his preſent reſolution; but the heart of man is not in his own keeping, and he was deſtined to this ſacred ſervice by a higher hand; a hand ſo powerful, as at laſt forced him to a compliance: of which I ſhall give the reader an account before I ſhall give a reſt to my pen.

Mr. Donne and his wife continued with Sir Francis Wolly till his death; a little before which time, Sir Francis was ſo happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir George and his forſaken ſon and daughter; Sir George conditioning by bond to pay to Mr. Donne 800l. at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20l. quarterly for their maintenance, as the intereſt for it till the ſaid portion was paid.

Moſt of thoſe years that he lived with Sir Francis, he ſtudied the Civil and Canon Laws; in which he acquired ſuch a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that ſtudy the employment of their whole life.

Sir Francis being dead, and that happy family diſſolved, Mr. Donne took for himſelf a houſe in Micham (near to Croydon in Surrey), a place noted for good air, and choice company: There his wife and children remained; and for himſelf he took lodgings in London, near to White-Hall, whither his friends and occaſions drew him very often, and where he was as often viſited by many of the nobility and others of this nation, who uſed him in their councils of greateſt conſideration, and with ſome rewards for his better ſubſiſtence. Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendſhip was ſought for by moſt Ambaſſadors of foreign nations, and by many other ſtrangers whoſe learning or buſineſs occaſioned their ſtay in this nation.

He

[g] " Happy is he that condemneth not himſelf in that which he doeth." *Rom.* xiv. 22.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his conſtant reſidence in London, but he ſtill denied it, having ſettled his dear wife and children at Micham, and near ſome friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it: And that you may the better now judge of the then preſent condition of his mind and fortune, I ſhall preſent you with an extract collected out of ſome few of his many letters.

——"And the reaſon why I did not ſend an anſwer to your laſt week's "letter was, becauſe it then found me under too great a ſadneſs, and at "preſent it is thus with me. There is not one perſon but myſelf well of "my family; I have already loſt half a child, and with that miſchance of "hers, my wife is fallen into ſuch a diſcompoſure, as would afflict her too "extremely, but that the ſickneſs of all her other children ſtupifies her; "of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope; and theſe meet "with a fortune ſo ill provided for phyſic, and ſuch relief, that if God "ſhould eaſe us with burials, I know not how to perform even that; but "I flatter myſelf with this hope, that I am dying too, for I cannot waſte "faſter than by ſuch griefs. As for——

"From my hoſpital at Micham,

Aug. 10.

"JOHN DONNE."

Thus did he bemoan himſelf: And thus in other letters.

——"For we hardly diſcover a ſin, when it is but an omiſſion of ſome "good, and no accuſing act: With this or the former, I have often ſuſ-"pected myſelf to be overtaken; which is, with an over-earneſt deſire of "the next life. And though I know it is not merely a wearineſs of this; "becauſe I had the ſame deſire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed "fairer hopes than I now do; yet I doubt worldly troubles have increaſed "it. It is now ſpring, and all the pleaſures of it diſpleaſe me; every "other tree bloſſoms, and I wither: I grow older and not better; my "ſtrength diminiſheth and my load grows heavier, and yet I would fain "be or do ſomething, but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder in this "time of my ſadneſs: For to chooſe is to do, but to be no part of any "body is as to be nothing; and ſo I am, and ſhall ſo judge myſelf, unleſs I "could be ſo incorporated into a part of the world, as by buſineſs to con-

" tribute ſome ſuſtentation to the whole. This I made account; I began " early, when I underſtood the ſtudy of our laws; but was diverted by " leaving that and embracing the worſt voluptuouſneſs, *an hydroptique* " *immoderate deſire of human learning and languages*[h]: Beautiful ornaments " indeed to men of great fortunes; but mine was grown ſo low as to need " an occupation, which I thought I entered well into, when I ſubjected " myſelf to ſuch a ſervice as I thought might exerciſe my poor abilities; " and there I ſtumbled and fell too: And now I am become ſo little, or " ſuch a nothing, that I am not a ſubject good enough for one of my own " letters.—Sir, I fear my preſent diſcontent does not proceed from a good " root, that I am ſo well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, " though my fortune hath made me ſuch, as that I am rather a ſickneſs or " a diſeaſe of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it " nor life; yet I would gladly live to become ſome ſuch thing as you " ſhould not repent loving me. Sir, your own ſoul cannot be more zealous " for your good than I am; and God, who loves that zeal in me, will not " ſuffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you ſaw me write, for " my pain hath drawn my head ſo much awry, and holds it ſo, that my eye " cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with " mine own weary ſoul, and commend myſelf to yours. I doubt not but " next week will bring you good news; for I have either mending or dying " on my ſide: But if I do continue longer thus, I ſhall have comfort in " this, That my bleſſed Saviour, in exerciſing his juſtice upon my two " worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reſerves all his mercy for that " which moſt needs it, my ſoul; which is, I doubt, too like a porter that " is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out.—Sir, I profeſs to you " truly, that my loathneſs to give over writing now, ſeems to myſelf a ſign " that I ſhall write no more——

" Your poor friend, and God's poor patient[i],

SEPT. 7. " JOHN DONNE."

By

[h] Donne, in one of his poems, uſes the expreſſion of " The ſacred hunger of Science."

[i] This letter moſt affectingly exhibits a gloomy picture of family-diſtreſs: A good man ſtruggling with poverty and ſickneſs, almoſt ſinking under the preſſure of accumulated miſery, but happily deriving conſolation from this reflection, that while his body and his fortune only ſuffered, the tender mercy of God was reſerved for his ſoul.——In another letter he thus de-

ſcribes

By this you have ſeen a part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind; and thus it continued with him for about two years, all which time his family remained conſtantly at Micham, and to which place he often retired himſelf, and deſtined ſome days to a conſtant ſtudy of ſome points of controverſy betwixt the Engliſh and Roman Church, and eſpecially thoſe of ſupremacy and allegiance. And to that place, and ſuch ſtudies, he could willingly have wedded himſelf during his life; but the earneſt perſuaſion of friends, became at laſt to be ſo powerful, as to cauſe the removal of himſelf and family to London, where Sir Robert Drewry[k], a gentleman of a very noble eſtate, and a more liberal mind, aſſigned him and his wife an uſeful apartment in his own large houſe in Drewry-lane, and not only rent-free, but was alſo a cheriſher of his ſtudies, and ſuch a friend as ſympathiſed with him and his in all their joy and ſorrows[l].

At this time of Mr. Donne's and his wife's living in Sir Robert's houſe, the Lord Hay was, by King James, ſent upon a glorious embaſſy to the then French King Henry the Fourth; and Sir Robert put on a ſudden reſolution

ſcribes his ſad ſituation;—" I write from the fire-ſide in my parlour, and in the noiſe of three " gameſome children, and by the ſide of her, whom becauſe I have tranſplanted into a " wretched fortune, I muſt labour to diſguiſe that from her by all ſuch honeſt devices, as " giving her my company and diſcourſe." The mournful hiſtory of this unfortunate marriage affords a moſt important leſſon of inſtruction to young perſons. In an affair of high conſequence to their welfare in future life, the utmoſt caution, the moſt rigid circumſpection are neceſſary. Connexions, formed without the expreſs conſent and approbation of parents and guardians, are ſo far from being productive of domeſtic bliſs, that they are generally marked with diſappointment, misfortune, and penitential ſorrow.

[k] Sir Robert Drury was the patron of Dr. Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Norwich, who dedicates to him his Firſt, as he does to Lady Drury " The Second Century of Meditations and Vows, Divine and Moral."

[l] The death of a young lady, the daughter of Sir Robert Drury, afforded to Dr. Donne a ſubject for the exerciſe of his muſe, in two poems. " I. An Anatomie of the World, " wherein by occaſion of the untimely death of Miſtreſs Elizabeth Drury, the frailty and " decay of this whole world is repreſented. The Firſt Anniverſary.——II. Of the Progreſſe " of the Soule. Wherein, by occaſion of the religious death of Miſtreſs Elizabeth Drury, " the incommodities of the ſoule in this life, and her exaltation in the next, are contemplated. " The Second Anniverſary."

resolution to accompany him to the French court, and to be present at his audience there[m]. And Sir Robert put on as sudden a resolution, to subject Mr. Donne to be his companion in that journey. And this desire was suddenly made known to his wife, who was then with child, and otherwise under so dangerous a habit of body, as to her health, that she professed an unwillingness to allow him any absence from her; saying, "Her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence," and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr. Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really to resolve against it. But Sir Robert became restless in his persuasions for it, and Mr. Donne was so generous as to think he had sold his liberty when he received so many charitable kindnesses from him, and told his wife so, who did therefore with an unwilling-willingness[n] give a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months; for about that time they determined their return. Within a few days after this resolve, the Ambassador, Sir Robert, and Mr. Donne left London, and were the twelfth day got all safe to Paris. Two days after their arrival there, Mr. Donne was left alone in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and as he left, so he found Mr. Donne alone, but in such an ecstasy, and so altered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him; insomuch that he earnestly desired Mr. Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence? To which Mr. Donne was not able to make a present answer; but after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, "I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw "you; I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with "her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: This "I have seen since I saw you." To which Sir Robert replied, "Sure, Sir, "you

[m] The Authors of the Biographia Britannica observe, that Mr. Walton is mistaken in his information, when he writes, that Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King; for that Lord was not sent Ambassador to France, until July 1616: whereas it is evident from the dates of some of Mr. Donne's letters that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612.

[n] Εκων ἀεκοντι γε θυμῳ. Hom.
ὁ δ' ὁ θελων τε και θελων. Eurip. in Hecub.

" you have ſlept ſince I ſaw you, and this is the reſult of ſome melancholy " dream, which I deſire you to forget, for you are now awake." To which Mr. Donne's reply was, " I cannot be ſurer that I now live, than that I " have not ſlept ſince I ſaw you; and I am as ſure, that at her ſecond appear- " ing ſhe ſtopped, and looked me in the face, and vaniſhed."——Reſt and ſleep had not altered Mr. Donne's opinion the next day; for he then affirmed this viſion with a more deliberate, and ſo confirmed a confidence, that he inclined Sir Robert to a faint belief that the viſion was true.—It is truly ſaid, that deſire and doubt have no reſt; and it proved ſo with Sir Robert, for he immediately ſent a ſervant to Drewry Houſe, with a charge to haſten back, and bring him word, whether Mrs. Donne was alive? and if alive, in what condition ſhe was as to her health?—The twelfth day the meſſenger returned with this account—That he found and left Mrs. Donne very ſad, and ſick in her bed; and that after a long and dangerous labour, ſhe had been delivered of a dead child. And upon examination, the abortion proved to be the ſame day, and about the very hour that Mr. Donne affirmed he ſaw her paſs by him in his chamber.

This is a relation that will beget ſome wonder; and it well may, for moſt of our world are at preſent poſſeſſed with an opinion that viſions and miracles are ceaſed. And though it is moſt certain, that two lutes being both ſtrung and tuned to an equal pitch, and then one played upon, the other, that which is not touched, being laid upon a table at a fit diſtance, will (like an echo to a trumpet) warble a faint audible harmony, in anſwer to the ſame tune, yet many will not believe there is any ſuch thing as a ſympathy of ſouls: and I am well pleaſed, that every reader do enjoy his own opinion; but if the unbelieving will not allow the believing reader of this ſtory a liberty to believe that it may be true, then I wiſh him to conſider, many wiſe men have believed, that the ghoſt of Julius Cæſar did appear to Brutus, and that both St. Auſtin, and Monica his mother, had viſions in order to his converſion. And though theſe, and many others (too many to name) have but the authority of human ſtory, yet the incredible reader may find in the ſacred ſtory, 1 (*Sam.* xxviii.) that Samuel did appear to Saul even after his death (whether really or not, I undertake not to determine). And Bildad, in the book of *Job*, (chap. iv.) ſays theſe words; " A ſpirit paſſed before my face, the hair of my head " ſtood

"ſtood up, fear and trembling came upon me, and made all my bones to "ſhake." Upon which words I will make no comment, but leave them to be conſidered by the incredulous reader, to whom I will alſo commend this following conſideration:—That there be many pious and learned men that believe our merciful God hath aſſigned to every man a particular guardian angel°, to be his conſtant monitor, and to attend him in all his dangers both of body and ſoul. And the opinion, that every man hath his particular angel, may gain ſome authority by the relation of St. Peter's miraculous deliverance out of priſon (*Acts* xii.); not by many, but by one Angel. And this belief may yet gain more credit, by the reader's conſidering, that when Peter after his enlargement knocked at the door of Mary the mother of John, and Rode the maid-ſervant being ſurpriſed with joy that Peter was there, did not let him in, but ran in haſte and told the diſciples (who were then and there met together) that Peter was at the door, and they not believing it, ſaid ſhe was mad; yet when ſhe again affirmed it, though they believed it not, yet they concluded and ſaid—"It is his angel."

More obſervations of this nature, and inferences from them, might be made to gain the relation a firmer belief; but I forbear, leſt I, that intended to be but a relator, may be thought to be an engaged perſon for the proving what was related to me; and yet I think myſelf bound to declare, that though it was not told me by Mr. Donne himſelf, it was told me (now long ſince) by a perſon of honour, and of ſuch intimacy with him, that he knew more of the ſecrets of his ſoul, than any perſon then living; and I think he told me the truth: for it was told with ſuch circumſtances and ſuch aſſeveration, that (to ſay nothing of my own thoughts) I verily believe he that told it me did himſelf believe it to be true.

I forbear the reader's farther trouble, as to the relation and what concerns it, and will conclude mine with commending to his view a copy of verſes given by Mr. Donne to his wife at the time that he then parted from her: And I beg leave to tell, that I have heard ſome critics, learned both in languages and poetry, ſay, that none of the Greek or Latin poets did ever equal them.

VALE-

° Of the very probable truth of this propoſition, ſo pleaſing to all good men, ſee *Biſhop Bull's Sermons, vol. II. p.* 498.

A VALEDICTION,

FORBIDDING TO MOURN.

As virtuous men paſs mildly away,
And whiſper to their ſouls to go,
Whilſt ſome of their ſad friends do ſay,
The breath goes now; and ſome ſay—No:

So let us melt and make no noiſe;
No wind-ſighs or tear-floods us move,
'Twere profanation of our joys
To tell the laity our love.

Movings of the earth cauſe harms and fears;
Men reckon what they did or meant?
But trepidation of the ſpheres,
Though greater far, is innocent.

Dull ſublunary lovers' love
(Whoſe ſoul is ſenſe) cannot admit
Abſence; becauſe that doth remove
Thoſe things that elemented it.

But we by a ſoul ſo much refin'd,
That our ſouls know not what it is,
Inter-aſſured of the mind,
Care not hands, eyes, or lips to miſs.

Our two ſouls therefore, which are one,
Though I muſt go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expanſion,
Like gold to airy thinneſs beat.

If we be two? we are two ſo
As ſtiff twin-compaſſes are two:
Thy ſoul, the fix'd foot, makes no ſhow
To move, but does if th' other do.

And though thine in the centre ſit,
Yet, when my other far does roam,
Thine leans and hearkens after it,
And grows erect as mine comes home.

Such thou muſt be to me, who muſt,
Like th' other foot, obliquely run:
Thy firmneſs makes my circle juſt,
And me to end where I begun.

I return from my account of the viſion, to tell the reader, that both before Mr. Donne's going into France, at his being there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others, that were powerful at court, were watchful and ſolicitous to the king for ſome ſecular employment for him. The king had formerly both known and put a value upon his company; and had alſo given him ſome hopes of a ſtate-employment, being always much pleaſed when Mr. Donne attended him, eſpecially at his meals[p], where there were uſually many deep diſcourſes of general learning, and very often friendly diſputes or debates of religion betwixt his majeſty and thoſe divines whoſe places required their attendance on him at thoſe times; particularly

[p] James I. took great pleaſure in the converſation of thoſe divines who attended his Court. It was uſual with him, particularly at his meals, to diſcourſe with them, as well upon the controverſial points of religion, as upon various topics of literature. In the dedication of "An "Anſwer to a Challenge made by a Jeſuite in Ireland, 1624," to the King, the celebrated author, having preferred him to the Emperor Theodoſius the younger, and to Alexius, thus addreſſes his Majeſty. "It is acknowledged, even by ſuch as differ from you in the point of "religion, as a matter that hath added more than ordinary luſtre to your royal eſtate, that "*you doe not forbear ſo much as at the time of your bodily repaſt to have, for the then like feeding of* "*your intellectual part, your highneſſe's table ſurrounded with the attendance and conference of your* "*grave and learned divines.* What inward joy my heart conceived as oft as I have had the "happineſs to be preſent at ſuch ſeaſons, I forbeare to utter, onely I will ſay with Job, *the* "*eare which heard you bleſſed you, and the eye which ſaw you gave witneſſe to you.*" Dr. Joſeph Hall in his Holy Panegyric hath drawn a parallel between the Roman Emperor Conſtantine and King James. "Conſtantine ſate in the midſt of Biſhops, as if he was one of them. King "James, beſides his ſolemn conferences, vouchſafes not ſeldom to ſpend his meals in diſ-"courſe with his biſhops and other worthy divines." (*Biſhop Hall's Works, p.* 444.)

ticularly the Dean of the Chapel, who then was Bifhop Montague[q] (the publifher of the learned and eloquent works[r] of his majefty), and the moft

 reverend

[q] The fifth fon to Sir Edward Montague, and brother to Edward the firft Lord Montague of Broughton, eminent for his learning and liberality, and ufually called "King James's "ecclefiaftical Favourite." He publifhed his Majefty's works under this title: "King James's "Works, publifhed by James, Bifhop of Winton, and Deane of his Majefty's Chappel Royal. "1 Reg. III. 12 v. *Loe I have given thee a wife and an underftanding heart.* London 1616." He afterward tranflated them into Latin. He died in 1618, having been Bifhop of Winchefter only two years. He was buried in the Abbey church of Bath, which, while he filled the fee of Bath and Wells, he repaired and beautified at a great expence, having been excited to this act of munificence in the following manner: When he held his primary vifitation in the church of Bath, the bufinefs being done and the benediction given, Sir John Harrington ftood up in the midft of the congregation and addreffed his lordfhip in a Latin poem on the ruinous ftate of the buildings of the church, and concluded with a prophecy of its future flourifhing and beautiful condition under the aufpices of the bifhop.

Te nempe ad decus hoc peperit Natura; replevit
Dotibus eximiis Deus: Ars perfecta polivit:
In gremio refovet ter magni gratia regis
Ditavitque bonis tanta ad molimina natis.
Hùc tua te virtus, forte ancillante, propellit,
Euge; opus hoc miræ pietatis perfice.

The Bifhop, fo far from being difpleafed at this bold and unufual addrefs, anfwered it in a fhort Latin fpeech, and promifed to reftore the cathedral.

[r] How far the works of this royal author deferve the epithets here beftowed upon them, I venture not to decide. "The Dæmonologie" and "The Counterblaft to Tobacco" do not excite very flattering fentiments of his literary acquirements. Quotations, puns, fcripture, witticifms, fuperftition, oaths, vanity, prerogative, and pedantry are affirmed by the writer of The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors to be the ingredients of all his facred majefty's performances. (*Vol. I. p.* 41.)——Yet the incenfe of praife and adulation was liberally offered to him, both in his life-time and after his death. Ben Jonfon, in an epigram, commends James as "beft of kings and beft of poets." One of the moft learned divines of his time declares the king's Paraphrafe upon the Revelation of St. John, which he is faid to have written before he was twenty years of age, to be a memorable monument left to all pofterity, *which I can never looke upon, but thofe verfes of the poet runne alwaies in my minde.*

Cæfaribus virtus contigit ante diem:
Ingenium cœlefte fuis velocius annis
Surgit, et ignavæ fert mala damna moræ.

reverend Dr. Andrews[s], the late learned Bishop of Winchester, who was then the king's Almoner.

About this time there grew many disputes that concerned the Oath of Supremacy

[s] Of this great divine Casaubon thus speaks, "De cujus altâ doctrinâ in omni genere disciplinarum quicquid dixero minus erit." In him were eminently united those qualities, which seldom meet in one man, "Scientia magna, memoria major, judicium maximum, at "industria infinita." He is said to have possessed a critical and accurate knowledge of at least fifteen modern tongues. Hence, no one was better qualified to be one of the translators of the Bible in the reign of King James. Lord Clarendon entertained so favourable an opinion of him, as to declare, That "if Andrews, who loved and understood the church, had succeeded Bancroft in the see of Canterbury, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled." (*History of the Rebellion, b. I. p.* 88. *Edit.* 1721.) Amongst Milton's juvenile poems is an elegy on the death of Bishop Andrews. To his patronage the venerable Joseph Mede owed his success in being elected into a fellowship of Christ's College, Cambridge. And it should be always mentioned to his honour, that it was usual with him to send for men of note, that he thought wanted preferment, and to give them prebends and benefices under seal before they knew of it. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of Mr. Bois, on whom he conferred a prebend of Ely unasked for. He was sent for to London by the bishop. When he had given him, as we commonly say, joy of it (which was his first salutation at his coming to him), he told him, "that he did be-"stow it freely on him, without any one moving him thereto; though (said he) some pick-"thanks will be saying, they stood your friends herein." Which prediction proved very true. (*Peck's Desiderata curiosa, b. VIII. p.* 50.)——Fuller observes of him, that "the fathers are not "more faithfully cited in his book, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; "his gravity in a manner awing King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in "the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself." Of his writings perhaps the most known and the most useful is his Manual of Devotions, composed in Greek and Latin for his own private use, and rendered into English by Dean Stanhope. For some time before his death the manuscript was scarce ever out of his hands. It was found worn in pieces by his fingers, and wet with his tears. A late editor of these devotions thus concludes his advertisement to the reader. "When thou hast bought the book, enter into thy "closet and shut the door; pray with Bishop Andrews for one week, and he will be thy "companion for the residue of thy years; he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of "death he will not forsake thee."——"Who," saith Bishop Gauden, "hath more amplenesS "and completeness for a good Man, a good Bishop, a good Christian, a good Scholar, a good "Preacher, and a good Counsellor, than Bishop Andrews, a man of an astonishing excellency "both at home and abroad." (*Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 1016.)

Supremacy and Allegiance[t], in which the king had appeared and engaged himſelf by his public writings now extant. And his majeſty diſcourſing with Mr. Donne, concerning many of the reaſons which are uſually urged againſt the taking of thoſe oaths, apprehended ſuch a validity and clearneſs in his ſtating the queſtions, and his anſwers to them, that his majeſty commanded him to beſtow ſome time in drawing the arguments into a method, and then to write his anſwers to them; and having done that, not to ſend but be his own meſſenger and bring them to him. To this he preſently and diligently applied himſelf, and within ſix weeks brought them to him, under his own hand-writing, as they be now printed; the book bearing the name of "Pſeudo-Martyr[u]," printed anno 1610.

When the king had read and conſidered that book, he perſuaded Mr. Donne to enter into the miniſtry; to which at that time he was, and appeared, very unwilling, apprehending it (ſuch was his miſtaken modeſty) to be too weighty for his abilities: And though his majeſty had promiſed him a favour, and many perſons of worth meditated with his majeſty for ſome ſecular employment for him (to which his education had apted him), and particularly the Earl of Somerſet, when in his greateſt height of favour; who

[t] "Then I ſay did his majeſty ſhew this Chriſtian courage of his more manifeſtly, when he ſent the profeſſion of his religion, "The Apology of the Oath of Allegiance," and his opinion of the Roman Antichriſt, in all languages to all Princes of Chriſtendom. By occaſion of which book, though there have riſen twenty Rabſhakes, who have railed againſt our God, in railing againſt our religion; and twenty Shemeis, who have railed againſt the perſon of his ſacred majeſty—(for I may pronounce that the number of them who have barked and ſnarled at that book in writing is ſcarce leſs than forty);—yet ſcarce one of them all hath undertaken the arguments of that book, but either repeated, and perchance enlarged thoſe things, which their own authors had ſhovelled together of that ſubject (that is, the Pope's temporal power); or elſe they have bent themſelves maliciouſly, inſolently, ſacrilegiouſly againſt the perſon of his majeſty; and the Pope may be Antichriſt ſtill, for any thing they have ſaid to the contrary." (*Dr. Donne's Sermon at Paul's Croſs, March* 24, 1616.)

[u] "Wherein this concluſion is evicted, that thoſe who are of the Roman religion in this kingdom, may or ought to take the oath of allegiance, 1610." In this year Dr. Donne was incorporated M. A. in the Univerſity of Oxford, having already been admitted to that degree at Cambridge.

who being then at Theobald's[x] with the king, where one of the clerks of the council died that night; the earl posted a messenger for Mr. Donne to come to him immediately, and, at Mr. Donne's coming, said, "Mr. "Donne, to testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer "you, stay in this garden till I go up to the king and bring you word that "you are clerk of the council: Doubt not my doing this, for I know the "king loves you, and know the king will not deny me."—But the king gave a positive denial to all requests; and, having a discerning spirit, replied, "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned "divine, and will prove a powerful preacher, and my desire is to prefer "him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him." After that time, as he professeth in his Book of Devotions, "The King descended "to a persuasion, almost to a solicitation, of him to enter into sacred or-"ders[y];" which though he then denied not, yet he deferred it for almost three years[z]. All which time he applied himself to an incessant study of textual divinity, and to the attainment of a greater perfection in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew.

In

[x] The house at Theobald's, near Waltham in Essex, was built by the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, in the reign of Elizabeth. "A place, than which, as to the fabric, nothing can "be more neat, and as to the gardens, walks, and wildernesses about it, nothing can be "more pleasant." James I. was so much delighted with its situation, that he gave the manor of *Hatfield Regis* in exchange for it to Lord Cecil, afterward created Earl of Salisbury. He died at this his favourite palace, March 27, 1627. This noble and beautiful edifice was plundered and destroyed by the Rebels in 1651.

[y] Walton probably alludes to the following passage in the dedication of Donne's Book of Devotions. "To the most excellent Prince, Prince Charles. Most excellent Prince, I have "had three births; one natural, when I came into the world; one supernatural, when I "entered into the ministry; and now a preternatural birth in returning to life from this sick-"ness: In my second birth your highnesse's royal father vouchsafed mee his hand, not onely to "sustaine me in it, but to lead me to it."

[z] Mr. Granger quotes a passage from Dr. Barwick's life of Bishop Morton, relating to Donne, that he (Barwick) saw a portrait of Donne at Lincoln's Inn, all inveloped with a darkish shadow, his face and features hardly discernible, with this ejaculation and wish written thereon: "Domine, illumina tenebras meas;" and that this wish was afterward accomplished, when at the persuasion of King James he entered into holy orders.

(Biogr. Hist. vol. II.)

In the firſt and moſt bleſſed times of Chriſtianity, when the clergy were looked upon with reverence, and deſerved it, when they overcame their oppoſers by high examples of virtue, by a bleſſed patience and long-ſuffering; thoſe only were then judged worthy the miniſtry, whoſe quiet and meek ſpirits did make them look upon that ſacred calling with an humble adoration and fear to undertake it; which indeed requires ſuch great degrees of *humility*, and *labour*, and *care*, that none but ſuch were then thought worthy of that celeſtial dignity; and ſuch only were then ſought out, and ſolicited to undertake it. This I have mentioned, becauſe forwardneſs and inconſideration could not in Mr. Donne, as in many others, be an argument of inſufficiency or unfitneſs; for he had conſidered long, and had many ſtrifes within himſelf, concerning the ſtrictneſs of life and competency of learning required in ſuch as enter into ſacred orders; and doubtleſs, conſidering his own demerits, did humbly aſk God with St. Paul, "Lord, who is ſufficient for theſe things?" and with meek Moſes[a], "Lord, who am I?" And ſure, if he had conſulted with fleſh and blood, he had not for theſe reaſons put his hand to that holy plough. But God, who is able to prevail, wreſtled with him as the Angel did with Jacob, *and marked him*; marked him for his own; marked him with a bleſſing, a bleſſing of obedience to the motions of his bleſſed ſpirit. And then, as he had formerly aſked God with Moſes, "Who am I?" So now, being inſpired with an apprehenſion of God's particular mercy to him in the king's and others' ſolicitations of him, he came to aſk King David's thankful queſtion, "Lord, who am I, that thou art ſo mindful of me?" So mindful of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through this wilderneſs of the many temptations and various turnings of a dangerous life; ſo merciful to me, as to move the learnedeſt of kings to deſcend to move me to ſerve

[a] A reader, who hath conſidered with attention the hiſtory of Moſes, as recorded in the ſacred writings, will not eaſily acknowledge the propriety of applying the quality of *meekneſs* to this great leader of the Iſraelites. He ſeems rather to have been ſuſceptible of a warmth of temper. Hence Dr. Kennicott, following the verſion of a learned foreign profeſſor, propoſes a ſlight alteration of a word in the original, and gives a ſenſe entirely different from that, in which the paſſage, *(Numb. xii. 3.)* has been commonly explained, and more conſiſtent with the character of Moſes. "He was highly favoured with anſwers (from God) "above all the men which were upon the face of the earth."

(See Kennicott's Remarks on Select Paſſages, &c. p. 57.)

ſerve at the altar; ſo merciful to me, as at laſt to move my heart to embrace this holy motion:—Thy motions I will and do embrace:—And now I ſay with the bleſſed Virgin, "Be it with thy ſervant as ſeemeth beſt in "thy ſight;" and ſo, bleſſed Jeſus, I do take the cup of ſalvation, and will call upon thy name, and will preach thy goſpel[b].

Such ſtrifes as theſe St. Auſtine[c] had, when St. Ambroſe[d] endeavoured his converſion to Chriſtianity, with which he confeſſeth he acquainted his friend Alipius. Our learned author (a man fit to write after no mean copy) did the like. And declaring his intentions to his dear friend Dr. King, then Biſhop of London, a man famous in his generation, and no ſtranger to Mr. Donne's abilities,—(for he had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, at the time of Mr. Donne's being his lordſhip's ſecretary);—that reverend man did receive the news with much gladneſs; and, after ſome expreſſions of joy, and a perſuaſion to be conſtant in his pious purpoſe, he proceeded with all convenient ſpeed, to ordain him firſt deacon, and then prieſt not long after[e].

Now

[b] Theſe juſt and exquiſitely beautiful reflections affix infinite credit equally to Dr. Donne and to his Biographer. Is it not devoutly to be wiſhed that they were deeply imprinted on the minds of every candidate for holy orders?

[c] Auguſtin, the famous Biſhop of Hippo, and uſually called "the great Doctor of Africa," was born in 359, and died in 430. The careleſſneſs and levity of the earlier period of his life were in ſome meaſure compenſated by the unbounded charity, the piety and zeal which he diſplayed after his converſion to the true faith. This converſion is attributed partly to the affecting diſcourſes of St. Ambroſe, whoſe lectures he was induced to attend through mere curioſity, and partly to the tears and tender entreaties of his mother Monica. He hath ſo freely acknowledged and cenſured the impropriety of his former conduct, in his books of Confeſſions, that it is juſtly deemed "tyranny to trample on him that proſtrates himſelf." Eraſmus, who hath written his life, exhibits him as the moſt finiſhed pattern of goodneſs—"quaſi Deus voluerit in Auguſtino tanquam in una tabula vividum quoddam exemplar "Epiſcopi repreſentare omnibus virtutum numeris abſolutum."

[d] Biſhop of Milan, from the perſuaſive powers of his eloquence, and the charming ſweetneſs of his language, called "the Mellifluous Doctor." The effects which his diſcourſes produced on St. Auguſtin are deſcribed in *Confeſſionum, lib. v. cap.* 14.

[e] He had bid farewel to poetry the year before; his laſt poem being written upon the death of Lord Harrington, a nobleman of extraordinary piety and learning.

Now the Engliſh Church had gained a ſecond St. Auſtin, for I think none was ſo like him before his converſion; none ſo like St. Ambroſe after it: And if his youth had the infirmities of the one, his age had the excellencies of the other; the learning and holineſs of both.

And now all his ſtudies, which had been occaſionally diffuſed, were all concentred in divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own ſoul were engaged in the converſion of others;—in preaching the glad tidings of remiſſion to repenting ſinners, and peace to each troubled ſoul. To theſe he applied himſelf with all care and diligence: And now ſuch a change was wrought in him that he could ſay with David, "O how amiable are thy "tabernacles, O Lord God of Hoſts!" Now he declared openly, "That "when he required a temporal, God gave him a ſpiritual bleſſing." And that "He was now gladder to be a door-keeper in the houſe of God than "he could be to enjoy the nobleſt of all temporal employments."

Preſently after he entered into his holy profeſſion, the king ſent for him, and made him his chaplain in ordinary, and promiſed to take a particular care for his preferment.

And though his long familiarity with ſcholars and perſons of greateſt quality was ſuch as might have given ſome men boldneſs enough to have preached to any eminent auditory; yet his modeſty in this employment was ſuch that he could not be perſuaded to it, but went uſually accompanied with ſome one friend, to preach privately in ſome village not far from London; his firſt ſermon being preached at Paddington: This he did till his majeſty ſent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and though much was expected from him, both by his majeſty and others, yet he was ſo happy (which few are) as to ſatisfy and exceed their expectations; preaching the word ſo as ſhewed his own heart was poſſeſſed with thoſe very thoughts and joys that he laboured to diſtil into others: A preacher in earneſt, weeping ſometimes for his auditory, ſometimes with them; always preaching to himſelf like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying ſome, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a ſacred art and courtſhip to amend their lives: Here picturing a vice ſo as to make it ugly to thoſe that practiſed it, and a virtue

fo as to make it be beloved even by thofe that loved it not, and all this with a moft particular grace and an inexpreffible addition of comelinefs.

There may be fome that may incline to think (fuch indeed as have not heard him), that my affection to my friend hath tranfported me to an immoderate commendation of his preaching: If this meets with any fuch, let me intreat, though I will omit many, yet that they will receive a double witnefs for what I fay, it being atteftED by a gentleman of worth, (Mr. Chidley[f], a frequent hearer of his fermons) in part of a funeral elegy wrote by him on Dr. Donne; and is a known truth though it be in verfe.

——————Each altar had his fire——
He kept his love but not his object. Wit
He did not banifh, but tranfplanted it;
Taught it both time and place, and brought it home
To PIETY, which it doth beft become.
For fay, had ever pleafure fuch a drefs?
Have you feen crimes fo fhap'd, or lovelinefs
Such as his lips did clothe religion in?
Had not reproof a beauty paffing fin?
Corrupted Nature forrow'd that fhe ftood
So near the danger of becoming good.
And when he preach'd fhe wifh'd her ears exempt
From PIETY that had fuch power to tempt.
How did his facred flatt'ry beguile
Men to amend?——————

More of this, and more witneffes might be brought, but I forbear and return[g].

That

[f] Rather Mr Chudleigh:—John Chudleigh, M. A. of Wadham College in Oxford, and the eldeft fon of Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. of Alfton in Devonfhire.

[g] The character of Dr. Donne's Sermons is faithfully delineated by his fon in the Dedication of them to Charles I. "They who have been converfant in the works of the holieft "men of all times, cannot but acknowledge in thefe the fame fpirit with which they writ; "reafonable demonftrations every where in the fubjects, comprehenfible by reafon: As for "thofe things which cannot be comprehended by our reafon alone, they are no where made "eafier

That ſummer, in the very ſame month in which he entered into ſacred orders and was made the King's Chaplain, his majeſty then going his progreſs,

"eaſier to faith than here; and for the other part of our nature, which conſiſts in our paſſions "and in our affections, they are here raiſed and laid, and governed and diſpoſed, in a manner, "according to the will of the author. The doctrine itſelf which is taught here is primitively "Chriſtian; the fathers are every where conſulted with reverence, but apoſtolical writings "only appealed to as the laſt Rule of Faith. Laſtly, ſuch is the conjuncture here of zeal and "diſcretion, that whilſt it is the main ſcope of the author in theſe Diſcourſes, that glory be "given to God, this is accompanied every where with a ſcrupulous care and endeavour, that "peace be likewiſe ſettled amongſt men."

The two following extracts will enable the reader to form a judgment of Dr. Donne's ſtyle and mode of writing:

——"It is not enough not to truſt in fleſh, but thou muſt truſt in that that is ſpirit. And "when thou art to direct thy truſt upon him who is ſpirit, the ſpirit of power and of conſo-"lation, ſtop not, ſtray not, divert not upon evill ſpirits to ſeeke advancement or to ſeeke "knowledge from them, nor upon good ſpirits, the glorious ſaints of God in heaven, to ſeeke "ſalvation from them, nor upon thine own ſpirit, in an over-valuation of thy purity or thy "merits. For there is a peſtilent pride in an imaginary humility, and an infectious foule-"neſſe in an imaginary purity; but turne onely to the onely inviſible and immortall God, "who turnes to thee in ſo many names and notions of power and conſolation in this one "pſalme, (*Pſ. lxii.*). In laſt verſe but one of this pſalme David ſayes, *God hath ſpoken once, "and twice have I heard him.* God hath ſaid enough, but twice in this pſalme hath he re-"peated this, in the ſecond and in the ſixt verſe, *He onely is my rocke, and my ſalvation, and "my defence.* And, as it is inlarged in the ſeventh verſe, *my refuge and my glory.* If my *re-"fuge*,—what enemy can purſue me? If my *defence*,—what tentation ſhall wound me? If my "*rocke*, what ſtorme ſhall ſhake me? If my *ſalvation*,—what melancholy ſhall deject me? If "my *glory*,—what calumny ſhall defame me?

"I muſt not ſtay you now, to infuſe into you the ſeverall conſolations of theſe ſeverall "names and notions of God towards you. But goe your ſeverall wayes home, and every "ſoule take with him that name, which may miniſter moſt comfort unto him. Let him that "is purſued with any particular tentation, inveſt God, as God is a *refuge*, a ſanctuary. Let "him that is buffeted with the meſſenger of Satan, battered with his own concupiſcence, "receive God, as God is his *defence* and target. Let him that is ſhaked with perplexities in "his underſtanding or ſcruples in his conſcience lay hold upon God, as God is his *rocke* and "his anchor. Let him that hath any diffident jealouſie or ſuſpition of the free and full mercy "of God apprehend God, as God is his ſalvation. And him that walks in the inglorioufneſſe "and contempt of this world contemplate God, as God is his *glory*. Any of theſe notions is "enough

greſs was entreated to receive an entertainment in the univerſity of Cambridge; and Mr. Donne attending his majeſty at that time, his majeſty was

" enough to any man, but God is all theſe and all elſe that all ſoules can thinke, to every " man. Wee ſhut up both theſe conſiderations (man ſhould not (that is not all), God ſhould " be relied upon) with that of the Prophet *Truſt ye not in a friend, put not your confidence in a " guide, keepe the doores of thy mouth from her that lies in thy boſome* (there is the excluſion of " truſt in man): And then he adds in the ſeventh verſe, becauſe it ſtands thus between man " and man, *I will looke unto the Lord, I will looke unto the God of my ſalvation, my God will " heare me.*" (*LXXX Sermons*, 1640, *p.* 662.)

——" Now to make up a circle, by returning to our firſt word, remember: As we re- " member God, ſo for his ſake let us remember one another. In my long abſence and far " diſtance from hence remember me, as I ſhall do you in the ears of that God to whom the " fartheſt eaſt and the fartheſt weſt are but as the right and the left ear in one of us; we hear " with both at once, and he hears in both at once; remember me, not my abilities, for when " I conſider my Apoſtleſhip that I was ſent to you, I am in St. Paul's *quorum, quorum ego ſum " minimus*, the leaſt of them that have been ſent; and when I conſider my infirmities, I am " in his *quorum* in another commiſſion, another way, *quorum ego maximus*, the greateſt of " them; but remember my labors and endeavours, at leaſt my deſire to make ſure your ſal- " vation. And I ſhall remember your religious cheerfulneſs in hearing the word, and your " chriſtianly reſpect towards all them that bring that word unto you, and towards myſelf in " particular far above my merit. And ſo as your eyes that ſtay here and mine that muſt be " far of, for all that diſtance ſhall meet every morning in looking upon that ſame ſun, and " meet every night in looking upon the ſame moon; ſo our hearts may meet morning and " evening in that God which ſees and hears every where; that you may come thither to him " with your prayers, that I (if I may be of uſe for his glory and your edification in this " place) may be reſtored to you again; and may come to him with my prayer, that what " Paul ſoever plant amongſt you, or what Apollos ſoever water, God himſelf will give the " increaſe: That if I never meet you again till we have all paſſed the gate of death, yet in " the gates of heaven I may meet you all, and there ſay to my Saviour and your Saviour, " that which he ſaid to his father, " *Of thoſe whom thou haſt given me have I not loſt one.*" " Remember me thus, you that ſtay in this kingdome of peace, where no ſword is drawn " but the ſword of juſtice, as I ſhall remember you in thoſe kingdomes, where ambition on " one ſide and a neceſſary defence from unjuſt perſecution on the other ſide hath drawn many " ſwords; and Chriſt Jeſus remember us all in his kingdome; to which though we muſt ſail " through a ſea, it is the ſea of his blood, where no ſoul ſuffers ſhipwreck; though we muſt " be blown with ſtrange winds, with ſighs and groans for our ſins, yet it is the ſpirit of God " that blows all this wind, and ſhall blow away all contrary winds of diffidence or diſtruſt " in

was pleafed to recommend him to the univerfity to be made Doctor in Divinity: Dr. Harfnett[h] (after archbifhop of York) was then Vice-Chancellor, who, knowing him to be the author of that learned book the "Pfeudo-Martyr," required no other proof of his abilities, but propofed it to the univerfity, who prefently affented, and expreffed a gladnefs that they had fuch an occafion to entitle him to be theirs[i].

His

"in God's mercy; where we fhall be all fouldiers of one army, the Lord of Hoftes, and chil-
"dren of one quire, the God of harmony and confent: where all clients fhall retain but one
"counfellor, our advocate Chrift Jefus, nor prefent him any other fee but his own blood,
"and yet every client have a judgment on his fide, not only in a not guilty, in the remiffion
"of his fins, but in a *venite benedicti*, in being called to the participation of an immortal
"crown of glory: where there fhall be no difference in affection nor in mind, but we fhall
"agree as fully and perfectly in our *allelujah* and *gloria in excelfis* as God the Father, Son,
"and Holy Ghoft, agreed in the *faciamus hominem* at firft; where we fhall end and yet begin
"but then; where we fhall have continuall reft, and yet never grow lazie; where we fhall
"be ftronger to refift and yet have no enemy; where we fhall live and never die, where we
"fhall meet and never part."

(*A Sermon of Valediction at his going into Germany, at Lincolne's Inn, April* 18, 1619. *Donne's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 280, 281.

[h] Dr. Samuel Harfnett, Mafter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was Vice-chancellor of that Univerfity in 1605 and in 1614, fucceffively Bifhop of Chichefter and of Norwich, and Archbifhop of York. He died March 12, 1630. Strictnefs to hiftoric truth precludes us from paffing over in filence an unfortunate circumftance of his life, viz. his expulfion from the Mafterfhip of Pembroke-Hall, for feveral practices exhibited againft him in fifty feven Articles; all of which are faid to have been fo flagrant, that he chofe rather to refign his Mafterfhip than to undergo an inquiry. But as the purport of thefe Articles is unknown, and the nature of the charge brought againft him has never been afcertained, we remain in doubt what degree of cenfure he deferved. The infcription on his tomb was evidently penned by himfelf. "Hic jacet Samuel Harfnett, quondam Vicarius hujus Ecclefiæ, primo indignus Epifcopus Ciceftrienfis, dein indignior Norvicienfis, demum indigniffimus Archiepifcopus."

[i] A different account of this matter is given in two letters of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudly Carlton. In one dated March 16, 1614, he writes, "I had almoft forgotten that "almoft all the Courtiers went forth Mafters of Arts, at the King's being there; but few or "no Doctors, fave only *Younge*; which was done by a mandate, being fon to Sir *Peter*, the king's

His abilities and induſtry in his profeſſion were ſo eminent, and he ſo known and ſo beloved by perſons of quality, that within the firſt year of his entering into ſacred orders he had fourteen advowſons of ſeveral benefices preſented to him; but they were in the country, and he could not leave his beloved London, to which place he had a natural inclination, having received both his birth and education in it, and there contracted a friendſhip with many, whoſe converſation multiplied the joys of his life: But an employment that might affix him to that place would be welcome, for he needed it.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died[k], leaving him a man of a narrow unſettled eſtate, and (having buried five) the careful father of ſeven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary aſſurance never to bring them under the ſubjection of a ſtep-mother; which promiſe he kept moſt faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his moſt dear and deſerving wife's grave[l], and betook himſelf to a moſt retired and ſolitary life.

In

"king's ſchoolmaſter. The Vice-Chancellor and Univerſity were exceeding ſtrict in that "point, and refuſed many importunities of great men; among whom was Mr. Secretary, "that made great means for Mr. Weſtfield; but it would not be: neither the King's intreaty "for *John Dun* would prevail; yet they are threatened with a mandate, which, if it is come, "it is like they will obey; but they are reſolved to give him ſuch a blow withal, that he "were better be without it."

And in another letter of nearly the ſame date: "*John Donne* and one *Cheke* went out Doc-"tors at Cambridge with much ado, after our coming away, by the King's expreſs mandate; "though the Vice-Chancellor and ſome of the heads called them openly 'Filios noctis et "tenebriones,' that ſought thus to come in at the window, when there was a fair gate open. "But the worſt is, that *Donne* had gotten a reverſion of the Deanery of Canterbury, if ſuch "grants could be lawful; whereby he hath purchaſed himſelf a great deal of envy, that a "man of his ſort ſhould ſeek, *per ſaltum*, to intercept ſuch a place from ſo many more wor-"thy and antient divines."

[k] Mrs. Donne died Auguſt 15, 1617, on the ſeventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the pariſh church of St. Clement's near Temple Bar.

[l] It appears that Nicholas Stone, a noted ſtatuary in the reign of James I. made a tomb for Mrs. Donne, to be placed in the church of St. Clement Danes, for the which he had fifteen Pieces. (*Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. II. p. 44.*) The following is the inſcription on her tomb:

ANNÆ

In this retiredneſs, which was often from the ſight of his dereſt friends, he became crucified to the world, and all thoſe vanities, thoſe imaginary pleaſures that are daily acted on that reſtleſs ſtage; and they were as perfectly crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think (being paſſions may be both changed and heightened by accidents) but that that abundant affection which once was betwixt him and her, who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth; her, with whom he had divided ſo many pleaſant ſorrows and contented fears, as common-people are not capable of; not hard to think but that ſhe, being now removed by death, a commeaſurable grief took as full a poſſeſſion of him as joy had done, and ſo indeed it did; for now his very ſoul was elemented of nothing but ſadneſs, now grief took ſo full a poſſeſſion of his heart, as

ANNÆ

GEORGII
ROBERTI
WILIELMI
CHRISTOPHERI } More de
Lotheſley
Equitum
Aurator. } Filiæ,
Sorori,
Nepti,
Pronepti

Fœminæ lectiſſimæ, dilectiſſimæque,
Conjugi chariſſimæ, caſtiſſimæque,
Matri piiſſimæ, indulgentiſſimæque,
XV annis in conjugio tranſactis,
VII poſt XII partum (quorum VII
Superſtant) dies
Immani febre correptæ
(Quod hoc ſaxum fari juſſit
Ipſe præ dolore infans)
Maritus (miſerrimum dictu) olim
Charæ charus
Cineribus cineres ſpondet ſuos
Novo matrimonio (annuat Deus) hoc
Loco ſociandos
JOANNES DONNE
Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor.
Seceſſit
Anno XXXIII Ætat. ſuæ et ſui Jeſu
CIC. DC. XVII.
Aug. XV.

(*Strype's Stow's Survey of London*, 1720, *vol. II. b. 4, p. 113.*)

as to leave no place for joy; if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where like a *pelican in the wilderness*, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction, "Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant "the thing that I long for!" For then, *as the grave is become her house*, so I would hasten to make it mine also, *that we two might there make our beds together in the dark*[m]. Thus as the Israelites sat mourning by the rivers of Babylon, when they remembered Sion[n]; so he gave some ease to his oppressed heart by thus venting his sorrows: Thus he began the day, and ended the night; ended the restless night and began the weary day in lamentations. And thus he continued till a consideration of his new engagements to God and St. Paul's "Wo is me, if I preach not the gospel," dispersed those sad clouds that had then benighted his hopes, and now forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried (in St. Clement's Church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet Jeremiah's Lamentation: "Lo, I am the "man that have seen affliction[o]."

And

[m] This expression of Donne's grief reminds us of the wretched Romeo's words:

——————"I will stay with thee;
"And never from this palace of dim night
"Depart again: here will I remain
"With worms, that are thy chamber-maids."

(Romeo and Juliet, Act V. Scene III.)

In similar language Theseus laments the death of Phædra:

Το κατα γας θελω, το κατα γας κεφας,
Μετοικει σκοτω θαεως ο τλημων,
Της σης γεγηθεις φιλτατης ομιλιας. *(Euripid. Hippolytus, v. 851.)*

[n] Psalm cxxxvii. Dr. Donne translated this psalm into English verse.

[o] LAMENTATIONS, iii. 1.

"I am the man which have affliction seene,
"Under the rod of God's wrath having beene;
"He hath led mee to darkneſſe, not to light,
"And againſt mee all day his hand doth fight." DONNE.

During this time of distress he was probably engaged in his Poetic Version of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, following for the most part the translation of Tremellius.

And indeed his very words and looks teſtified him to be truly ſuch a man; and they, with the addition of his ſighs and tears, expreſſed in his ſermon, did ſo work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted and moulded them into a companionable ſadneſs[p], and ſo they left the congregation; but then their houſes preſented them with objects of diverſion, and his preſented him with nothing but freſh objects of ſorrow, in beholding many helpleſs children, a narrow fortune, and a conſideration of the many cares and caſualties that attend their education.

In this time of ſadneſs he was importuned by the grave Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, (who were once the companions and friends of his youth) to accept of their lecture, which, by reaſon of Dr. Gataker's[q] removal from thence, was then void; of which he accepted, being moſt glad to renew his

O intermitted

[p] His eloquence in the pulpit is thus deſcribed in Darnelly's Latin Poem:

——————" vidi,
" Audivi, et ſtupui, quoties orator in æde
" Paulinâ ſtetit, et mirâ gravitate levantes
" Corda oculoſque viros tenuit: dum Neſtoris ille
" Fudit verba (omni quanto mage dulcia melle?)
" Nunc habet attonitos, pandit myſteria plebi
" Non conceſſa prius, nondum intellecta: revolvunt
" Mirantes, tacitique, arrectis auribus aſtant.
" *Mutatis mox ille modo formâque loquendi*
" *Triſtia pertractat: Fatumque et flebile mortis*
" *Tempus, et in cineres redeunt quod corpora primos.*
" *Tum gemitum cunctos dare, tunc lugere videres,*
" *Forſitan a Lachrymis aliquis non temperat, atque*
" *Ex oculis largum ſtillat rorem.*"

[q] Mr. Thomas Gataker, a ſolid, judicious, and truly pious divine, highly eſteemed by Salmaſius and other learned foreigners, was the author of a treatiſe once much read "Of the Nature and Uſe of Lots," &c. and was juſtly celebrated for his critical knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Being one of the Aſſembly of Divines appointed by Parliament in 1642, he conducted himſelf in that department with ſingular prudence and moderation. In the Aſſembly's Annotations on the Bible he executed with uncommon ability that diviſion which included Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. His Explication of Jeremiah x. 12, ſubjected him to the ſevere caſtigations of the famous aſtrologer William Lily, againſt whom he wrote "A Diſcourſe Apologetical, wherein Lilie's lewd and loud lies in his Merlin or Paſquil for the

intermitted friendſhip with thoſe whom he ſo much loved, and where he had been a Saul, though not to perſecute Chriſtianity, or to deride it, yet in his irregular youth to neglect the viſible practice of it; there to become a Paul, and preach ſalvation to his beloved brethren.

And now his life was as a *ſhining light* among his old friends, now he gave an ocular teſtimony of the ſtrictneſs and regularity of it; now he might ſay as St. Paul adviſeth his Corinthians, "Be ye followers of me, as "I follow Chriſt, and walk as ye have me for an example." Not the example of a buſy-body, but of a contemplative, a harmleſs, a humble, and a holy life and converſation.

The love of that noble ſociety was expreſſed to him many ways; for, beſides fair lodgings that were ſet apart and newly furniſhed for him with all neceſſaries, other courteſies were alſo daily added; indeed ſo many, and ſo freely, as if they meant their gratitude ſhould exceed his merits: And in this love-ſtrife of deſert and liberality, they continued for the ſpace of two years, he preaching faithfully and conſtantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About which time the Emperor of Germany died, and the Palſgrave, who had lately married the Lady Elizabeth, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia; the unhappy beginning of many miſeries in that nation[r].

King James, whoſe motto[s] *(Beati pacifici)* did truly ſpeak the very thoughts

the year 1654, are clearly laid open, &c." His houſe bore the reſemblance of a college, where many young men, foreigners as well as natives, continually attended to receive inſtructions from his lectures. The moſt approved of his works are "A Diſſertation upon the Style of the New Teſtament." "A Tract de Nomine tetragrammato—Adverſaria Miſcellanea." Prefixed to this laſt work, publiſhed by his ſon, is his own life, written by himſelf.

[r] Upon the death of the Emperor Matthias, his nephew Ferdinand, who ſucceeded him in the imperial dignity, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Bohemia. The States of Bohemia conſidering their crown as elective made a tender of it to Frederic, Elector Palatine, ſon-in-law to the King of England, who immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia in ſupport of his new ſubjects.

[s] James was not aware of Queen Elizabeth's maxim, or at leaſt he was not deſirous of practiſing it, that "the people of England are more governable in times of war than in times of

thoughts of his heart, endeavoured firſt to prevent, and after to compoſe the diſcords of that diſcompoſed ſtate; and amongſt other his endeavours, did then ſend the Lord Hay[t], Earl of Doncaſter, his Ambaſſador to thoſe unſettled princes; and by a ſpecial command from his majeſty, Dr. Donne was appointed to aſſiſt and attend that employment to the princes of the Union; for which the earl was moſt glad, who had always put a great value on him; and taken a great pleaſure in his converſation and diſcourſe: And his friends of Lincoln's Inn were as glad; for they feared that his immoderate ſtudy, and ſadneſs for his wife's death, would, as Jacob ſaid, "Make his days few," and reſpecting his bodily health, "evil" too; and of this there were many viſible ſigns.

At his going[u] he left his friends of Lincoln's Inn, and they him with many reluctations; for though he could not ſay as St. Paul to his Epheſians, "Behold you to whom I have preached the kingdom of God ſhall from "henceforth ſee my face no more;" yet, he believing himſelf to be in a conſumption queſtioned, and they feared it; all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted ſtudies, haſtened the decays of his weak body: But God, who is the God of all wiſdom and goodneſs, turned it to the beſt; for this employment (to ſay nothing of the event of it) did not only divert him from thoſe too ſerious ſtudies and ſad thoughts, but ſeemed to give him a new life, by a true occaſion of joy, to be an eye-witneſs of the health of his moſt dear and moſt honoured miſtreſs, the

of peace." Yet, notwithſtanding his well-known pacific diſpoſition, the adulation of a Scotch poet (Alexander Boyde) hath compared him to Minerva for his wiſdom, and to "Mars for his warlike qualities."

Primus in orbe Deus, qui jungis Pallada Marti,
Et facis ut titulis cedat uterque tuis.

[t] Of whom ſee Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 61, 8vo edit. 1705.

[u] He thus mentions his journey in a Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyere. "Eluceſcit mihi "nova nec inopportuna nec inutilis (paulo quam optaram fortaſſis magis inhonora) occaſio "extera viſendi regna, liberoſque perquam amantiſſimæ conjugis pignora cæteraque hujus "auræ oblectamenta aliquot ad annos relinquendi." Upon this occaſion he preached a Sermon of valediction at Lincoln's Inn, April 18, 1619, from whence an extract is inſerted in a preceding note.

Queen of Bohemia, in a foreign nation, and to be a witneſs of that gladneſs which ſhe expreſſed to ſee him: Who, having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to ſee him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witneſs of his excellent and powerful preaching[x]. About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's Inn, with his ſorrows moderated and his health improved, and there betook himſelf to his conſtant courſe of preaching.

About a year after his return out of Germany, Dr. Carey[y] was made Biſhop of Exeter, and by his removal the deanery of St. Paul's being vacant, the king ſent to Dr. Donne, and appointed him to attend him at dinner the next day. When his majeſty was ſat down, before he had eat any meat, he ſaid after his pleaſant manner, "Dr. Donne, I have invited "you to dinner, and though you ſit not down with me, yet I will carve "to you of a diſh that I know you love well; for knowing you love "London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have "dined, then do you take your beloved diſh home to your ſtudy, ſay "grace there to yourſelf, and much good may it do you."

Immediately

[x] This unfortunate princeſs from her amiable and engaging manners was called "The Queen of Hearts."—"God hath now at laſt caſt her into an ocean of calamities, in which ſhe "ſtill remains a floating example to other princes of the inſtability of fortune, as ſhe did in "her proſperity, of civility and goodneſs." *(Oſborne.)*——In Dr. Donne's Poems is an epithalamium or marriage-ſong on the Lady Elizabeth and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentine's Day, beginning thus:

"Hail Biſhop Valentine, whoſe day is this,
"All the aire is thy diocis,
"And all the chirping choriſters
"And other birds are thy pariſhioners,
"Thou marryeſt every yeare
"The lirique larke, and the grave whiſpering dove,
"The ſparrow that neglects his life for love,
"The houſehold bird, with the red ſtomacher.

[y] Valentine Carey, Maſter of Chriſt's College in Cambridge, and Dean of St. Paul's, is ſaid to have been born in Northumberland. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Exeter, Nov. 20, 1620, and having well governed this church about ſix years, he died June 10, 1626.

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel, suffering, as holy David once vowed, " His " eyes and temples to take no rest till he had first beautified the house of " God."

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir George Moor (whom time had made a lover and admirer of him) came to pay to him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he refused to receive it, and said, as good Jacob did, when he heard his beloved son Joseph was alive, " *It is* " *enough*; you have been kind to me and mine; I know your present con- " dition is such as not to abound, and I hope mine is or will be such as " not to need it; I will therefore receive no more from you upon that con- " tract," and in testimony of it freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West[z], London, fell to him by the death of Dr. White[a], the advowson of it having been given to him long before by his honourable friend, Richard Earl of Dorset[b], then the patron, and confirmed

[z] Isaac Walton, our biographer, was an inhabitant of this parish, and thus became intimately acquainted with Dr. Donne.

[a] Dr. Thomas White, much admired as a preacher, died March 1, 1623, and was buried in his chancel of the church of St. Dunstan in the West. Having founded a lecture in moral philosophy at Oxford, and being also distinguished for many other charitable benefactions, the heads of the university directed an oration to be publicly delivered, on occasion of his death, by William Price, the first reader of that lecture. This oration, with several copies of verses written upon the same subject, was printed under the title of " Schola moralis " Philosophiæ Oxon. in funere Whiti pullata. Oxon. 1624," 4to. *(Wood's Ath. Ox.)*

[b] " Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est." HOR.

The character of this nobleman, Richard (Sackville) Earl of Dorset, the friend and patron of Dr. Donne, is thus delineated by the pen of his lady, Anne, daughter and heir of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the manuscript which she has left, containing the history of her life. " He was," says she, " in his own nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, " and very valiant in his own person: He had a great advantage in his breeding by the wis- " dom and discretion of his grandfather, Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of " England, who was then held one of the wisest men of that time; by which means he was " so

confirmed by his brother, the late deceased Edward[c], both of them men of much honour.

By these, and another ecclesiastical endowment which fell to him about the same time, given to him formerly by the Earl of Kent, he was enabled to become charitable to the poor and kind to his friends, and to make such provision for his children, that they were not left scandalous, as relating to their or his profession and quality.

The next parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor[d] to the Convocation, and about that time was appointed by his majesty, his most gracious master, to preach very many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul's Cross and other places; all which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He

"so good a scholar in all manner of learning, that in his youth when he lived in the univer-"sity of Oxford, there was none of the young nobility then students there, that excelled him. "He was also a good patriot to his country, and generally well beloved in it, much esteemed "in all the parliaments that sat in his time; and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers, as "that with an excessive bounty towards them, or indeed any of worth that were in distress, "he did much diminish his estate: As also, with excessive prodigality in house-keeping "and other noble ways at court, as tilting, masking, and the like; Prince Henry being "then alive, who was much addicted to those noble exercises, and of whom he was much "beloved." *(Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p.* 194, 195.)

[c] This nobleman, Edward (Sackville) Earl of Dorset, was entrusted with the command of the English forces which were sent to the assistance of the King of Bohemia in 1620; and in the next year was appointed Ambassador to the court of France. Of the melancholy catastrophe of a duel with his intimate friend Lord Bruce, see *the Guardians, No.* 129, 133. During the civil wars he distinguished himself by his loyalty to Charles I. with whose death he was so deeply affected, that after that event he never went out of his own house. He died July 17, 1652.

[d] On this occasion he spoke a Latin oration as his inauguration speech, which is extant in his "Poems, &c. 8vo, London, 1719." Dr. Joseph Hall preached the Latin sermon on the opening of this Convocation, which was held in 1624, and in which large subsidies were granted by the clergy to the king.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the king's displeasure, and it was about this time; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his majesty that Dr. Donne had put on the general humour of the pulpits, and was become busy in insinuating a fear of the king's inclining to Popery, and a dislike of his government, and particularly for the king's then turning the Evening Lectures into catechising, and expounding the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Belief and Commandments. His majesty was the more inclineable to believe this, for that a person of nobility and great note, betwixt whom and Dr. Donne there had been a great friendship, was at this very time discarded the court (I shall forbear his name unless I had a fairer occasion), and justly committed to prison, which begot many rumours in the common people, who in this nation think they are not wise unless they be busy about what they understand not, and especially about religion.

The king received this news with so much discontent and restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for Dr. Donne, and required his answer to the accusation, which was so clear and satisfactory, that the king said "He was right glad he "rested no longer under the suspicion." When the king had said this, Dr. Donne kneeled down and thanked his majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore "desired that "he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he "might have from his majesty, some assurance that he stood clear and fair "in his opinion." At which the king raised him from his knees with his own hands, and "protested he believed him, and that he knew he was an "honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly." And having thus dismissed him, he called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness "My Doctor is an honest man; and my "lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now "made me; and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he be-"came a divine."

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age, and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which inclined him to a consumption. But God, as Job thankfully acknowledged, *preserved his spirit*, and kept

kept his intellectuals as clear and perfect as when that ſickneſs firſt ſeized his body; but it continued long and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not.

In this diſtemper of body, his dear friend, Dr. Henry King (then chief Reſidentiary of that church, and late Biſhop of Chicheſter), a man generally known by the clergy of this nation, and as generally noted for his obliging nature, viſited him daily, and obſerving that his ſickneſs rendered his recovery doubtful, he choſe a ſeaſonable time to ſpeak to him to this purpoſe:

" Mr. Dean, I am by your favour no ſtranger to your temporal eſtate, " and you are no ſtranger to the offer lately made us, for the renewing a " leaſe of the beſt prebends corps belonging to our church, and you know " it was denied, for that our tenant being very rich offered to fine at ſo " low a rate as held not proportion with his advantages; but I will either " raiſe him to an higher ſum, or procure that the other reſidentiaries ſhall " join to accept of what was offered: One of theſe I can and will by your " favour do without delay, and without any trouble either to your body or " mind; I beſeech you to accept of my offer, for I know it will be a con- " ſiderable addition to your preſent eſtate, which I know needs it."

To this, after a ſhort pauſe, and raiſing himſelf upon his bed, he made this reply:

" My moſt dear friend, I moſt humbly thank you for your many fa- " vours, and this in particular; but in my preſent condition I ſhall not ac- " cept of your propoſal, for doubtleſs there is ſuch a ſin as ſacrilege; if " there were not, it could not have a name in ſcripture: And the primitive " clergy were watchful againſt all appearances of that evil; and indeed " then all Chriſtians looked upon it with horror and deteſtation, judging " it to be even an *open defiance of the power and providence of Almighty* " *God, and a ſad preſage of a declining religion.* But inſtead of ſuch " Chriſtians, who had ſelected times ſet apart to faſt and pray to God for a " pious clergy which they then did obey, our times abound with men " that are buſy and litigious about trifles and church-ceremonies, and yet ſo " far from ſcrupling ſacrilege, that they make not ſo much as a query " what it is: But, I thank God I have; and, dare not now upon my ſick " bed,

" when Almighty God hath made me uſeleſs to the ſervice of the church, " make any advantages out of it. But if he ſhall again reſtore me to ſuch " a degree of health as again to ſerve at his altar, I ſhall then gladly take " the reward which the bountiful benefactors of this church have deſigned " me; for God knows my children and relations will need it; in which " number my mother (whoſe credulity and charity has contracted a very " plentiful to a very narrow eſtate) muſt not be forgotten: But, Doctor " King, if I recover not, that little worldly eſtate that I ſhall leave behind " me (that very little when divided into eight parts) muſt, if you deny me " not ſo charitable a favour, fall into your hands as my moſt faithful friend " and executor, of whoſe care and juſtice I make no more doubt than of " God's bleſſing on that which I have conſcientiouſly collected for them, " but it ſhall not be augmented on my ſick-bed; and this I declare to be " my unalterable reſolution."

The reply to this was only a promiſe to obſerve his requeſt.

Within a few days his diſtempers abated, and as his ſtrength increaſed, ſo did his thankfulneſs to Almighty God, teſtified in his moſt excellent Book of Devotions[e], which he publiſhed at his recovery; in which the reader may ſee the moſt ſecret thoughts that then poſſeſſed his ſoul para-

 phraſed

[e] This book is dedicated " To the moſt excellent Prince, Prince Charles." The two following extracts from this work will give a ſufficient ſpecimen of the manner in which it is written.

" THE PATIENT TAKES HIS BED.

" THIRD MEDITATION.

" We attribute but one priviledge and advantage to man's body above other moving crea- " tures, that he is not, as others, groveling, but of an erect, of an upright form, naturally " built and diſpoſed to the contemplation of *heaven*. Indeed it is a thankeful form, and re- " compenſes that *ſoule* which gives it, with carrying that *ſoule*, ſo many foot higher towards " *heaven*; other creatures look to the *earth*; and even that is no unfit object, no unfit con- " templation for *man*; for thither he muſt come; but becauſe *man* is not to ſtay there as other " creatures are, *man* in his natural form is carried to the contemplation of that place, which " is his home, *heaven*. This is man's prerogative; but what ſtate hath he in this dignity? " A fever can fillip him downe; a fever can depoſe him; a fever can bring that head, which " yeſterday

phrased and made public; a book that may not unfitly be called a *Sacred Picture of Spiritual Ecstasies*, occasioned and appliable to the emergencies of that sicknefs; which book, being a composition of meditations, disquisitions,

" yesterday carried a *crowne* of gold, five foot towards a *crowne* of glory, as low as his own " foot to-day. When *God* came to breathe into *man* the breath of life, hee found him flat " upon the ground; when he comes to withdraw that breath from him againe, he prepares " him to it by laying him flat upon his bed. Scarce any prison so close, that affords not the " prisoner two or three steps. The *Anchorites* that barqu'd themselves up in hollow trees, and " immured themselves in hollow walls; that perverse man that barrell'd himself in a tubbe, " all could stand or sit, and enjoy some change of posture. A sicke-bed is a grave, and all " that the patient sayes there is but varying his *epitaph*. Every night's bed is a *type* of the " *grave:* At night we tell our servants at what houre we will rise, here we cannot tell ourselves " at what day, what week, what month. There the head lies as low as the foot; the head " of the people as low as they whom those feete trod upon: And that hand, that signed par- " don, is too weake to begge his own, if he might have it for lifting up that hand: Strange " fetters to the feete, strange manacles to the hands, when the feete and hands are bound so " much the faster, by how much the coardes are slacker; soe much the lesse able to do their " offices, by how much more the sinewes and ligaments are the looser. In the *grave* I may " speak through the stones in the voice of my friends, and in the accents of those words " which their love may afford my memory. Heere I am mine own *ghost*, and rather affright " my beholders than instruct them: they conceive the worst of me now, and yet feare worse; " they give me for dead now and yet wonder how I do when wake at midnight, and aske " how I doe to-morrow. Miserable and (though common to all) inhumane *posture*, where I " must practise my lying in the grave by lying still, and not practise my *resurrection* by rising " any more."

" EIGHTEENTH MEDITATION.

" The bell rings out and tells me in him that I am dead. This *soule*, this *bell* tells mee, is " *gone out*: Whither? who shall tell mee that? I know not *who* it is; much lesse *what* he " was; the condition of the man, and the course of his life, which should tell mee *whither* he " is gone, I know not. I was not there in his *sicknesse*, nor at his *death*; I saw not his *way*, " nor his *end*, nor can aske them who did, thereby to *conclude* or *argue* whither he is gone. " But yet I have one nearer mee than all these; mine own *charity*: I aske that; and that " tels me '*He is gone to everlasting rest, and joy, and glory.*' I owe him a good opinion; it is " but *thankful charity* in mee, because I received *benefit and instruction* from him when his *bell* " tolled: And I, being made the fitter to *pray* by that disposition wherein I was assisted by " his occasion, did *pray* for him; and I *pray* not without *faith*; so I doe *charitably*, so I do " faithfully beleeve that that *soule* is gone to everlasting *rest*, and *joy*, and *glory*."

ſitions, and prayers, he writ on his ſick-bed; herein imitating the holy Patriarchs, who were wont to build their altars in that place where they had received their bleſſings.

This ſickneſs brought him ſo near to the gates of death, and he ſaw the grave ſo ready to devour him, that he would often ſay his recovery was ſupernatural[f]: But that God that then reſtored his health continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life, and then in Auguſt, 1630, being with his eldeſt daughter, Mrs. Harvy, at Abury Hatch in Eſſex, he there fell into a fever, which, with the help of his conſtant infirmity (vapours from the ſpleen), haſtened him into ſo viſible a conſumption, that his beholders might ſay, as St. Paul of himſelf, "He dies daily;" and he might ſay with Job, "My welfare paſſeth away as a cloud, the days of my af-"fliction have taken hold of me, and weary nights are appointed for "me."

Reader, this ſickneſs continued long, not only weakening but wearying him ſo much, that my deſire is he may now take ſome reſt; and that before I ſpeak of his death, thou wilt not think it an impertinent digreſſion to look back with me upon ſome obſervations of his life; which, whilſt a gentle ſlumber gives reſt to his ſpirits, may, I hope, not unfitly exerciſe thy conſideration.

His marriage was the remarkable error of his life; an error, which though he had a wit able and very apt to maintain paradoxies, yet he was very far from juſtifying it; and though his wife's competent years, and other reaſons might be juſtly urged to moderate ſevere cenſures, yet he would occaſionally condemn himſelf for it. And doubtleſs it had been attended with an heavy repentance, if God had not bleſt them with ſo mutual and cordial affections, as in the midſt of their ſufferings made their bread of ſorrow taſte more pleaſantly than the banquets of dull and low-ſpirited people.

The

[f] Dr. Donne, in 1626, was named in a commiſſion with Archbiſhop Abbot, ſeveral Biſhops, Doctors in Divinity, and Doctors in Civil Law, to hear the cauſe between Dr. Kineſley, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and the Rev. Mr. George Huntley, who had refuſed to preach a viſitation ſermon, at the command of the Archdeacon. "The Caſe of a Rector," &c. p. 19.

The recreations of his youth were poetry[g], in which he was ſo happy as if Nature and all her varieties had been made only to exerciſe his ſharp wit and high fancy; and in thoſe pieces which were facetiouſly compoſed and careleſsly ſcattered (moſt of them being written before the twentieth year of his age), it may appear by his choice metaphors, that both Nature and all the Arts joined to aſſiſt him with their utmoſt ſkill.

It is a truth, that in his penitential years, viewing ſome of thoſe pieces that had been looſely (God knows too looſely) ſcattered in his youth, he wiſhed they had been abortive, or ſo ſhort lived, that his own eyes had witneſſed their funerals: But though he was no friend to them, he was not ſo fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forſake that, no not in his declining age, witneſſed then by many divine ſonnets, and other high, holy, and harmonious compoſures; yea, even on his former ſick-bed he wrote this heavenly hymn, expreſſing the great joy that then poſſeſſed his ſoul in the aſſurance of God's favour to him when he compoſed it.

An

[g] Whatever praiſe may be due to the poems of Dr. Donne, they are certainly deficient in the beauties of verſification. To remedy this defect, his ſatires have been *tranſlated into Engliſh verſe* by Mr. Pope, and his epigrams by Dr. Jaſper Mayne, who edited them in 1652, with the title of "A Sheaf of Miſcellany Epigrams." Mr. Hume (*Hiſt. of England, vol. VI. p.* 132) has obſerved, that in Donne's ſatires, and indeed in all his poetical compoſitions, there appear ſome flaſhes of wit and ingenuity, but that theſe are totally ſuffocated and buried by the harſheſt and moſt uncouth expreſſion which is any where to be met with. On Donne and his poetry ſee ſome intereſting remarks in "Dr. Warton's Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," vol. II. p. 353. It has been humourouſly remarked, that verſes ought to run like Ovid's, or walk like Virgil's, and not to ſtand ſtill like Dr. Donne's. Yet Ben Jonſon, in an epigram to Donne, calls him "The delight of Phœbus and each Muſe:" and that he could make ſoft and ſmooth verſes, appears from the following little poem:

"Come live with me, and be my love,
"And we will ſome new pleaſures prove,
"Of golden ſands, and cryſtal brooks,
"With ſilken lines and ſilver hooks.
"There will the river whiſp'ring run," &c.

AN HYMN

TO GOD THE FATHER[h].

WILT thou forgive that ſin where I begun,
Which was my ſin, though it were done before?
Wilt thou forgive that ſin through which I run,
And do run ſtill though ſtill I do deplore?
When thou haſt done thou haſt not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that ſin, which I have won
Others to ſin, and made my ſin their door?
Wilt thou forgive that ſin which I did ſhun
A year or two, but wallow'd in a ſcore?
When thou haſt done thou haſt not done,
For I have more.

I have a ſin of fear, that when I've ſpun
My laſt thread, I ſhall periſh on the ſhore:
But ſwear by thyſelf, that at my death thy Son
Shall ſhine as he ſhines now and heretofore:
And having done that, thou haſt done,
I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this hymn, for that he cauſed it to be ſet to a moſt grave and ſolemn tune, and to be often ſung to the organ by the choriſters

[h] This compoſition is not, ſurely, embelliſhed with poetical beauties. The reader who is deſirous of forming a juſt opinion of the merit of metaphyſical poets, among whom Dr. Donne is to be ranked in the firſt claſs, will conſult Dr. Johnſon's remarks in his Life of Mr. Cowley. "We can have little inducement to peruſe the works of men, who inſtead of writing poetry wrote only verſe, who cannot be ſaid to have imitated any thing, as they neither copied Nature from life, neither painted the forms of matter, nor repreſented the operations of intellect. Deficient in the ſublime and the pathetic, they abounded in hyperbole, in unnatural thoughts, violent fictions, fooliſh conceits, expreſſions either groſsly abſurd, or indelicate and diſguſting." *(Dr. Johnſon's Works, vol. IX. p. 24.)*

choriſters of St. Paul's Church in his own hearing, eſpecially at the evening ſervice, and at his return from his cuſtomary devotions in that place, did occaſionally ſay to a friend "The words of this hymn have reſtored "to me the ſame thoughts of joy that poſſeſſed my ſoul in my ſickneſs "when I compoſed it. And, O the power of church-muſic[i]! that har-"mony added to this hymn has raiſed the affections of my heart, and "quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I obſerve that I always "return from paying this public duty of prayer and praiſe to God, with "an unexpreſſible tranquillity of mind, and a willingneſs to leave the "world."

After this manner did the diſciples of our Saviour, and the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe ages of the church neareſt to his time, offer their praiſes to Almighty God; and the reader of St. Auguſtine's life may there find, that towards his diſſolution he wept abundantly, that the enemies of Chriſtianity[k] had broke in upon them, and prophaned and ruined their ſanctuaries, and becauſe their public hymns and lauds were loſt out of their churches. And after this manner have many devout ſouls lifted up their hands and offered acceptable ſacrifices unto Almighty God where Dr. Donne offered his, and now lies buried.——"But now, O Lord, how is that "place become deſolate[l]."——Anno 1656.

Before

[i] On the antiquity, uſe, and excellence of church-muſic, ſee "Biſhop Horne's ſixteen Sermons on various Subjects and Occaſions," p. 265.

[k] St. Auguſtin died after the Goths and Vandals had with much barbarous cruelty and bloodſhedding over-run the greateſt part of his native country of Africa; only three cities of any note were preſerved from their fury, of which his own city, Hippo, was one, though beſieged by them fourteen months. According to his prayer he was delivered out of their hands by the mercy of God, who took him to himſelf during the time of the ſiege. See his Life written by Poſidonius, and uſually prefixed to his works.

[l] By the votes of both Houſes, made in the Long Parliament, Sept. 10-11, anno 1642, for the aboliſhing of biſhops, deans, and chapters, the very foundation of this famous cathedral, ſays Sir William Dugdale, was utterly ſhaken in pieces. In the following year the famous croſs in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the moſt noted and ſolemn place in this nation for the greateſt divines and greateſt ſcholars to preach at, was pulled down

to

Before I proceed further, I think fit to inform the reader, that not long before his death he caufed to be drawn a figure of the body of Chrift, extended upon an anchor, like thofe which painters draw when they would prefent us with the picture of Chrift crucified on the crofs; his varying no otherwife than to affix him not to a crofs, but to an anchor (the emblem of hope); this he caufed to be drawn in little, and then many of thofe figures thus drawn to be engraven very fmall in Helitropium ftones[m], and fet in gold, and of thofe he fent to many of his deareft friends, to be ufed as feals or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

His dear friends and benefactors, Sir Henry Goodier[n], and Sir Robert Drewry, could not be of that number, nor could the Lady Magdalen Her-

to the ground; the ftalls of the Quire were alfo taken away; as alfo part of the pavement torn up, and monuments utterly demolifhed or defaced. The fcaffolds erected for the repair of the church were given to the foldiers, and by them pits were dug for fawing up the timber in feveral places thereof, even where fome reverend bifhops and other perfons of quality lay interred; and afterwards the body of the church was frequently converted to a horfe-quarter for foldiers. *(See Kennet's Regifter and Chronicle, p. 549.)*

[m] The Heliotropium is a very beautiful fpecies of jafper, and has been long known to the world as a gem. Its colour is a fine and ftrong green, fometimes pure and fimple, but more frequently with an admixture of blue in it. It is moderately tranfparent in thin pieces, and is always veined, clouded, and fpotted with a blood red. From this, its moft obvious character, it has obtained among our jewellers the name of the blood-ftone. *(Lewis's Materia Medica.)*

[n] One of the gentlemen of his Majefty's Privy Chamber. To him Dr. Donne has addreffed feveral of his letters in the Collection, which was printed in 1651.

"To the honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Polefworth, a Knight memorable for his vir-"tues," faith Camden, "an affectionate friend of his made this tetraftick."

"An ill year of a Goodyer us bereft,
"Who gon to God much lack of him here left;
"Full of good gifts of body and of minde,
"Wife, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde."

(Weever's Ancient. Fun. Monuments. p. 302.)

Herbert[o], the mother of George Herbert, for they had put off mortality, and taken poſſeſſion of the grave before him; but Sir Henry Wotton and Dr. Hall[p], the then late deceaſed Biſhop of Norwich were; and ſo were Dr. Duppa, Biſhop of Saliſbury[q], and Dr. Henry King, Biſhop of Chicheſter (lately deceaſed); men, in whom there was ſuch a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Chriſtian humility, that they deſerve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own, which none have exceeded.

And

[o] Of this excellent woman ſee "Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert."

[p] Dr. Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Norwich. "The learned have given him this character, that "he was 'Our Engliſh Seneca,' dexterous at controverſy, not unhappy at comments, very "good at characters, better in ſermons, beſt of all in meditations and contemplations, all "which have long ſince been put out in three volumes." (*Magna Britannia, vol. III. p.* 394.) Full of the ſpirit of Juvenal and Perſius, he is conſidered as the firſt of our ſatirical poets. He introduces his celebrated work, "Virgidemiarum" with theſe lines——

"I firſt adventure, follow me who liſt,
"And be the ſecond Engliſh Satyriſt."

His diſapprobation of burying the dead in churches is thus expreſſed in his laſt will: "I Jo-"ſeph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called Biſhop of Norwich, &c. Firſt, I bequeath my "ſoul, &c. my body I leave to be interred without any funeral pomp, at the direction of my "executors, with this only monition, that *I do not hold God's houſe a meet repoſitory for* "*the dead bodies of the greateſt ſaints.*" Accordingly he himſelf was buried in the churchyard at Heigham near Norwich.—Compton, Biſhop of London, entertained the ſame ſentiments—"The church for the living,—the churchyard for the dead."

[q] Dr. Bryan Duppa, tranſlated from the ſee of Chicheſter, to that of Saliſbury, was deprived of all his preferment on the breaking out of the rebellion. Having faithfully continued his attendance on the king, to the time of his ever-to-be-lamented death, he afterward retired to Richmond in Surry, where he devoted himſelf to ſtudy and devotion. At the reſtoration he was promoted to Wincheſter; and died, March 26, 1662. On the day preceding his death, Charles II. to whom he had been preceptor, viſited him in his bed-chamber, and on his bended knees implored his benediction. "He died," ſays Wood, "as he lived, "honoured and beloved of all that knew him; a perſon of ſo clear and eminent candour, that "he left not the leaſt ſpot upon his life or function, maugre the buſy ſedition of thoſe who "then, as before, blacked the very ſurplice, and made the liturgy profane."

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many muſt be omitted, yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations;" a book, in which, by declaring his own ſpiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raiſed many a dejected and diſcompoſed ſoul, and charmed them into ſweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the aſſiſtance of that ſpirit that ſeemed to inſpire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt and heaven, and may by ſtill reading, ſtill keep thoſe ſacred fires burning upon the altar of ſo pure a heart, as ſhall free it from the anxieties of this world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendſhip, made up by ſuch a ſympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendſhip was ſtill maintained by many ſacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be ſome teſtimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A ſheaf of ſnakes uſed heretofore to be my ſeal, which is the creſt of our poor family.

Qui prius aſſuetus ſerpentum falce tabellas
Signare, hæc noſtræ ſymbola parva domus
Adſcitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and ſo
My old coat loſt, into new arms I go.
The croſs my ſeal in baptiſm ſpread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Croſſes grow anchors, bear as thou ſhould'ſt do
Thy croſs, and that croſs grows an anchor too:
But he that makes our croſſes anchors thus,
Is Chriſt, who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my firſt ſerpents hold;
(God gives new bleſſings, and yet leaves the old)
The ſerpent may, as wiſe, my pattern be,
My poiſon, as he feeds on duſt, that's me.

And, as he rounds the earth to murder, ſure
He is my death; but on the croſs my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucify'd there before.
When all is croſs, and that croſs anchor grown,
This ſeal's a catechiſm, not a ſeal alone.
Under that little ſeal great gifts I ſend,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that ſaint that rides on our great ſeal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quod Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Chriſtum ſcilicet ne aſcenderet
Tuive Chriſtum———

Although the croſs could not Chriſt here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he aſcends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him ſtill,
But only whil'ſt thou ſpeak'ſt, this anchor will:
Nor canſt thou be content, unleſs thou to
This certain anchor add a ſeal, and ſo
The water and the earth, both unto thee
Do owe the ſymbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours ſtand ſure,
This holy cable's from all ſtorms ſecure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

I return to tell the reader, that beſides theſe verſes to his dear Mr. Herbert, and that hymn that I mentioned to be ſung in the Quire of St. Paul's Church, he did alſo ſhorten and beguile many ſad hours by compoſing other ſacred ditties, and he writ an hymn on his death-bed, which bears this title:——

AN

A HYMN TO GOD MY GOD,

IN MY SICKNESS, MARCH 23, 1630.

SINCE I am coming to that holy room,
Where, with thy quire of ſaints for evermore
I ſhall be made thy muſic, as I come
I tune my inſtrument here at the door,
And what I muſt do then, think here before.

Since my phyſicians by their loves are grown
Coſmographers; and I their map, who lie
Flat on this bed———

———————————

So, in his purple wrapt, receive me, Lord!
By theſe his thorns, give me his other crown:
And, as to other ſouls I preach'd thy word,
Be this my text, my ſermon to mine own,
"That he may raiſe, therefore the Lord throws down."

If theſe fall under the cenſure of a ſoul, whoſe too much mixture with earth, makes it unfit to judge of theſe high raptures and illuminations, let him know that many holy and devout men have thought the ſoul of Prudentius[r] to be moſt refined, when not many days before his death

[r] Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, a Chriſtian poet of the fourth century, was a native of Spain. He ſpent the earlier period of his life in more active ſcenes, diſtinguiſhing himſelf as an advocate at the bar, a ſoldier in the camp, and laſtly as a courtier in the Imperial Court. He attempted not to write verſes until he was advanced in years: "*Tandem vero in ſenectute* "*repulſâ mundi vanitate ad ſacras Scripturas ſe contulit, et Carmine ac Proſâ multa utriuſque* "*Teſtamenti abſtruſa expoſuit.*" (J. Trithemius.)——Gyraldus obſerves, that in his works there is more of religious zeal, than of the beauties of poetry, *Melior omnino Chriſtianus eſt quam Poeta.* In the proem to the hymns of the *Cathemerinon*, having deſcribed his conduct in the former part of his life, he declares his intention of celebrating God in daily hymns, and of exerciſing himſelf in diſcuſſing ſacred ſubjects.

"Hymnis continuet dies,
"Nec nox ulla vacet, quin Dominum canat;
"Pugnet contra hæreſes; catholicam diſcutiat fidem;
"Conculcet ſacra gentium;
"Labem, Roma, tuis inferat Idolis,
"Carmen Martyribus devoveat, laudet Apoſtolos.

death " he charged it to preſent his God each morning and evening with " a new and ſpiritual ſong;" juſtified by the example of King David and the good King Hezekiah, who upon the renovation of his years paid his thankful vows to Almighty God in a royal hymn, which he concludes in theſe words, " The Lord was ready to ſave, therefore I will ſing my ſongs " to the ſtringed inſtruments all the days of my life in the temple of my " God."

The latter part of his life may be ſaid to be a continued ſtudy; for as he uſually preached once a week, if not oftener, ſo after his ſermon he never gave his eyes reſt till he had choſen out a new text, and that night caſt his ſermon into a form, and his text into diviſions*; and the next day betook himſelf to conſult the fathers, and ſo commit his meditations to his memory, which was excellent. But upon Saturday he uſually gave himſelf and his mind a reſt from the weary burthen of his week's meditations, and uſually ſpent that day in viſitation of friends or ſome other diverſions of his thoughts; and would ſay, " that he gave both his body and mind that re- " freſhment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day follow- " ing, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulneſs."

Nor was his age only ſo induſtrious, but in the moſt unſettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond the hour of four in a morning; and it was no common buſineſs that drew him out of his chamber till paſt ten; all which time was employed in ſtudy, though he took great liberty after it. And if this ſeem ſtrange, it may gain a belief by the viſible fruits of his labours, ſome of which remain as teſtimonies of what is here written, for he left the reſultance of 1400 authors, moſt of them abridged and analyſed with his own hand; he left alſo ſix ſcore of his ſermons, all written with his own hand; alſo an exact and labori- ous

* It was Dr. Hammond's method, and ſurely not unworthy of imitation, " After every ſermon " to reſolve upon the enſuing ſubject; that being done, to purſue the courſe of ſtudy which " he was then in hand with, reſerving the cloſe of the week for the proviſion for the next " Lord's Day; whereby not only a conſtant progreſs was made in ſcience, but materials " unawares were gained unto the immediate future work: For, he ſaid, be the ſubjects " treated of never ſo diſtant, ſomewhat will infallibly fall in, conducible to the preſent pur- " poſe." *(Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p. 11.)*

ous treatiſe concerning ſelf-murther[t], called "Biathanatos," wherein all the laws violated by that act are diligently ſurveyed, and judiciouſly cenſured;

[t] We have a full account of this tractate in the two following letters.

"TO THE NOBLEST KNIGHT,

"SIR EDWARD HERBERT.

"SIR,

"I make account that thys booke hath enough perform'd yt wch yt undertooke, both by "argument and example. Itt ſhall therefore the leſſe need to bee yttſelfe another example "of ye doctrine. Itt ſhall not therefore kyll yttſelfe; that ys, not bury yttſelfe; for if ytt ſhould "do ſo, thoſe reſons by wch that act ſhould bee defended or excus'd, were alſo loſt with ytt. "Since it is content to live, ytt cannot chuſe a wholſomer ayre than yor library, where autors "of all complexions are preſerv'd. If any of them grudge thys booke a roome, and ſuſ-"pect ytt of new or dangerous doctrine, you, who know us all, can beſt moderate. To "thoſe reaſons wch I know your love to mee wyll make in my faver and diſcharge, you may "add thys, That though this doctrine hath not been tought nor defended by writers, yet they, "moſt of any ſorte of men in the world, have practis'd ytt.

"Yor very true and earneſt frinde, and ſervant and lover,

"J. DONNE."

This addreſs to Sir Edward Herbert, is prefixed to the original MS. of Dr. Donne's ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, which is now preſerved in the Bodleian Library and was given to that place by Lord Herbert himſelf, in the year 1642, with the following inſcription in capitals:

HUNC LIBRUM AB AUTHORE CUM EPISTOLA QUÆ PRÆIT ΑΥΤΟΓΡΑΦΩ DONO SIBI DATUM DUM EQUESTRIS OLIM ESSET ORDINIS EDVARDUS HERBERT, JAM BARO DE CHERBURY IN ANGLIA, ET CASTRI INSULÆ DE KERRY IN HIBERNIA, E SUA BIBLIOTHECA IN BODLEIANAM TRANSTULIT MERITISS. IN ALMAM MATREM ACAD. OXON. PIETATISET OBSERVANTIÆ MNHMOΣΥΝΟΝ, M,DC,XLII.

"TO SIR ROBERT CARRE, NOW EARL OF ANKERAM,

"WITH MY BOOK ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, AT MY GOING INTO GERMANY.

"SIR,

"I had need to do ſomewhat towards you above my promiſes; How weak are my perform-"ances, when even my promiſes are defective? I cannot promiſe, no not in mine own hopes, "equally to your merit towards me. But beſides the poems, of which you took a promiſe,

"I ſend

ſured; a treatiſe written in his younger days, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other ſuch

"I ſend you another book, to which there belongs this hiſtory. It was written by me many "years ſince, and becauſe it is upon a miſinterpretable ſubject, I have always gone ſo near "ſuppreſſing it, as that it is onely not burnt: No hand hath paſſed upon it to copy it, nor "many eyes to read it; onely to ſome particular friends in both univerſities then when I writ "it did I communicate it; and I remember I had this anſwer, that certainly there was a falſe "thread in it, but not eaſily found Keep it, I pray, with the ſame jealouſie; let any "that your diſcretion admits to the ſight of it know the date of it, and that it is a book "written by Jack Donne, and not by Dr. Donne. Reſerve it for me if I live, and if I die I "only forbid it the preſſe and the fire: Publiſh it not, but yet burn it not; and between thoſe "do what you will with it. Love me ſtill thus far for your own ſake, that when you with-"draw your love from me, you will find ſo many unworthineſſes in me, as you grow aſhamed "of having had ſo long and ſo much, ſuch a thing as

"Your poor ſervt. in Chr. Jeſ.

"J. DONNE."

It was firſt publiſhed by authority in 1644, and dedicated by his ſon, John Donne, to Lord Philip Herbert. In this dedication he aſſigns the reaſon of his diſobedience to his father's order. "It was writ long ſince by my father, and by him forbid both the preſſe and the fire; neither "had I ſubjected it now to the publique view, but that I could finde no certain way to defend "it from the one, but by committing it to the other; for ſince the beginning of this war my "ſtudy having been often ſearched, all my books (and al-moſt my braines, by their cōntinuall "allarums) ſequeſtered for the uſe of the committee; two dangers appeared more eminently "to hover over this, being then a manuſcript; a danger of being utterly loſt, and a danger "of being utterly found, and fathered by ſome of thoſe wild atheiſts, who, as if they came "into the world by conqueſt, owne all other men's wits, and are reſolved to be learned in "deſpite of their ſtarres, that would fairely have enclined them to a more modeſt and honeſt "courſe of life." The ſyſtem advanced in this book has been accurately examined, and with great ſtrength of argument refuted by the Rev. Charles Moore, in his "Full Enquiry into the Subject of Suicide," vol. I. p. 83,—103, and vol. II. p. 1,—41. The learned author of that excellent work, in his letter, dated Jan. 27, 1794, informs me, that ſince its publication he has ſeen a ſmall tract, called "Life's Preſervative againſt Self-killing, &c. by John Syer, Miniſter of Leigh in Eſſex, London, 1637," which, though publiſhed after Dr. Donne's death, yet before the Biathanatos appeared, is in effect a very full and complete anſwer to it, written in its own method of ſcholaſtic diviſions and ſub-diviſions, *ad infinitum*.

The following extract, containing a ſhort criticiſm on this work of Donne, will not be unacceptable to the learned reader. "Donne, docteur Angolis et ſçavant Theologien de ce "ſiecle,

ſuch ſtudies and arguments, as enter not into the conſideration of many that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things.

Nor were theſe only found in his ſtudy, but all buſineſſes that paſſed of any public conſequence, either in this or any of our neighbour-nations, he abbreviated either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for uſeful memorials: So he did the copies of divers letters and caſes of conſcience that had concerned his friends, with his obſervations and ſolutions of them, and divers other buſineſſes of importance, all particularly and methodically digeſted by himſelf.

He did prepare to leave the world before life left him, making his will when no faculty of his ſoul was damped or made defective by pain or ſickneſs, or he ſurpriſed by a ſudden apprehenſion of death; but it was made with mature deliberation, expreſſing himſelf an impartial father by making his children's portions equal, and a lover of his friends, whom he remembered with legacies fitly and diſcreetly choſen and bequeathed. I cannot forbear a nomination of ſome of them; for, methinks, they be perſons that ſeem to challenge a recordation in this place; as namely, to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Grimes, he gave that ſtriking clock [u] which he had long worn in his pocket; to his dear friend and executor Dr. King (late Biſhop of Chicheſter), that model of gold of the Synod of Dort [x], with

" ſiecle, eſt connu par un livre en ſa langue, imprimé a Londres ſous ce titre: Βιαθανατος. " C'eſt une eſpece d'apologie du Suicide. Il cite, pour appuyer ſes dangereuſes idées, l'exam- " ple d'un grand nombre de heros paiens, enſuite celui de quelques ſaints de l'ancien Teſta- " ment, d'une foule de martyrs, de confeſſeurs, de penitens, &c. Jeſus Chriſt même eſt " amené en preuve de ſon ſyſtéme. Un livre auſſi extraordinaire n'empêche pas l'auteur de " devenir Doyen de S. Paul, parce qu'il fut regardé comme une ſorte de conſolation qu'il " vouloit donner á ſes compatriots, que la melancolie jette ſouvent dans cette fureur."—(*Nouveau. Dict. Hiſt.—Caen.* 1783.)

[u] Charles I. on the morning of his execution, preſented his attendant, Mr. Thomas Herbert, with his *ſilver clock.*

[x] The States General directed a gold medal to be ſtruck in commemoration of the Synod held at Dort. On one ſide is repreſented the Aſſembly of the Synod, with this inſcription, " ASSERTA RELIGIONE." On the reverſe, a mountain, on the ſummit of which is a temple,

with which the States presented him at his last being at the Hague; and the two pictures of Padre Paolo[y], and Fulgentio[z], men of his acquaintance when

temple, to which men are ascending along a very steep path. The four winds are blowing with great violence against the mountain. Above the temple is written the word JEHOVAH, in Hebrew characters. The inscription is " ERUNT UT MONS SION. CIↃCXIX. These winds are intended to represent those who at that time much disturbed the tranquillity of the church. (*Histoire Metallique de la Republique de Hollande, par M. Bizot. tom. I. p.* 139.)

[y] " Let me be bold to send you for a new-year's gift, a certain memorial, not altogether " unworthy of some entertainment under your roof, a true picture of Padre Paolo the Ser- " vita, which was first taken by a painter, whom I sent unto him from my house then neigh- " bouring his monastery. I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception. " 'Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator.' You will find a scar in his face, that was from a Roman " assassinate that would have killed him as he was turned to a wall near his convent." (*Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost of King's College, and Professor Regius of Divinity, Jan.* 17, 1637.)

In this letter the character of Father Paul is drawn in such pleasing colours, that the reader cannot be displeased with a transcript of it. " I am desirous of characterising a little unto " you such part of his nature, customes, and abilities, as I had occasion to know by sight or " by inquiry. 'He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of " humanity; the very pattern of that precept '*Quanto doctior tanto submissior*,' and enough " alone to demonstrate, that knowledge well digested *non inflat*. Excellent in positive, excel- " lent in scholastical and polemical Divinity; a rare mathematician, even in the most ab- " struse parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoriques; and yet withal so expert in the " history of plants, as if he had never perused any book but Nature. Lastly, a great Canonist, " which was the title of his ordinary service with the state; and certainly in the time of the " Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or " writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over " head; for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's thinking, '*That all air is prædatory*,' and " especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed. He was of a quiet and settled tem- " per, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultation " which Themistocles was in action αὐτοσχεδιαζειν ἱκανωτατος."

[z] The friend and biographer of Father Paul, and celebrated for the dignity and freedom with which he preached the pure word of God. Of the real exellence of his discourses, no better testimony can be adduced than the declaration of Pope Paul V. " He has indeed some " good sermons, but bad ones withal: He stands too much upon Scripture, which is a book " that

when he travelled Italy, and of great note in that nation for their remarkable learning.—To his ancient friend, Dr. Brook (that married him) Master of Trinity College in Cambridge, he gave the picture of the blessed Virgin and Joseph.—To Dr. Winniff (who succeeded him in his deanery) he gave a picture called the "Skeleton."—To the succeeding dean, who was not then known, he gave many necessaries of worth, and useful for his house; and also several pictures and ornaments for the chapel, with a desire that they might be registered, and remain as a legacy to his successors.—To the Earls of Dorset and Carlisle, he gave several pictures, and so he did to many other friends; legacies, given rather to express his affection than to make any addition to their estates: But unto the poor he was full of charity, and unto many others, who, by his constant and long-continued bounty, might entitle themselves to be his alms-people; for all these he made provision, and so largely, as, having then six children living, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. I forbear to mention any more, lest the reader may think I trespass upon his patience; but I will beg his favour to present him with the beginning and end of his will.

In the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity, amen. I John Donne, by the mercy of Christ Jesus, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding (praised be God therefore) do hereby make my last Will and Testament, in the manner and form following:

First, I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his Blessed Spirit imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution which the same Spirit hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed

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"that if any man will keep close to, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith." *(Father Paul's Letters, Let. XXVI.)* Induced by some specious promises of the Pope's Nuncio to leave Venice, and under a safe conduct to go to Rome, he at first met with a kind reception, but was afterwards burnt in the Field of Flora. *(Fuller's Church Hist. Cent. XVII. B. X. p. 98.)*

in the Church of England. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may be buried in the most private manner that may be; in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c.——And this my last Will and Testament, made in the fear of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in Jesus Christ), and in perfect love and charity with all the world (whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors), written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number.

Sealed Decemb. 13, 1630.

Nor was this blessed sacrifice of charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners and redeemed many from prison that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our Saviour. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, and by a too liberal heart and carelessness, became decayed in his estate; and when the receiving of it was denied, by the gentleman saying, "He wanted not;"—for the reader may note, that as there be some spirits so generous as to labour to conceal and endure a sad poverty rather than expose themselves to those blushes that attend the confession of it, so there be others to whom nature and grace have afforded such sweet and compassionate souls, as to pity and prevent the distresses of mankind, which I have mentioned because of Dr. Donne's reply, whose answer was,—"I know you want not what "will sustain nature, for a little will do that; but my desire is, that you, "who in the days of your plenty have cheered and raised the hearts of so "many of your dejected friends, would now receive this from me, and "use it as a cordial for the cheering of your own:" And upon these terms it

it was received. He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred (which he never undertook faintly, for ſuch undertakings have uſually faint effects), and they had ſuch a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never adviſed them to any thing in vain. He was, even to her death, a moſt dutiful ſon to his mother, careful to provide for her ſupportation, of which ſhe had been deſtitute, but that God raiſed him up to prevent her neceſſities, who having ſucked in the religion of the Roman Church with her mother's milk, ſpent her eſtate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in it, and died in his houſe but three months before him.

And to the end it may appear how juſt a ſteward he was of his Lord and Maſter's revenue, I have thought fit to let the reader know, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, he (at the foot of a private account, to which God and his angels were only witneſſes with him,) computed firſt his revenue, then what was given to the poor and other pious uſes; and laſtly, what reſted for him and his; and, having done that, he then bleſſed each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer: which, for that they diſcover a more than common devotion, the reader ſhall partake ſome of them in his own words:

"So all is that remains this year——

" Deo Opt. Max. benigno
" Largitori, à me, et ab iis
" Quibus hæc à me reſervantur,
" Gloria et gratia in æternum.
" Amen."

" So that this year God hath bleſſed me and mine with——

" Multiplicatæ ſunt ſuper
" Nos miſericordiæ tuæ,
" Domine.——

" Da Domine, ut quæ ex immenſâ
" Bonitate tuâ nobis elargiri

" Dignatus,

"Dignatus ſis, in quorumcunque
"Manus devenerint, in tuam
"Semper cedant gloriam.
"Amen."

"In fine horum ſex annorum manet——

"Quid habeo quod non accepi à Domino?
"Largitur etiam ut quæ largitus eſt
"Sua iterum fiant, bono eorum uſu; ut
"Quemadmodum nec officiis hujus mundi,
"Nec loci in quo me poſuit dignitati, nec
"Servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni
"Curriculo mihi conſcius ſum me defuiſſe;
"Ita et liberi, quibus quæ ſuperſunt,
"Superſunt, grato animo ea accipiant,
"Et beneficum authorem recognoſcant.
"Amen."

But I return from my long digreſſion.——We left the author ſick in Eſſex, where he was forced to ſpend much of that winter, by reaſon of his diſability to remove from that place; and having never for almoſt twenty years omitted his perſonal attendance on his Majeſty in that month in which he was to attend and preach to him, nor having ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-preachers, and there being then (in January 1630) a report brought to London, or raiſed there, that Dr. Donne was dead, that report gave him occaſion to write the following letter to a dear friend:

"SIR,—This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent "fevers, that I am ſo much the oftener at the gates of heaven; and this "advantage by the ſolitude and cloſe impriſonment that they reduce me to "after, that I am ſo much the oftener at my prayers, in which I ſhall never "leave out your happineſs, and I doubt not among his other bleſſings, "God will add ſome one to you for my prayers. A man would almoſt be "content to die, if there were no other benefit in death, to hear of ſo much "ſorrow

" ſorrow and ſo much good teſtimony from good men as I (God be " bleſſed for it) did upon the report of my death; yet I perceive it went " not through all, for one writ to me that ſome (and he ſaid of my friends) " conceived I was not ſo ill as I pretended, but withdrew myſelf to live at " eaſe, diſcharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and, God knows, an " ill-grounded interpretation; for I have always been ſorrier when " I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath " been my deſire, and God may be pleaſed to grant it, that I might die in " the pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit; " that is, die the ſooner by occaſion of thoſe labours. Sir, I hope to ſee " you preſently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent- " ſermon at court, except my Lord Chamberlain believe me to be dead, " and ſo leave me out of the roll; but as long as I live, and am not ſpeech- " leſs, I would not willingly decline that ſervice. I have better leiſure to " write than you to read, yet I would not willingly oppreſs you with too " much letter. God ſo bleſs you and your ſon, as I wiſh to

" Your poor friend,

" And ſervant in Chriſt Jeſus,

" J. DONNE."

Before that month ended he was appointed to preach upon his old conſtant day, the firſt Friday in Lent: He had notice of it, and had in his ſickneſs ſo prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirſted for it, ſo he reſolved his weakneſs ſhould not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London ſome few days before his appointed day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with ſorrow ſaw his ſickneſs had left him but ſo much fleſh as did only cover his bones) doubted his ſtrength to perform that taſk, and did therefore diſſuade him from it, aſſuring him, however, it was likely to ſhorten his life; but he paſſionately denied their requeſts, ſaying, " He would not doubt that that God, who " in ſo many weakneſſes had aſſiſted him with an unexpected ſtrength, " would now withdraw it in his laſt employment, profeſſing an holy am- " bition to perform that ſacred work." And when, to the amazement of ſome beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he pre-

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ſented himſelf not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body and a dying face. And doubtleſs many did ſecretly aſk that queſtion in Ezekiel, (chap. xxxvii. 3.) "Do theſe bones live? or, "can that ſoul organize that tongue to ſpeak ſo long time as the ſand in "that glaſs[a] will move towards its centre, and meaſure out an hour of "this dying man's unſpent life? Doubtleſs it cannot:" And yet, after ſome faint pauſes in his zealous prayer, his ſtrong deſires enabled his weak body to diſcharge his memory of his preconceived meditations, which were of dying; the text being, "To God the Lord belong the iſſues from death." Many that then ſaw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, profeſſing they thought the text prophetically choſen, and that Dr. Donne *had preached his own funeral ſermon*[b].

Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this deſired duty, he haſtened to his houſe, out of which he never moved, till, like St. Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."

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[a] The reader will recollect the cuſtom which then prevailed, of regulating the time of preaching by the hour-glaſs, which was uſually placed at the right-hand of the preacher. In alluſion to this cuſtom, a preacher at Cambridge calls himſelf "A watchman for an hour in "the towre of the univerſity." (*Fuller's Univ. of Cambridge, p.* 159.)——Dr. Donne thus begins his diſcourſe on 1 *Tim.* iii. 16.—"This is no text for an hour-glaſs: If God would af-"ford me Hezekiah's ſign, *ut revertatur umbra*, that the ſhadow might go backward upon "the dial, or Joſhua's ſign, *ut ſiſtat Sol*, that the ſun might ſtand ſtill all the day, this were "text enough to employ all the day, and all the days of our life." Again, on *Pſ.* xxxii. 6.—"You would not be weary of reading a long conveyance, in which the land were given to "yourſelves; nor of a long will, in which the body of the State were bequeathed to you. "Be not weary, if at any time your patience be exerciſed ſome minutes *beyond the threeſcore*, "ſometime *beyond the hour*, in theſe exerciſes; for we exhibit conveyance, in which the land, "the land of promiſe is made yours, and the teſtament, in which the teſtator himſelf is "bequeathed to you."——It appears from the accounts of modern travellers, that in ſome of the Proteſtant churches in Switzerland the hour-glaſs is ſtill retained to direct the length of the preacher's diſcourſe. (*Gray's Letters during the Courſe of a Tour through Germany, p.* 131.)

[b] This diſcourſe was printed at London in 1633, in 4to. under the quaint title of "Death's Duel, or a Conſolation to the Soule againſt the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body." The text is from *Pſ.* lxviii. 20. It is the laſt diſcourſe in the third volume of Dr. Donne's Sermons.

The next day after his ſermon, his ſtrength being much waſted, and his ſpirits ſo ſpent as indiſpoſed him to buſineſs or to talk, a friend that had often been a witneſs of his free and facetious diſcourſe, aſked him, "Why "are you ſad?" To whom he replied, with a countenance ſo full of cheerful gravity, as gave teſtimony of an inward tranquillity of mind, and of a ſoul willing to take a farewel of this world; and ſaid——

"I am not ſad, but moſt of the night paſt I have entertained myſelf with "many thoughts of ſeveral friends that have left me here, *and are gone to* "*that place from which they ſhall not return*; and that within a few days *I* "*ſhall go hence and be no more ſeen.* And my preparation for this change "is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities "have now made reſtleſs to me: But at this preſent time I was in a ſerious "contemplation of the providence and goodneſs of God to me; to me, *who* "*am leſs than the leaſt of his mercies*; and looking back upon my life paſt, "I now plainly ſee it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal "employment, and that it was his will I ſhould never ſettle or thrive till "I entered into the miniſtry; in which I have now lived almoſt twenty "years (I hope to his glory), and by which I moſt humbly thank him, I "have been enabled to requite moſt of thoſe friends which ſhewed me "kindneſs when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was, and "(as it hath occaſioned the expreſſion of my gratitude) I thank God moſt "of them have ſtood in need of my requital. I have lived to be uſeful "and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir George Moore, whoſe "patience God hath been pleaſed to exerciſe with many temporal croſſes; "I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleaſed God, after a plen-"tiful fortune in her younger days, to bring to a great decay in her very old "age. I have quieted the conſciences of many that have groaned under "the burthen of a wounded ſpirit, whoſe prayers I hope are available for "me. I cannot plead innocency of life, eſpecially of my youth; but I am "to be judged by a merciful God, *who is not willing to ſee what I have* "*done amiſs*: And though of myſelf I have nothing to preſent to him but "ſins and miſery, yet I know he looks not upon me now as I am of my-"ſelf, but as I am in my Saviour, and hath given me even at this preſent

"time

"time ſome teſtimonies by his Holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his "elect: *I am therefore full of inexpreſſible joy, and ſhall die in peace.*"

I muſt here look ſo far back, as to tell the reader, that at his firſt return out of Eſſex, to preach his laſt ſermon, his old friend and phyſician, Dr. Fox, a man of great worth, came to him to conſult his health, and that after a ſight of him, and ſome queries concerning his diſtempers, he told him, "That by cordials, and drinking milk twenty days together, "there was a probability of his reſtoration to health, but he paſſionately "denied to drink it." Nevertheleſs, Dr. Fox, who loved him moſt entirely, wearied him with ſolicitations, till he yielded to take it for ten days, at the end of which time he told Dr. Fox, "He had drunk it more to "ſatisfy him, than to recover his health; and that he would not drink it "ten days longer upon the beſt moral aſſurance of having twenty years "added to his life, for he loved it not, and was ſo far from fearing death, "which to others is the King of Terrors, that he longed for the day of his "diſſolution[c]."

It is obſerved, that a deſire of glory or commendation is rooted in the very nature of man; and that thoſe of the ſevereſt and moſt mortified lives, though they may become ſo humble as to baniſh ſelf-flattery, and ſuch weeds as naturally grow there; yet they have not been able to kill this deſire of glory, but that, like our radical heat, it will both live and die

[c] Dr. Donne ſeems to have entertained an indifference to and an alienation from every ſecular purſuit. In the various ſcenes of his maturer life, he has his attention principally fixed upon another and a better ſtate. His deſires and affections being mortified and entirely ſubdued, he familiarizes to his thoughts the idea of death. Hence he expreſſes not merely an acquieſcence in the diſpenſations of God calling him away from this world, but even an unwillingneſs to live; and by that very extraordinary mode of repreſentation, which his biographer has recorded, he reconciles and endears to himſelf the approaching moment of his diſſolution. But ſuch a conduct will not be purſued by the generality of mankind. We are indeed influenced by every religious and moral principle to aſpire after length of days and an honourable old age; when we languiſh on the bed of ſickneſs, to bear the agonies of pain with the conſoling hopes of being reſtored to health, not to reject the probable remedies which medicinal ſkill propoſes for extinguiſhing diſeaſe and protracting life. This diſpoſition, joined with a cheerful and ready conſignment of our ſtate to the will of God, and a juſt ſenſe of the ſmall value of all earthly enjoyments, is ſurely not unworthy of the Chriſtian character.

die with us, and many think it ſhould do ſo; and we want not ſacred examples to juſtify the deſire of having our memory to out-live our lives, which I mention becauſe Dr. Donne, by the perſuaſion of Dr. Fox, eaſily yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him; but Dr. Fox undertook not to perſuade him how or what monument it ſhould be; that was left to Dr. Donne himſelf.

A monument being reſolved upon, Dr. Donne ſent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compaſs and height of it; and to bring with it a board of the juſt height of his body. Theſe being got; then, without delay, a choice painter was got to be in readineſs to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth.—— Several charcoal-fires being firſt made in his large ſtudy, he brought with him into that place his winding-ſheet in his hand; and having put off all his clothes, had this ſheet put on him, and ſo tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands ſo placed as dead bodies are uſually fitted to be ſhrowded and put into their coffin or grave. Upon this urn he thus ſtood, with his eyes ſhut, and with ſo much of the ſheet turned aſide, as might ſhew his lean, pale, and death-like face, which was purpoſely turned toward the eaſt, from whence he expected the ſecond coming of his and our Saviour Jeſus. In this poſture he was drawn at his juſt height; and when the picture was fully finiſhed, he cauſed it to be ſet by his bed-ſide, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his deareſt friend and executor, Doctor Henry King, then chief Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, who cauſed him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble[d], as it now ſtands in that church; and by Doctor

S. Donne's

[d] "In 1631 I made a tombe for Dr. Donne, and ſette it up in St. Paul's, London, for "which I was paid by Dr. Mountford the ſum of £120. I took £60 in plate, in part of "payment. *(From a Copy of the Pocket-Book of Nicholas Stone.)*——" 1631, Humphrey "Mayor, a workman employed under Stone, finiſht the ſtatue for Dr. Donne's monument, "£8:0:0." *(Ibid.)*

On the ſouth-ſide of the Choir in St. Paul's Cathedral, ſtood a white marble monument, with the figure of Dr. Donne, in his ſhrowd, ſtanding erect, his feet in an urn, and placed in a nich. Speed calls it "A White Marble Statue on an Urn." Above are the arms of the deanery, impaled with his own, viz. a WOLF *ſaliant*. The concluding lines of the inſcription

Donne's own appointment, theſe words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph:——

JOHANNES DONNE,
SAC. THEOL. PROFESS.
POST VARIA STUDIA QUIBUS AB ANNIS TENERRIMIS
FIDELITER, NEC INFELICITER INCUBUIT;
INSTINCTU ET IMPULSU SP. SANCTI, MONITU
ET HORTATU
REGIS JACOBI, ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXUS
ANNO SUI JESU, MDCXIV. ET SUÆ ÆTATIS XLII.
DECANATU HUJUS ECCLESIÆ INDUTUS
XXVII NOVEMBRIS, MDCXXI.
EXUTUS MORTE ULTIMO DIE MARTII MDCXXXI.
HIC LICET IN OCCIDUO CINERE ASPICIT EUM
CUJUS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

And now having brought him through the many labyrinths and perplexities of a various life, even to the gates of death and the grave, my deſire is, he may reſt till I have told my reader, that I have ſeen many pictures of him, in ſeveral habits, and at ſeveral ages, and in ſeveral poſtures: And I now mention this, becauſe I have ſeen one picture of him, drawn by a curious hand at his age of eighteen, with his ſword and what

ſcription evidently allude to his poſture. "He was looking toward the eaſt, from whence "he expected his Saviour." The critical reader will remember, that in *Zech.* vi. 12. the paſſage alluded to, ſhould be rendered "Behold the Man, whoſe name is the BRANCH," which the Seventy-Two tranſlate Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ,—and the Vulgate "Oriens nomen ejus."

what other adornments might then ſuit with the preſent faſhions of youth, and the giddy gayeties of that age; and his motto then was——

" How much ſhall I be chang'd,
" Before I am chang'd*!"

And if that young, and his now dying picture, were at this time ſet together, every beholder might ſay, " Lord! how much is Dr. Donne " already changed, before he is changed?" And the view of them might give my reader occaſion to aſk himſelf with ſome amazement, " Lord! " how much may I alſo that am now in health be changed, before I am " changed; before this vile, this changeable body ſhall put off mortality?" and therefore to prepare for it. But this is not writ ſo much for my reader's memento, as to tell him, that Dr. Donne would often in his private diſcourſes, and often publicly in his ſermons, mention the many changes both of his body and mind; eſpecially of his mind from a vertiginous giddineſs; and would as often ſay, " His great and moſt bleſſed change " was from a temporal to a ſpiritual employment;" in which he was ſo happy, that he accounted the former part of his life to be loſt, and the beginning of it to be from his firſt entering into ſacred orders, and ſerving his moſt merciful God at his altar.

Upon Monday, after the drawing this picture, he took his laſt leave of his beloved ſtudy; and being ſenſible of his hourly decay, retired himſelf to his bed-chamber, and that week ſent at ſeveral times for many of his

* " Antes muerta que mudada." The words *antes muerta que mudada* are ſuppoſed by a Spaniſh author to have been originally written on the ſand by a lady promiſing fidelity to her lover. The following lines were compoſed by Mr. Iſaac Walton, and inſcribed under the print taken from this picture, and prefixed to an edition of Dr. Donne's Poems in 1639.

" This was for youth, ſtrength, mirth, and wit, that time
" Moſt count their golden age, but was not thine.
" Thine was thy later years, ſo much refin'd
" From youth's droſs, mirth and wit, as thy pure mind
" Thought (like the angels) nothing but the praiſe
" Of thy Creator, in thoſe laſt beſt days.
" Witneſs this book thy emblem, which begins
" With love, but ends with ſighs and tears for ſins."

moſt conſiderable friends, with whom he took a ſolemn and deliberate farewel, commending to their conſiderations ſome ſentences uſeful for the regulation of their lives, and then diſmiſſed them, as good Jacob did his ſons, with a ſpiritual benediction. The Sunday following, he appointed his ſervants, that if there were any buſineſs yet undone that concerned him or themſelves, it ſhould be prepared againſt Saturday next: for after that day he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world; nor ever did;—but, as Job, ſo he "waited for the appointed day "of his diſſolution."

And now he was ſo happy as to have nothing to do but to die; to do which, he ſtood in need of no longer time; for he had ſtudied it long, and to ſo happy a perfection, that in a former ſickneſs he called God to witneſs (in his Book of Devotions written then) "He was that minute "ready to deliver his ſoul into his hands, if that minute God would de-"termine his diſſolution." In that ſickneſs he begged of God the conſtancy to be preſerved in that eſtate for ever: And his patient expectation to have his immortal ſoul diſrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident, that he now had a modeſt aſſurance that his prayers were then heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earneſtly expecting his hourly change, and in the laſt hour of his laſt day, as his body melted away and vapoured into ſpirit, his ſoul having, I verily believe, ſome revelation of the Beatifical Viſion, he ſaid, "I were miſerable if I "might not die," and after thoſe words cloſed many periods of his faint breath by ſaying often, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." His ſpeech, which had long been his ready and faithful ſervant, left him not till the laſt minute of his life, and then forſook him, not to ſerve another maſter (for who ſpeaks like him), but died before him, for that it was then become uſeleſs to him that now converſed with God on earth, as angels are ſaid to do in heaven, *only by thoughts and looks.* Being ſpeechleſs, and ſeeing heaven by that illumination by which he ſaw it, he did, as St. Stephen, "Look ſteadfaſtly into it, till he ſaw the Son of Man, ſtand "ing at the right-hand of God his father;" and, being ſatisfied with this bleſſed ſight, as his ſoul aſcended, and his laſt breath departed from him, he cloſed his own eyes, and then diſpoſed his hands and body into ſuch a

poſture

posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shrowd him.

Thus VARIABLE, thus VIRTUOUS was the life; thus EXCELLENT, thus EXEMPLARY was the death of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God (who was then served twice a day by a public form of prayer and praises in that place); but he was not buried privately, though he desired it; for, beside an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility, and of eminency for learning, who did love and honour him in his life, did shew it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow.

To which place of his burial some mournful friend repaired, and, as Alexander the Great[f] did to the grave of the famous Achilles, so they strewed his with an abundance of curious and costly flowers[g]; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days, not ceasing till the stones that were taken up in that church to give his body admission into the cold earth (now his bed of rest) were again

[f] When Alexander crossed the Hellespont, to visit the ruins of Ilium, he sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to Achilles. Hepheſtion, as a mark of his friendship to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus with flowers. (*Ant. Un. Hist. Vol. VIII. p.* 507.)

——————— "Manibus date Lilia plenis.
"Purpureos spargam Flores, Animamque Nepotis
"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
"Munere." VIRGIL.

"Afferat huc unguenta mihi, sertisq; sepulchrum
"Ornabit custos ad mea bulla sedens." PROPERT.

——————— "With fairest flowers,
"Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
"I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
"The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor
"The azur'd hare-bell." SHAKSP. *Cymbeline, A. IV. Sc. V.*

again by the mafons' art fo levelled and firmed, as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undiftinguifhable to common view.

The next day after his burial, fome unknown friend, fome one of the many lovers and admirers of his virtue and learning, writ this epitaph with a coal on the wall over his grave:——

> " Reader! I am to let thee know,
> " Donne's body only lies below:
> " For, could the grave his foul comprife,
> " Earth would be richer than the fkies."

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend afhes; for as there be fome perfons that will not receive a reward for that for which God accounts himfelf a debtor; perfons that dare truft God with their charity, and without a witnefs; fo there was by fome grateful unknown friend, that thought Dr. Donne's memory ought to be perpetuated, an hundred marks fent to his two faithful friends and executors (Dr. King and Dr. Monfort) towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom; but after the death of Dr. Fox, it was known that it was he that fent it: And he lived to fee as lively a reprefentation of his dead friend, as marble can exprefs; a ftatue indeed fo like Dr. Donne, that (as his friend, Sir Henry Wotton, had expreffed himfelf) " It feems to breathe " faintly, and pofterity fhall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle."

He was of ftature moderately tall, of a ftraight and equally-proportioned body; to which all his words and actions gave an unexpreffible addition of comelinefs.

The melancholy and pleafant humour were in him fo contempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind.

His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit; both being made ufeful by a commanding judgment.

His afpect was cheerful, and fuch as gave a filent teftimony of a clear knowing foul, and of a confcience at peace with itfelf.

His

His melting eye ſhewed that he had a ſoft heart, full of compaſſion; of too brave a ſoul to offer injuries, and too much a Chriſtian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (eſpecially after he entered into his ſacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the ſoul, and the joys of heaven; and would often ſay, in a kind of ſacred ecſtacy, "Bleſſed "be God that he is God, only and divinely like himſelf."

He was by nature paſſionate, but more apt to reluct at the exceſſes of it. A great lover of the offices of humanity, and of ſo merciful a ſpirit, that he never beheld the miſeries of mankind without pity and relief.

He was earneſt and unwearied in the ſearch of knowledge; with which his vigorous ſoul is now ſatisfied, and employed in a continual praiſe of that God that firſt breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a temple of the Holy Ghoſt, and is now become a ſmall quantity of Chriſtian duſt:—But I ſhall ſee it reanimated.

J. WALTON.

FEBRUARY 15, 1639.

VERSES TO THE MEMORY OF DR. J. DONNE.

AN EPITAPH

WRITTEN BY

DOCTOR CORBET[h], LATE BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON HIS FRIEND, DOCTOR DONNE.

HE that wou'd write an epitaph for thee,
And write it well, muſt firſt begin to be
Such as thou wert; for none can truly know
Thy life and worth, but he that hath liv'd ſo.

T He

[h] Dr. Richard Corbet, in 1632, tranſlated from the See of Oxford, to that of Norwich, died in 1635. He was in his younger years one of the moſt celebrated wits in the univerſity of Oxford, afterward admired for his quaint and eloquent preaching, and much commended for his great liberality and munificence, and particularly in promoting the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. The volume of his poems, which have great merit, is not common; and therefore ſeveral extracts from it are publiſhed in the Biographia Britannica.

"If flowing wit, if verſes writ with eaſe,
"If learning, void of pedantry, can pleaſe;
"If much good humour, join'd to ſolid ſenſe,
"And mirth, accompanied with innocence,
"Can give a poet a juſt right to fame,
"Then CORBET may immortal honour claim;
"For he theſe virtues had, and in his lines
"Poetic and heroic ſpirit ſhines;
"Tho' bright, yet ſolid, pleaſant but not rude,
"With wit and wiſdom equally endu'd.
"Be ſilent, Muſe, thy praiſes are too faint,
"Thou want'ſt a power this prodigy to paint,
"At once a poet, prelate, and a ſaint. J. C.

(*Biog. Brit. in the Article* CORBET.)

He muſt have wit to ſpare, and to hurl down;
Enough to keep the gallants of the town.
He muſt have learning plenty; both the laws,
Civil and Common, to judge any cauſe;
Divinity great ſtore above the reſt,
Not of the laſt edition, but the beſt.
He muſt have language, travel, all the arts,
Judgment to uſe, or elſe he wants thy parts.
He muſt have friends the higheſt, able to do,
Such as Mecœnas, and Auguſtus too.
He muſt have ſuch a ſickneſs, ſuch a death,
Or elſe his vain deſcriptions come beneath.
He that would write an epitaph for thee
Should firſt be dead; let it alone for me.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY EVER DESIRED DOCTOR DONNE.

AN ELEGY,

BY H. KING, LATE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

TO have liv'd eminent, in a degree
Beyond our loftieſt thoughts, that is like thee;
Or t'have had too much merit is not ſafe,
For ſuch exceſſes find no epitaph.

At common graves we have poetic eyes,
Can melt themſelves in eaſy elegies;
Each quill can drop his tributary verſe,
And pin it, like the hatchments, to the hearſe:
But at thine, poem or inſcription
(Rich ſoul of wit and language) we have none.
Indeed a ſilence does that tomb beſit,
Where is no herald left to blazon it.
Widow'd Invention juſtly doth forbear
To come abroad, knowing thou art not there:
Late her great patron, whoſe prerogative
Maintain'd and cloth'd her ſo, as none alive
Muſt now preſume to keep her at thy rate,
Though he the Indies for her dower eſtate.
Or elſe that awful fire which once did burn
In thy clear brain, now fallen into thy urn,
Lives there to fright rude empirics from thence,
Which might profane thee by their ignorance.
Whoever writes of thee, and in a ſtyle
Unworthy ſuch a theme, does but revile
Thy precious duſt, and wakes a learned ſpirit,
Which may revenge his rapes upon thy merit.

For all a low-pitch'd fancy can deviſe
Will prove at beſt but hallowed injuries.
Thou, like the dying ſwan, didſt lately ſing
Thy mournful dirge in audience of the king;
When pale looks and faint accents of thy breath
Preſented ſo to life that piece of death,
That it was fear'd and prophefy'd by all
Thou thither cam'ſt to preach thy funeral.
Oh! hadſt thou in an elegiac knell
Rung out unto the world thine own farewel,
And in thy high victorious numbers beat
The ſolemn meaſures of thy griev'd retreat,
Thou might'ſt the poet's ſervice now have miſt,
As well as then thou didſt prevent the prieſt:
And never to the world beholden be,
So much as for an epitaph for thee.

I do not like the office: nor is't fit
Thou, who did'ſt lend our age ſuch ſums of wit,
Shouldſt now reborrow from her bankrupt mine
That oar to bury thee which firſt was thine;
Rather ſtill leave us in thy debt:—and know,
Exalted ſoul! more glory 'tis to owe
Thy memory, what we can never pay,
Than with embaſed coin thoſe rites defray.

Commit we then thee to thyſelf, nor blame
Our drooping loves, that thus to thine own fame
Leave thee executor, ſince but thine own
No pen could do thee juſtice, nor bays crown
Thy vaſt deſerts; ſave that we nothing can
Depute to be thy aſhes' guardian.

So jewellers no art or metal truſt
To form the diamond, but the diamond's duſt. H. K.

AN ELEGY ON DOCTOR DONNE.

OUR Donne is dead! and we may ſighing ſay,
We had that man where Language choſe to ſtay
And ſhew her utmoſt power. I would not praiſe
That and his great wit, which in our vain days
Make others proud; but as theſe ſerv'd to unlock
That cabinet, his mind, where ſuch a ſtock
Of knowledge was repos'd, that I lament
Our juſt and general cauſe of diſcontent.

And I rejoice I am not ſo ſevere,
But as I write a line, to weep a tear
For his deceaſe: Such ſad extremities
Can make ſuch men as I write elegies.

And wonder not; for when ſo great a loſs
Falls on a nation, and they ſlight the croſs,
God hath rais'd prophets to awaken them
From their dull lethargy; witneſs my pen,
Not us'd to upbraid the world, though now it muſt
Freely and boldly, for the cauſe is juſt.

Dull age! oh, I would ſpare thee, but thou'rt worſe:
Thou art not only dull, but haſt a curſe
Of black ingratitude: If not, couldſt thou
Part with this matchleſs man, and make no vow
For thee and thine ſucceſſively to pay
Some ſad remembrance to his dying day?

Did his youth ſcatter poetry, wherein
Lay love's philoſophy? Was every ſin

Pictur'd

Pictur'd in his ſharp ſatires, made ſo foul
That ſome have fear'd Sin's ſhapes, and kept their ſoul
Safer by reading verſe? Did he give days,
Paſt marble monuments, to thoſe whoſe praiſe
He wou'd perpetuate? Did he (I fear
Envy will doubt) theſe at his twentieth year?

But, more matur'd; did his rich ſoul conceive,
And in harmonious holy numbers weave
A crown of ſacred ſonnets[i], fit t'adorn
A dying martyr's brow, or to be worn
On that bleſt head of Mary Magdalen,
After ſhe wip'd Chriſt's feet, but not till then?
Did he (fit for ſuch penitents as ſhe
And he to uſe) leave us a Letanie[k]
Which all devout men love, and doubtleſs ſhall,
As times grow better, grow more claſſical?
Did he write hymns, for piety and wit,
Equal to thoſe great grave Prudentius writ?
Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?
The grounds and uſe of phyſic—(but becauſe

'Twas

[i] "La Corona," a poem, written by Dr. Donne, and confiſting of ſeven holy ſonnets, the firſt line of each ſonnet beginning with the laſt line of the preceding one, the poem beginning and ending with the ſame line—namely

"Deigne at my hands this crown of prayer and praiſe."

The ſubjects are—Annunciation—Nativitie—Temple-crucifying—Reſurrection—Aſcention.

[k] A poem ſo called, written by Donne, who, in a letter to his friend, Sir Henry Goodyere, gives this account of it. "Since my impriſonment in my bed I have made a meditation in "verſe, which I call a Litany: The word, you know, imports no other than ſupplication; "but all churches have one form of ſupplication by that name. Amongſt ancient annals, I "mean ſome 800 years, I have met two Letanies in Latin verſe, which gave me not the rea-"ſon of my meditations; for in good faith I thought not upon them, but they give me a de-"fence, if any man to a Layman and a Private impute it as a fault to take ſuch divine and "publique names to his own little thoughts." (*Letters, &c. p.* 32.)

'Twas mercenary wav'd it)? went to ſee
That happy place of Chriſt's nativity[1]?
Did he return and preach him? preach him ſo,
As, ſince St. Paul, none ever did? they know——
Thoſe happy ſouls that hear'd him know this truth.
Did he confirm thy ag'd, convert thy youth?
Did he theſe wonders? and is his dear loſs
Mourn'd by ſo few?—few for ſo great a croſs.

But ſure the ſilent are ambitious all
To be cloſe mourners at his funeral.
If not; in common pity they forbear,
By repetitions, to renew our care:
Or knowing grief conceiv'd and hid, conſumes
Man's life inſenſibly (as poiſon's fumes
Corrupt the brain), take ſilence for the way
T'enlarge the ſoul from theſe walls, mud and clay,
(Materials of this body) to remain
With him in heaven, where no promiſcuous pain
Leſſens thoſe joys we have; for with him all
Are ſatisfy'd with joys eſſential.

Dwell on theſe joys, my thoughts!—Oh! do not call
Grief back, by thinking on his funeral.
Forget he lov'd me: Waſte not my ſwift years
Which haſte to David's ſeventy, fill'd with fears
And ſorrows for his death: Forget his parts,
They find a living grave in good men's hearts:
And, for my firſt is daily paid for ſin,
Forget to pay my ſecond ſigh for him:
Forget his powerful preaching; and forget
I am his convert. Oh my frailty! let

My

[1] But it appears from the preceding pages, that his intentions of viſiting the Holy Land were fruſtrated.

My flesh be no more heard; it will obtrude
This lethargy: So should my gratitude,
My vows of gratitude should be so broke,
Which can no more be, than his virtues, spoke
By any but himself: For which cause I
Write no encomiums, but this elegy;
Which, as a free-will offering, I here give
Fame and the world; and, parting with it, grieve
I want abilities fit to set forth
A monument as matchless as his worth.

IZ. WA.

APRIL 7, 1631.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DOCTOR JOHN DONNE,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

I. " PSEUDO-MARTYR; wherein out of certaine Propoſitions and Gradations this Concluſion is evicted, that thoſe which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegeance." *London*, 1610, quarto.

II. " DEVOTIONS upon EMERGENT OCCASIONS, and ſeveral STEPS in my SICKNES; digeſted into—1. Meditations upon our humane Condition.—2. Expoſtulations and Debatements with God.—3. Prayers upon the ſeveral Occaſions to him." *London*, 1624, 12mo.

This book is dedicated to Prince Charles. The ſubjects of the different devotions are expreſſed in twenty-two hexameter verſes prefixed to the work.

" Stationes ſive periodi in morbo, ad quas referuntur meditationes ſequentes.

1. Inſultus morbi primus. 2. Poſt actio læſa.
3. Decubitus ſequitur tandem. 4. Medicuſq; vocatur.
5. Solus adeſt. 6. Metuit. 7. Socios ſibi jungier inſtat," &c.

A fourth edition of this work appeared in 1634.

III. " The ANTIENT HISTORY of the SEPTUAGINT; written in Greeke by Ariſteus 1900 Yeares ſince. Of his Voyage to Hieruſalem, as Ambaſſador from Ptolomeus Philadelphus unto Eleazer then Pontiffe of the Jews. Concerning the firſt Tranſlation of the Bible by the 72 Interpreters; with many other remarkable Circumſtances. Newly done into Engliſh by J. DONE." *London*, 1633, 8vo, or 16mo.

" N. B. There are added Proofes concerning this Hiſtory, and a ſhort Diſcourſe of the Antiquity and Dignity of the ſacred Bookes, and Excellency of their inſpired Writer the Prophet Moſes."

A new edition of this verſion, ſaid to be very much corrected from the original, was publiſhed in 1685, 12mo.

IV. " JUVENILIA, or certaine Paradoxes and Problems." *London*, 1633, quarto.

V. " POEMS by J. D. with ELEGIES on the AUTHOR's DEATH."—1633, quarto. The ſame in 1635, 8vo or 16mo; and again in 1654, 8vo or 16mo. The laſt edition contains a

dedication

dedication to Lord Craven, by Dr. John Donne, the ſon, and a copy of verſes to Dr. Donne, by B. Jon. i. e. Ben Jonſon. Prefixed to the volume is a print of the Author in a ſuit of armour, with eight verſes under it, by Izaak Walton. There is another edition of the poems in 1669, 8vo.

VI. "LXXX SERMONS," 1640, folio, with a print of the Author, æt. 42, M. Merian, jun. ſc. With a Dedication to King Charles, and Izaak Walton's Life of Dr. Donne.

VII. "L SERMONS; the Second Volume," 1649, folio.—This volume contains two dedications; the firſt "To Baſil, Earl of Denby;" and the ſecond "To Bolſtred Whitlock, Richard Keeble, and John Leile, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seale."

VIII. "XXVI SERMONS; the Third Volume," 1661.—With a dedication "To King Charles II."

Many of the ſermons in the preceding volumes were printed ſeparately at different times.

IX. "LETTERS to ſeveral Perſons of Honour. Publiſhed by John Donne, Doctor of the Civill Law." *London*, 1654, 4to; and dedicated by him "To the moſt virtuous and excellent Lady Mris. Bridget Dunch."

X. "ESSAYS in DIVINITY, &c. being ſeveral Diſquiſitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers." 1651, 12mo. Written by him before he went into holy orders.

XI. "PARADOXES, PROBLEMS, ESSAYS, CHARACTERS, &c. To which is added, a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the ſame Author, tranſlated into Engliſh by J. Mayne, D. D. As alſo Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr, tranſlated out of the original Copy written in Latin by the ſame Author; found lately amongſt his own Papers." *London*, 1653, 12mo.

Several parts of this volume were printed before under different titles.

Of the tract "Ignatius his Conclave," it muſt be obſerved, that it was originally written in Latin with this title; "Conclave Ignati, ſive ejus in nuperis inferni comitiis Inthroniſatio: ubi varia de Jeſuitarum indole, de novo inferno creando, de eccleſiâ lunaticâ inſtituendâ per Satyram congeſta ſunt. Acceſſit et Apologia pro Jeſuitis."

This little volume is printed without the name of the author or printer, and without any intimation of time or place. It contains many ſevere and ironical invectives againſt Ignatius Loyola, who founded the order of the Jeſuits in 1540. The author deſcribes himſelf in a viſion. "Eram in extaſi, et

Animula vagula blandula
Comes hoſpeſq; corporis

per omnia liberè vagata eſt, omnes cœlorum contignationes numerabat et volumina: omnes inſularum natantium omniumq; in firmamento hærentium ſitus dimenſiones naturas populos etiam et politeias complexa eſt."—He proceeds; "Ictu oculi etiam et inferos video in conſpectu meo poſitos."—"Ad penitiora progreſſus vidi locum ſecretiorem ipſiq; Lucifero ferè proprium, ad quem ineundum iis tantum jus erat qui ita aliquid novi in vitâ moliti fuerant ut antiquitati barbam vellerent et dubia et anxietates ſcrupuloſq; injicerent, et poſt invectam quidvis opinandi licentiam tandem prorſus contraria iis quæ ante ſtatuta fuerant ſtatuerent."

Many candidates claim an admiſſion into the infernal regions, as Copernicus, Paracelſus, Machiavel, &c. To them Ignatius Loyola is preferred: Lucifer entertains him as a boſom friend and counſellor, and propoſes to him the acquiſition of a territory in the moon. "Illuc Jeſuitæ omnes transfretabunt, eccleſiamq; lunaticam Romanæ conciliabunt."

In the mean time it is publicly announced that the Pope is prevailed upon to canonize Ignatius: "Iniquum enim eſſe cum omnes artifices laniiq; prophani peculiares quos invocarent divos haberent ſolis laniis ſpiritualibus et regicidis ſuus deeſſet."

Ignatius caſting his eyes on the throne next that of Lucifer, aſks by whom it is filled. When he hears the name of Boniface, he breaks out into a violent reproach againſt him, and drives him from his place, in which he ſeats himſelf with the approbation of Lucifer. And here the viſion ends.

The tract concludes with a pretended defence of the Jeſuits: "Tandem ad apologiam pro Jeſuitis accedendum, id eſt, de illis ſilendum. Favet enim illis quiſquis de illis tacet. Nec certe cuiquam diutiſſime locuto (etſi ei Oceanus Clepſydra eſſet) unquam deerit quod de eorum flagitiis addere poſſit."

XII. "ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ. A Declaration of that Paradoxe or Theſis, that Self-homicide is not ſo naturally Sin, that it may never be otherwiſe. Wherein the Nature and Extent of all thoſe Lawes, which ſeem to be violated by this Act, are diligently ſurveyed." *London*, printed by John Dawſon.—4to.

This work was publiſhed by the author's ſon, with a dedication to the Lord Philip Herbert, dated from his houſe in Covent-Garden, 28; no mention is made of month or year here or in the title-page. At the end of the book we find "20 Sept. 1644, imprimatur Jo. Ruſhworth."

In the univerſity library at Cambridge are three copies of this book, in two of which are written letters by the editor. One copy, which contains the letter to Mr. Lee, was Biſhop Moore's; the other, containing the letter to Mr. Carter, belonged to Mr. Lucas, who founded the Lucaſian Profeſſorſhip at Cambridge

LETTER I.

"FOR HIS MUCH HONORED FRINDE MR. LEE, AT THE COCKPITT.

"SIR,

"I take the bouldneſſe to preſent to your hands this booke, hopinge that it may bee wel-
"come to you, even for the patrone's ſake who has receaved it ſoe nobly, that I cannot doubt
"but that all his frinds will entertaine it as ſome thinge that belongs to my Lorde Herbert,
"and has lyen ſtill theſe firſtie laſt years to expect a patrone noble enough to entertaine a
"peece that is an abſolute originall, and, I thincke, drawen by noe very ill a hande.

"Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,

COVENT-GARDEN, Oct. 26. "JO. DONNE."

LETTER II.

" FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL EDWARD CARTER, ESQ.

" SIR,

" I have here ſent you a booke that may peradventure give you ſome entertainement out of " the noveltie of the ſubject, but that is not all my reaſon of preſentinge it to you at this time; " for, ſince I lived in this pariſh, I have publiſhed a volume of eighty ſermons preached by " my father; and have prepared ſixty more, which are licenſed and entered in the Printers' " Halle; which is, as farr as I can drive them, untill the times allter. I was encouradged to " undertake this worke by the learnedeſt men in the kingdome of all profeſſions, and was often " told that I ſhould deſerve better by doinge ſoe, then by keepinge them to my owne uſe, for " by this meanes I did not only preach to the preſent adge, but to our children's children. " Sir, I write this to you that you may judg what a ſad condition a ſcholler is in; when at a " public veſtry in this pariſh, I was told by a pittifull ignorant baker, I was an idle man, and " never preached.

" Your humble ſervant,

" JO. DONNE."

Another edition of the Biathanatos appeared in 1648.

ERRATA.

Page 8, *line* 32,—to concilitate, *read* to conciliate.
—— 19, —— 8,—to like his, *read* too like his.
—— 26, —— 33,—in fauſtus, *read* infauſtus.
—— 75, —— 22,—paradoxies, *read* paradoxes.
—— 76, —— 18,—by Mr. Pope, and, *read* by Mr. Pope. His Latin Epigrams are tranſlated by Dr. Jaſper Mayne.
—— 85, —— 25,—PIETATISET, *read* PIETATIS ET.
—— 88, —— 31,—ἀυτοσχεδια ξειν, *read* ἀυτοσχεδιαζειν.

THE LIFE

OF

SIR HENRY WOTTON,

LATE PROVOST OF EATON COLLEGE.

THE LIFE OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whofe life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568, in Bocton-Hall (commonly called Bocton, or Bougton-Place, or Palace) in the parifh of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent: Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly ftructure, beautifying, and being beautified by the parifh-church of Bocton Malherbe[a] adjoining unto it, and both feated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of fuch a hill as gives the advantage of a large profpect, and of equal pleafure to all beholders.

But this houfe and church are not remarkable for any thing fo much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have fo long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church[b]; the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers perfons eminent for wifdom and valour, whofe heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themfelves and this nation, which they have ferved abroad faithfully in the difcharge of their great truft, and prudently in their negociations with feveral princes; and alfo ferved at home with much honour and juftice, in their wife managing a great part of the public affairs thereof in the various times both of war and peace.

But

[a] Bocton Malherbe, alias Boughton Malherbe, lies in the middle of the county of Kent. Sir Nicholas Wotton, Lord Mayor of London in 1416 and 1431, obtained the poffeffion of this place by marrying the only daughter of Richard Corby. It continued in the ancient family of the Wottons, until it came to Thomas Lord Wotton, whofe eldeft daughter the Lady Katharine Stanhope, by marrying Henry Lord Stanhope, fon of Philip Earl of Chefterfield, transferred it into another family. *(Harris's Hift. of Kent.)*

[b] Of thefe monuments fee "Hafted's Hiftory of Kent," vol. II. p. 437;—"Harris's Hiftory of Kent," p. 48.

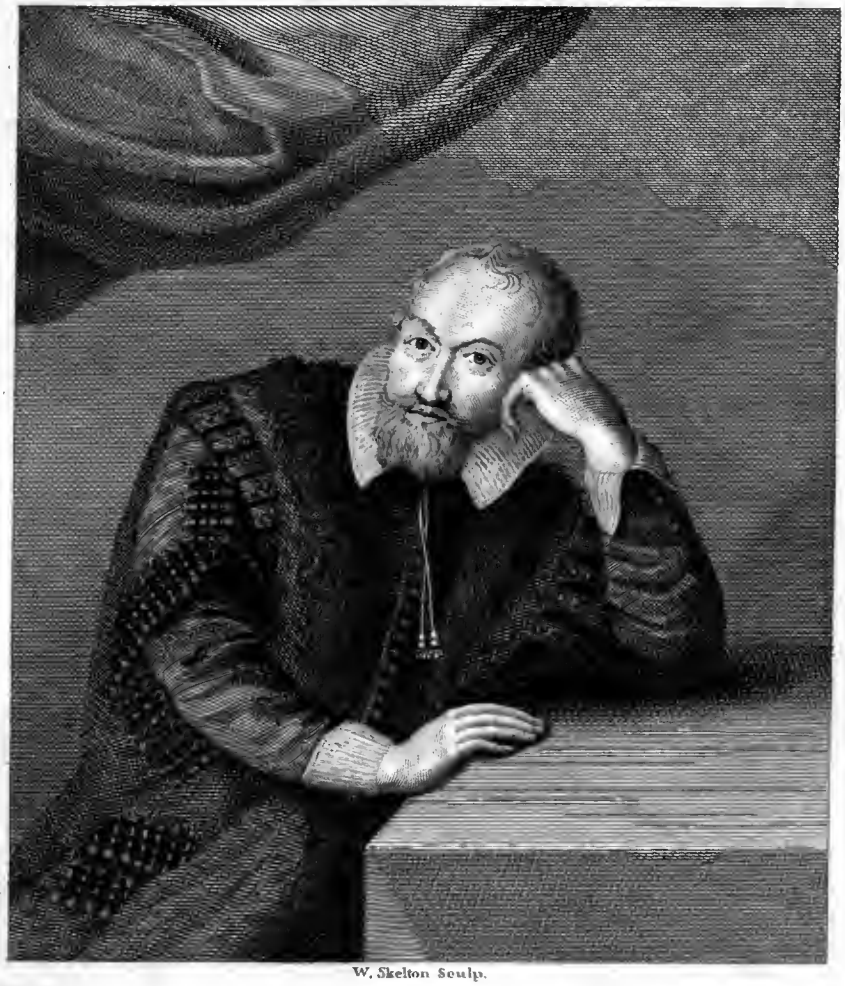
But left I ſhould be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have obſerved moderation in the commendation of this family; and alſo for that I believe the merits and memory of ſuch perſons ought to be thankfully recorded, I ſhall offer to the conſideration of every reader, out of the teſtimony of their pedigree and our chronicles, a part, and but a part, of that juſt commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and ſhall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an exceſs or defect of commendations[c].

Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was born about the year of Chriſt, 1460: He, living in the reign of King Edward IV. was by him truſted to be Lieutenant of Guiſnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Knight (ſon and heir of the ſaid Sir Robert) was born in the year of Chriſt, 1489, in the reign of King Henry VII.; he was made Treaſurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII. who offered him to be Lord Chancellor of England; "But," ſaith Hollinſhed, in his Chronicle, "out of a virtuous modeſty he "refuſed it."

Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, Eſquire, ſon and heir of the ſaid Sir Edward, and the father of our Sir Henry that occaſions this relation, was born in the year of Chriſt, 1521: He was a gentleman excellently educated, and ſtudious in all the liberal arts; in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (beſides thoſe abilities, a very noble and plentiful eſtate and the ancient intereſt of his predeceſſors) many invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood (ſhe was then with him at his Bocton-hall), and that to be but as an earneſt of ſome more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refuſed both, being a man of great modeſty, of a moſt plain and ſingle heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation which

[c] Hollingſhed informs us that the family of the Wottons was very ancient, and that "Some perſons of that ſurname for their ſingularities of wit and learning, for their honour "and government in and of the realm, about the prince and elſewhere, at home and abroad, "deſerve ſuch commendations, that they merit *niveo ſignari lapillo.*" (*Chron. Vol. I. p.* 1402.)



W. Skelton Sculp.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary, Mr. William Lambert[d], in his Perambulation of Kent.

This Thomas had four sons[e], Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted[f] by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller

X of

[d] William Lambard of Lincoln's Inn, gent. a pupil of Lawrence Nowell the learned Antiquary, and known to the country magistrate as the author of "Eirenarcha, or of the Office "of the Justices of Peace, 1599," and of the "Duties of Constables, Borsholders, Tithing-"Men, and such other Lowe and Lay-Ministers of the Peace, 1601." His "Perambulation "of Kent," much applauded by Camden, encouraged many more men of learning to endeavour the like services for their country. His chief work is "The Archaionomia sive de priscis Anglorum Legibus, 1568," being a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Laws.

[e] Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Lord Zouch, dated Florence, Aug. 14, 1592, mentions his brother Edward, as having lost his wife, a gentlewoman, in his opinion, of most rare virtue; his brother James as gone to serve in the Low Countries; and his brother John as retired to a solitary life, and at some difference with his lady.

[f] "My brother Edward hath, either against his will, as some say, or with it, as I say, been knighted." *(Letter to Lord Zouch, dated Sienna, Dec. 13, 1592.)*——Sir Edward Wotton was, in 1585, sent Ambassador into Scotland, for the purpose of contracting a league offensive and defensive with the king, to counteract the *holy* league, which the Pope, the Spanish King, the Guises, and others had made to extirpate the reformed religion. *(Spotswood's Hist. p. 339.)*——Sir Henry Wotton's character, while he was engaged in that embassy, is thus drawn by Dr. Robertson. "This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the "exercises for which James had a passion, and amused the young king by relating the adven-"tures which he had met with, and the observations he had made during a long residence in "foreign countries; but under the veil of these superficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous "and intriguing spirit. He soon grew into high favour with James, and while he was seem-"ingly attentive only to pleasure and diversions, he acquired influence over the public coun-"cils, to a degree which was indecent for a stranger to possess." *(History of Scotland, B. VII.)*

of her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "A man remarkable for many and great employments in the state during her reign, "and sent several times Ambassador into foreign nations. After her death, "he was by King James made Comptroller of his Household, and called to "be of his Privy Council, and by him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron "of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that county."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the thirty-eight of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour,) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town.

Sir John being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry, my following discourse shall give an account.

The descent of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed: But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the reign of King Richard II.) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury[g]; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life,

[g] He was installed Dean of York, Dec. 4, 1544, as in 1542 he was constituted the first Dean of Canterbury by the Charter of Incorporation. He held both these preferments to the time of his death, Jan. 26, 1566-7.—What Sir Henry Wotton said of Sir Philip Sidney, has been applied to Nicholas Wotton. "That he was the very measure of congruity." Henry VIII. thus addressed him on his appointment to a foreign embassy; "I have sent a head by "Cromwell,

life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the ſervice of his country, as is teſtified by his ſeveral employments *(vide Camden's Britannia)*, having been ſent nine times Ambaſſador[h] unto foreign princes; and by his being a Privy Councellor to King Henry VIII. to Edward VI. to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; who alſo, after he had been, during the wars between England, and Scotland and France, three ſeveral times (and not unſucceſsfully) employed in committees for ſettling of peace betwixt this and thoſe kingdoms, "died," ſaith learned Camden, "Full of commendations for wiſdom and piety." He was alſo by the will of King Henry VIII. made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his ſon, that pious Prince Edward VI.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton, I ſhall ſay but this little more; that he refuſed (being offered it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury—*(vide* Hollingſhead); and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the diſſolution of abbeys.

More might be added; but by this it may appear, that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of ſuch a kindred, as left a ſtock of reputation to their poſterity; ſuch reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in ſtrangers, and preſerve a noble ambition in thoſe of his name and family, to perform actions worthy of their anceſtors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did ſo, might appear more perfectly than my pen can expreſs it, if of his many ſurviving friends, ſome one of

 higher

"Cromwell, a purſe by Wolſey, a ſword by Brandon, and muſt now ſend the law by "you." *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 107.)——He was conſidered as poſſeſſing the qualifications of a ſtateſman in a very eminent degree. "Every younker ſpeaks as politic as Biſhop "Gardner or Dr. Wotton." *(Spenſer's Letters to his friend Immerito.)*

[h] It appears from the inſcription on his monument that he was ſent Ambaſſador twice to the Emperor Charles V. once to Philip King of Spain, once to Francis I. the French King, thrice to Henry II. his ſon, once to Mary Queen of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, and twice to William Duke of Cleves: That he was alſo a Commiſſioner at the renewal of peace between the Engliſh, and French and Scots, at a place between Guiſnes and Ardes, in 1546, and alſo at the caſtle of Cambray, in 1559, and laſtly at Edinburgh, in 1560.—See his life in a very valuable work lately publiſhed, entitled, "Some account of the Deans of "Canterbury, from the new Foundation of that Church by Henry VIII. to the preſent Time. "By Henry John Todd, M. A."

higher parts and employments had been pleafed to have commended his to pofterity; but fince fome years are now paffed, and they have all (I know not why) forborn to do it, my gratitude to my dead friend, and the renewed requeft of fome* that ftill live folicitous to fee this duty performed, thefe have had a power to perfuade me to undertake it; which, truly, I have not done, but with fome diftruft of mine own abilities; and yet fo far from defpair, that I am modeftly confident my humble language fhall be accepted, becaufe I fhall prefent all readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premifed, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married; firft to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudftone, knight; after whofe death, though his inclination was averfe to all contentions, yet neceffitated he was to feveral fuits in law; in the profecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occafion of many difcontents) he was by divers of his friends earneftly perfuaded to a remarriage; to whom he has often anfwered, "That if "ever he did put on a refolution to marry, he was ferioufly refolved to "avoid three forts of perfons, namely,

"Thofe that had children;
"Thofe that had law-fuits;
"And thofe that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-fuits, he met in Weftminfter-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton of Kent, Efquire, who was alfo engaged in feveral fuits in law; and he, obferving her comportment at the time of hearing one of her caufes before the judges, could not but at the fame time both compaffionate her condition, and affect her perfon (for the tears of lovers, or beauty dreft in fadnefs, are obferved to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too ftrong to be refifted), which I mention, becaufe it proved fo with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all thofe accidents, againft which he had fo ferioufly refolved, yet his affection to her grew

* Sir Edward Bifh Clarentieux, King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, fometime Sir Henry Wotton's fervant, and one of the witneffes to his laft will.

grew then ſo ſtrong, that he reſolved to ſolicit her for a wife; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch of Eaſtwell in Kent) he had only Henry his youngeſt ſon. His mother undertook to be tutoreſs unto him during much of his childhood; for whoſe care and pains he paid her each day with ſuch viſible ſigns of future perfection in learning, as turned her employment into a pleaſing trouble; which ſhe was content to continue, till his father took him into his own particular care, and diſpoſed of him to a tutor in his own houſe at Bocton.

And when time and diligent inſtruction had made him fit for a removal to a higher form (which was very early), he was ſent to Wincheſter-ſchool, a place of ſtrict diſcipline and order; that ſo he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wiſe father knew to be the moſt neceſſary way, to make the future part of his life both happy to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcharge of all buſineſs, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age[i] removed from that ſchool to be a Commoner of New-College in Oxford; both being founded by William Wickham Biſhop of Wincheſter.

There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his age; and was then tranſplanted into Queen's-College, where within that year he was by the chief of that college perſuaſively enjoined to write a play for their private uſe (it was the tragedy of Tancredo), which was ſo interwoven with ſentences, and for the method and exact perſonating thoſe humours, paſſions, and diſpoſitions, which he propoſed to repreſent, ſo performed, that the graveſt of that ſociety declared he had in a ſleight employment given an early and a ſolid teſtimony of his future abilities. And though there may be ſome ſour diſpoſitions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wiſe knight, Baptiſt Guarini[k] (whom learned Italy accounts

[i] He was admitted of New College in 1584.

[k] The famous author of the "Il Paſtor Fido."

accounts one of her ornaments), thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I paſs to what will be thought more ſerious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Maſter of Arts[l], and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having deſcribed the form, the motion, the curious compoſure of the eye, and demonſtrated how of thoſe very many every humour and nerve performs its diſtinct office, ſo as the God of Order hath appointed, without mixture or confuſion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his ſenſes require time to inform the ſoul, this, in an inſtant, apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others, to diſcover wit, folly, love, and hatred.

After he had made theſe obſervations, he fell to diſpute this optique queſtion:——

"Whether we ſee by the emiſſion of the beams from within, or recep-
"tion of the ſpecies from without[m]?"

And after that, and many other like learned diſquiſitions, he, in the concluſion of his lectures, took a fair occaſion to beautify his diſcourſe with a commendation of the bleſſing and benefit of "Seeing:—By which,
"we do not only diſcover Nature's ſecrets, but with a continued content
"(for the eye is never weary of ſeeing) behold the great light of the
"world, and by it diſcover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order
"and motion of the cœleſtial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but down-
"ward, it may rejoice to behold the boſom of the earth, our common
"mother, embroidered and adorned with numberleſs and various flowers,
"which man ſees daily grow up to perfection, and then ſilently moralize
"his own condition, who in a ſhort time (like thoſe very flowers) decays,
"withers,

[l] According to Anthony Wood, Mr. Henry Wotton ſupplicated in June 1588 for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But it did not appear from the records of the Univerſity that he was ever admitted to this degree, or to that of Maſter of Arts.

[m] See an accurate Hiſtory of the Cauſes of Viſion in Dr. Smith's Optics, volume II. p. 23.

"withers, and quickly returns again to that earth from which both had "their first being[n]."

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "*Henrice mi Ocelle*[o];" which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the university.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father—(whom Sir Henry did never mention without this or some such like reverential expression; as, "That good man my father," or "My father the best of men.")—About that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a-year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation, which I shall undertake

[n] The classic reader, and indeed every reader, will be highly gratified with this beautiful passage from Mr. Wotton's Lecture.

Γαια θεα, μητερ μακαρων θνητων-τ' ἀνθρωπων,
Παντροφε, παυδωτειρα, τιλεσφορε. ORPHEI. HYMN.

"——————— alma liquentes
"Humorum guttas Mater cum Terra recepit,
"Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta
"Et genus humanum et parit omnia sæcla ferarum,
"Pabula cum præbet, quibus omnes corpora pascunt;
"Et dulcem ducunt vitam, prolemque propagant,
"Quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est." LUCRET. Lib. II. v. 992.

"Quasi Solstitialis Herba, paulisper fui:
"Repente exortus sum, repentino occidi." PLAUT. PSEUDOL.

In all languages the life of man has been compared to the flower that is soon withered, and passeth away.

[o] "Volo placere Philolachi, *meo ocello*, meo patrono." (*Plaut. Most. A. I. Sc.* 3,—11.

undertake to do, for that I ſuppoſe, they may ſo much concern the reader to know, that I may promiſe myſelf a pardon for a ſhort digreſſion.

IN the year of our redemption, 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned), being then Ambaſſador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in ſuch a project, as, if he were not ſuddenly prevented, would turn both to the loſs of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtleſs the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a ſenſeleſs paraphraſe on our waking thoughts, or of the buſineſs of the day paſt, or are the reſult of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourſelves to reſt; and knew that the obſervation of them may turn to ſilly ſuperſtitions, as they too often do. But though he might know all this, and might alſo believe that prophecies are ceaſed; yet, doubtleſs, he could not but conſider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or caſt away without all conſideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aſide, than intend totally to loſe it; and dreaming the ſame again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams the learned have made many obſervations), and conſidering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much leſs on the deſires of his heart, then he did more ſeriouſly conſider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleaſed in a dream to reveal and to aſſure Monica the mother of St. Auſtin, "That he, her ſon, for whom ſhe wept ſo bitterly, and prayed "ſo much, ſhould at laſt become a Chriſtian[p]." This, I believe, the good Dean conſidered; and conſidering alſo that Almighty God (though the cauſes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in theſe latter times alſo, by a certain illumination of the ſoul in ſleep, diſcovered many things that human wiſdom could not foreſee: Upon theſe conſiderations he reſolved to uſe ſo prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himſelf or to his nephew. And to that end, he wrote to the Queen (it was Queen Mary), and beſought her, "That "ſhe

[p] This dream is related by St. Auguſtin *in Confeſſionum, Lib. III. c.* ii.

" ſhe would cauſe his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be ſent for out of Kent; " and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in ſome ſuch " feigned queſtions, as might give a colour for his commitment into a " favourable priſon; declaring that he would acquaint her Majeſty with " the true reaſon of his requeſt, when he ſhould next become ſo happy " as to ſee and ſpeak to her Majeſty[q]."

It was done as the Dean deſired. And in priſon I muſt leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip King of Spain. And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the perſuaſion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation; yet divers perſons of a contrary perſuaſion did not only declare againſt it, but alſo raiſed forces to oppoſe it; believing (as they ſaid) it would be a means to bring England to be under a ſubjection to Spain[r], and make thoſe of this nation ſlaves to ſtrangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whoſe family, and the family of the Wottons, there had been an ancient and entire friendſhip), was the principal actor; who having perſuaded many of the nobility and gentry (eſpecially of Kent) to ſide with him, and he being defeated, and taken priſoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and loſt his life: So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others;

Y especially

[q] This account ſeems to be confirmed by Speed. " Among many diſlikers of the Queen's " marriage, it chanced *one for ſome other offence to be committed to the Fleet, by the Council, who, " being an inward acquaintance of Sir Thomas Wyatt's, was ſuppoſed by him to have revealed the " conſpiracie, whereupon he put himſelf in action, before the enterprize was altogether ripe.*" (*Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain. p.* 1112.)——The author of the " Account of the Deans of Canterbury," has ingeniouſly conjectured that this dream of the good Dean was a mere political contrivance, the reſult of deep deliberation, to preſerve the life of his nephew, whoſe intimacy with Sir Thomas Wyat would probably have induced him to engage in the conſpiracy.——See alſo *Biogr. Brit. in the Article* WOTTON [E].

[r] It was generally ſuppoſed at this time, that, under the ſemblance of introducing the Romiſh religion into England, the ſecret deſign of Philip was to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown of England, and to make the Engliſh vaſſals to the power of Spain. (*Kennet's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p.* 339.)

especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants[s].

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined. For, though he could not be ignorant that "Another "man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions," and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place, when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and both then joined in praising God for it; "That God, who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, "or in shewing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen "to love[t]."

And

[s] Of this Rebellion see "Kennet's complete History of England," vol. II. p. 340. The following anecdote affords an example of loyalty and zeal at this time:

"Ralph Rokeby, Serjeant at the Common Law, and of the antient family of Rokeby, of "Rokeby, near Greta-bridge, Yorkshire, was so eminent in his profession, that he refused the "office of Lord Chief Justice, when offered to him on the cession of Justice Morgan, Sir "Tho. Wiatt the rebell of Kent, against King Philip, Q. Mary, and the Spaniards, being "noised to be coming towards London, this Ralph Rokeby went to Westminster in his Ser-"jeant's robes to plead, and under them a good coat-armour, and hearing att Charing-"Cross, the near approach of the rebells, he hastned him to the Queen's Court at White-"hall, strung and fetled an Archer of the Livery Guards' bow, that stood there unstrung, "threw down the Serjeant's robes for that time, and went to the Gate-house to serve there "with a bow and a sheaf of arrows, and there tarried till the enemy yielded, and thus in the "time of need he was ready to fight with his body for his Prince against rebells, on whom "he had jurisdiction in time of peace in the circuit of Northampton, Warwick, Coventre, "Leceister, Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, and Rutland, to adjudge of their lives, lands, and "goods, for there he was Justice of Assise and Goale Delivery." *(MS. Memoirs of the Rokebys, in the possession of Francis Smyth, Esq. of New-buildings, Yorkshire.)*

[t] This sentiment happily illustrates the beneficence of Providence accomplishing its gracious purposes in a manner best suited to its own dispensations, in promoting the happiness of good men.

And this dream was the more conſiderable, becauſe that God, who in the days of old did uſe to ſpeak to his people in viſions, did ſeem to ſpeak to many of this family in dreams; of which I will alſo give the reader one ſhort particular of this Thomas Wotton, whoſe dreams did uſually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and diſcovering things paſt: And the particular is this. This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the Univerſity Treaſury was robbed by townſmen and poor ſcholars[u]; and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his ſon Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth ſo much pains, as by a poſtſcript in his letter, to make a ſlight inquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his ſon's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and univerſity were both in a perplexed inqueſt of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton ſhew his father's letter, and by it ſuch light was given of this work of darkneſs, that the five guilty perſons were preſently diſcovered and apprehended, without putting the univerſity to ſo much trouble as the caſting of a figure[x].

And it may yet be more conſiderable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton ſhould both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to faſting and prayer) foreſee and foretel the very days of their own death. Nicholas did ſo, being then ſeventy years of age, and in perfect health[y]. Thomas did the like in the ſixty-fifth year of his age; who, being then in London (where he died), and foreſeeing his death there, gave di-

 rection

[u] Of the robbery here mentioned, no account whatever is recorded in the annals of the Univerſity.

[x] Judicial Aſtrology was much in uſe long after this time. Its predictions were received with reverential awe; and men, even of the moſt enlightened underſtandings, were inclined to believe that the conjunctions and oppoſitions of the planets had no little influence in the affairs of the world. Even the excellent Joſeph Mede diſdained not to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of Aſtrology.

[y] This is intimated in the inſcription on his monument, erected in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. "Hæc ille ante mortem et ante morbum quaſi fatalem diem præſentiens et "cygneam cantionem prophetice canens ſuâ manu in Muſæo ſcripta reliquit."

rection in what manner his body ſhould be carried to Boſton; and, though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himſelf, to be buried privately, and eſpecially without any pomp at his funeral.

This is ſome account of this family, which ſeemed to be beloved of God.

BUT it may now ſeem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into ſuch a boſom friendſhip with the learned Albericus Gentilis[z] (whom I formerly named), that, if it had been poſſible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law[a], into the breaſt of his

[z] This noted Civilian having left Italy along with his father, Matthew Gentilis, who had embraced the reformed religion, came into England and died at London in 1608, aged 58 years. He publiſhed three books, "De Jure Belli;" which proved very uſeful to Grotius, in his great work, "De Jure Belli et Pacis," and alſo a tractate "De Latinitate veteris Bibliorum Verſionis," with other works. *(Dictionaire Hiſtorique, &c.)*

The following high encomium is given of him by Mr. Thomas Savile, in a letter to Mr. Camden. "Albericum primarium olim in Italiâ Judicem, Chriſtianæ Religionis ergô nunc in "Angli exulem, Oxonii Profeſſorem publicum, et tuo et meo nomine dignum, Virum re- "peries non unum è Tricaſſinis, ſed ipſam Humanitatem, merum Candorem, alterum denique "Camdenum." *(Camdeni Epiſt. p. 8.)*

Bayle mentions with much diſapprobation a method obſerved by Albericus Gentilis, whoſe eagerneſs in the acquiſition of knowledge impelled him to ſeek inſtruction not leſs from converſation than from reading. This circumſtance is noticed by himſelf. "Quid de Oxonien- "ſibus meis? Vel repertoria mea teſtantur ſatis quantum ego capiam fructûs ex eorum "virorum et juvenum colloquiis, nam in illis ego deſcripſi non pauca quæ, dum minus id "ipſi cogitant, diſco tamen et aſſervo ex ſermonibus familiaribus." *(Dial. III. de Juris Suterp. p. 36.)*

[a] Civil Law. In ſeveral parts of his writings he has frequent alluſions to the proceſſes and practices obſerved in the eccleſiaſtical courts. "A libel, whoſe ſubſtance cannot be changed "after it is once given into a civil or eccleſiaſtical court, may in ſome ſort be declared or "amended before a replication be made thereunto. A witneſs, &c." *(Preface to his Supplement to the Hiſtory of Chriſtendom.)*

his dear Harry; for ſo Gentilis uſed to call him: And though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry ſuch a propenſity and connaturalneſs to the Italian language and thoſe ſtudies whereof Gentilis was a great maſter, that his friendſhip between them did daily increaſe, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in ſeveral ſciences, during his ſtay in the univerſity:

From which place, before I ſhall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I muſt omit to mention divers perſons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I muſt not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne[b], ſometime Dean of St. Paul's, a man of whoſe abilities I ſhall forbear to ſay any thing; becauſe he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deſerves not to know him. The friendſhip of theſe two I muſt not omit to mention, being ſuch a friendſhip as was generouſly elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an univerſity, and there maintained by correſpondent inclinations and ſtudies, ſo it laſted till age and death forced a ſeparation.

In Oxford he ſtayed till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the twenty-ſecond year of his age: And having to his great wit added the ballaſt of learning and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aſide his books, and betook himſelf to the uſeful library of travel, and a more general converſation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his induſtry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchaſe the rich treaſure of foreign knowledge: Of which, both for the ſecrets of Nature, the diſpoſitions of many nations, their ſeveral laws and languages, he was the poſſeſſor in a very large meaſure, as I ſhall faithfully make

[b] In Dr. Donne's letters, publiſhed in 1651, are ſeveral addreſſed "To the beſt knight, Sir H. Wotton." Dr. Donne has thus expreſſed his great regard for this his friend.

"Whom free from German ſchiſmes, and lightneſſe
"Of France and faire Italie's faithleſſneſſe,
"Having from theſe ſuck'd all they had of worth,
"And brought home that faith you carried forth
"I thoroughly love. (*Donne's Poems*, 1633. *p.* 63.)

make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almoſt nine years[c] before his return into England, he ſtayed but one year in France, and moſt of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza[d] (then very aged) and with Iſaac Caſaubon[e], in whoſe houſe (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a moſt worthy friendſhip with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three

[c] Or rather, ſix years. The writers of the Biographia Britannica explain the miſtake by ſuppoſing that the tail of the 9 ſhould be turned upwards to make it 6. It appears from a letter to Lord Zouch, dated July 10, 1592, that he had been abroad three years. He probably returned in 1595, as he was appointed Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex, after his return, in 1596, when he was in the 27th or 28th year of his age. In his letters to the above nobleman he has given an entertaining account of his travels, under the diſguiſe of a Dutchman, and particularly of his journey to Rome, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by wearing a large blue feather in a black hat. At Sienna he learned of Scipio Alberti the maxim which he recommended to Milton, " *I penſieri ſtretti et il viſo ſciolto.*"

[d] Theodore Beza died at Geneva, Oct. 13, 1605, aged 86 years. This learned foreigner encouraged the Puritans in England, and in 1566 wrote with much confidence to Biſhop Grindal in their behalf. Yet however attached he might be to the diſcipline of his own church at Geneva, and he was very zealous for a Preſbyterian government, and by no means ſo moderate as Calvin in that reſpect, it appears from ſeveral of his letters to Archbiſhop Whitgift, that he retained the higheſt regard and veneration for the Church of England. His Biographer, Melchior Adam, has given this character of him. " Ingenio ſummo, judicio " accurato, memoriâ tenaciſſimâ, facundiâ ſingulari, affabilitate et comitate nulli ſecundus, " adeo ut, propter, commemoratas dotes, adjunctâ illis vitæ longævitate (quæ tamen omnia " erant inferiora ſummâ doctrinâ et pietate) quidam vocarent Bezam *ætatis ſuæ Phœnicem.*"

[e] " Here I am placed to my very great contentment in the houſe of Mr. Iſaac Caſaubon, a " perſon of ſober condition among the French, and this is all I can ſignifie of myſelf, my " little affairs not allowing me much to ſpeak of." (*Letter to my Lord Zouch, Aug.* 22, 1593, *Geneva.*)

This illuſtrious ſcholar, pronounced by Joſeph Scaliger to be the beſt Grecian of his time, was born at Geneva in 1559. He read lectures on the Belles Lettres, firſt at his native place, and afterward at Paris. Henry IV. of France appointed him his Librarian, and in vain attempted

Three of the remaining eight years were ſpent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the ſtage on which God appointed he ſhould act a great part of his life); where both in Rome[f], Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the moſt eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymiſtry, Architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a moſt dear lover, and a moſt excellent judge.

He

tempted to withdraw him from his profeſſion of the reformed religion. After the untimely death of that Monarch, having obtained permiſſion from the Queen Regent of France to leave the kingdom for a limited time, he came in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton into England, where he was received by James I. with marks of peculiar kindneſs, rewarded with an annual penſion of three hundred pounds, and with valuable church-preferment. He was eſteemed not more for his learned works than for his ſingular affability and moderation. He approved Epiſcopacy. In his works he calls himſelf "Hortibonus," a good garden: *Caſau*, in the language of Dauphiné, ſignifying a garden, and *bon* good. It is well known that Iſaac Caſaubon and Grotius, extremely anxious to form an union between the Popiſh and Proteſtant churches, had communicated their ſentiments to each other upon this matter with great freedom.

Morton, Biſhop of Durham, cauſed a monument at his own expence to be erected to the memory of this learned man.

"Qui noſſe vult Caſaubonum
"Non ſaxa ſed chartas legat
"Superfuturas marmori
"Et profuturas poſteris."

When Lord Herbert of Cherbury went to Paris in the earlier period of his life, he was, by the recommendation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, received into the houſe of that incomparable ſcholar, Iſaac Caſaubon, by whoſe learned converſation he much benefited himſelf. *(Life of Lord Herbert, printed at Strawberry Hill, p. 69.)*

[f] "The very ſeat and ſink of all corruption, to which," as he writes in a letter to King James, "my wandering curioſity carried me no leſs than four times in my younger years, "where I fixed my ſtudies moſt upon the hiſtorical part in the politic management of re-"ligion; which I found plainly converted from a rule of conſcience to an inſtrument of ſtate, "and from the miſtreſs of all ſciences into the very handmaid of Ambition."

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his perſon and comportment: For indeed he was of a choice ſhape, tall of ſtature, and of a moſt perſuaſive behaviour; which was ſo mixed with ſweet diſcourſe and civilities, as gained him much love from all perſons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a ſharp wit, and apt to jeſt; that, by time, travel, and converſation, was ſo poliſhed, and made ſo uſeful, that his company ſeemed to be one of the delights of mankind; inſomuch as Robert Earl of Eſſex[g] (then one of the darlings of Fortune, and in greateſt favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him firſt into a friendſhip, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries, the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe[h], ſometime of Merton College in Oxford

[g] See Sir Henry Wotton's "Parallel betwixt Robert Earl of Eſſex and George Duke of Buckingham." (*Reliq. Wotton*, *p.* 161.)——This parallel was animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon.

[h] The unfortunate Secretary of Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex. He is generally ſuppoſed to have adviſed thoſe violent meaſures which ended in the deſtruction of his noble patron. His character as a ſcholar was eſtabliſhed by the tract, "De rebus geſtis in ſancto Concilio "Nicœno," a tranſlation from Greek into Latin. He ſuffered for the ſame offence with his maſter. Sir Henry Wotton deſcribes Cuffe as "A man of ſecret ambitious ends of his own, "and of proportionate counſels, ſmothered under the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over "with a certain rude and clowniſh faſhion that had the ſemblance of integrity." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 180.)——He is called by Camden, "Vir exquiſitiſſimâ doctrinâ ingenioque acer-"rimo, ſed turbido et tortuoſo." Owen, the Epigrammatiſt, wrote the following lines upon him:

"Doctus eras Græcè, felixque tibi fuit Alpha,
"At fuit infelix Omega, Cuffe, tuum."

[i] In the beginning of his account of "The State of Chriſtendom," he pathetically laments his voluntary baniſhment. "That day ſhould have been more joyful unto me than the day of "my birth and nativity, wherein I might have ſeen a letter from any of my friends with "aſſurance of my pardon to call me home. But I find myſelf ſo much inferior to Coriola-"nus in good fortune, as I come behind him in manly valour, and other laudable qualities."

Τι; το στερεσθαι πατριδος ἢ κακον μεγα;
Μεγιστον· ἐργῳ δ' ἐστι μειζον ἢ λογῳ.

Oxford (and there alſo the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth); Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the univerſity for his learning, nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalneſs of his end.

Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a ſerviceable friendſhip with the Earl of Eſſex, did perſonally attend his councils and employments in two voyages at ſea againſt the Spaniards, and alſo in that (which was the Earl's laſt) into Ireland: That voyage wherein he then did ſo much provoke the Queen to anger, and worſe at his return into England; upon whoſe immoveable favour the Earl had built ſuch ſandy hopes, as encouraged him to thoſe undertakings; which, with the help of a contrary faction, ſuddenly cauſed his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton obſerving this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were alſo divided into their ſeveral intereſts) which encouraged the Earl to thoſe undertakings which proved ſo fatal to him and divers of his confederation; yet knowing treaſon to be ſo comprehenſive, as to take in even circumſtances, and out of them to make ſuch poſitive concluſions as ſubtle ſtateſmen ſhall project, either for their revenge or ſafety! Conſidering this, he thought prevention by abſence out of England[1], a better ſecurity than to ſtay in it, and there plead his innocency in a priſon. Therefore did he, ſo ſoon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without ſo much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within ſixteen hours after his departure from London, ſet upon the French ſhore; where he heard ſhortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other perſons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look ſo favourable upon Sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England: Having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an aſſurance that his annuity ſhould be paid him in Italy, thither he went; happily renewing his intermitted friendſhip and intereſt, and indeed his great content in a new converſation with his old

[1] *See the oppoſite page for the note here referred to.*

acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts), in which number he there met with his old friend, Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence[k], he went, the fourth time, to visit Rome; where in the English college he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion), and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him: An accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but did introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the reader, that though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her council) were never willing to declare her successor; yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed: And the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation,) knowing that the death of the Queen, and the establishing

[k] Here he composed his great work, "The State of Christendom; or a most Exact and Curious Discovery of many Secret Passages and Hidden Mysteries of the Times," 1657. folio.—A second edition appeared in 1677, with several additions. The design of the Author seems to have been to ingratiate himself with Queen Elizabeth; on the transactions of whose reign he expatiates in all the language of panegyric.

That men of learning should fix their residence at Florence we need not wonder, when we reflect that this city has been long celebrated for its many excellent libraries, and principally for the ducal palace, which contains the greatest and most valuable collection made by one family, and within one roof, of ancient and modern sculpture, paintings and curiosities of every kind, both natural and artificial. Yet Sir Henry Wotton has given a very unfavourable account of this place. "I live here in a Paradise inhabited by devils. Venice hath scarce "heard of those vices which are here practised. My best commodity is the conversation of "certain gentlemen, and their vulgar very pure and correct. So that here we have good "means to learn to speak well and to do ill." (*Letter to Lord Zouch, Florence, June* 25, 1592.)

eſtabliſhing of her ſucceſſor, were taken to be critical days for deſtroying or eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Proteſtant prince to ſucceed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth[l] had, both by the judgment and practice of the Jeſuited Papiſt, expoſed her to be warrantably deſtroyed; ſo (if we may believe an angry adverſary[m], "a Secular Prieſt againſt a Jeſuit,") you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, firſt to excommunicate, and then to ſhorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth), Ferdinand,

[l] Pope Pius V. without any previous admonition or citation, had paſſed a private ſentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth; which, in 1576, he cauſed to be publiſhed, and to be fixed upon the Biſhop of London's palace-gate. By this exertion of his authority, he depoſed her from her kingdom, and enjoined all her ſubjects to throw off their allegiance to her.—This Bull was completely anſwered by a foreign divine, Henry Bullinger, a miniſter of the Reformed Church at Zurich. On this Bull Biſhop Jewell addreſſed his congregation in animated language, telling them,—That he had read it and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blaſphemy againſt God, and a practice to work much unquietneſs, ſedition, and treaſon againſt our bleſſed and proſperous government: "For it depoſed the "Queen's Majeſty from her royal ſeat, and tore the crown from her head. It diſcharged all "her natural ſubjects from all due obedience. It armed one ſide of them againſt another. "It emboldened them to burn, to ſpoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another's throats; like "Pandora's box ſent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholeſome evils." *(Biſhop Jewell's Works.)*

[m] William Watſon, a ſecular prieſt, compoſed a book, written with great acrimony in the ſcolaſtic method uſually obſerved at that time, conſiſting of ten quodlibets; each of which is ſubdivided into as many articles. It diſcloſeth the character and conduct of the Jeſuits; exhibiting in proper colours their arts of equivocation and mental reſervation. Yet this man, ſo acute in diſcerning the errors of others, was hanged in 1603, for High Treaſon, along with William Clark, a Popiſh prieſt, and George Brook, brother to Lord Cobham, in conſpiring the death of James I. He had deceived his accomplices by inſtructing them, "That the "King, before his coronation, was not an actual but a political king, and therefore no treaſon "could be committed againſt him." *(See the State Trials.)*

the Great Duke of Florence[n], had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that king; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, despatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and, with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison[o] as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling: Being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him

[n] Ferdinand I. of the house of Medici, who in 1589 succeeded his brother Francis I. was educated for the church, and advanced to the dignity of a cardinal. He resigned his hat when he was 52 years of age. A wise and excellent prince, he applied himself to domestic affairs and governed his subjects with great mildness. He died in 1609. His character is drawn by Sir Henry Wotton in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 243. He is described by a foreign historian in these words: "Princeps animo excelso, et omnibus politicis artibus in "tantum instructus, ut in multis seculis vix æqualem habuerit."

[o] "This Duke," says Sir Henry Wotton, in an address to Charles I. "while I was a private traveller in Florence, and went sometime by chance (sure I am without any design) to his court, was pleased out of some gracious conceit which he took of my fidelity (for nothing else could move it), to employ me into Scotland, with a casket of antidotes and preservatives (wherein he did excel all the princes of the world), and with a despatch of high and secret importance, which he had intercepted touching some practice upon the succession to this crown; so as I am much obliged to his memory, though it was a painful journey, for that honour, and other favours and beneficences; and especially because I came thereby first into the notice of the king your father of ever blessed memory, when your Majesty was but a blooming rose."—(*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 246.)

him a ſpeedy and private conference with his Majeſty; aſſuring him, "That "the buſineſs which he was to negociate was of ſuch conſequence, as had "cauſed the Great Duke of Tuſcany to enjoin him ſuddenly to leave his "native country of Italy, to impart it to his king."

This being by Bernard Lindſey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealouſy) to hear of an Italian ambaſſador or meſſenger, required his name (which was ſaid to be Octavio Baldi[p]), and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the preſence-chamber door, he was requeſted to lay aſide his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore), and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch lords ſtanding diſtant in ſeveral corners of the chamber, at the ſight of whom he made a ſtand; which the King obſerving, "bade him "be bold, and deliver his meſſage; for he would undertake for the ſecrecy "of all that were preſent." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his meſſage to the King in Italian: which when the King had graciouſly received, after a little pauſe, Octavio Baldi ſteps to the table, and whiſpers to the King in his own language, that he was an Engliſhman, beſeeching him for a more private conference with his Majeſty, and that he might be concealed during his ſtay in that nation; which was promiſed, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, which was about three months: all which time was ſpent with much pleaſantneſs to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himſelf as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within ſome few months after his return, there came certain

[p] In a letter to the king, dated Dec. 9, 1622, Sir Henry Wotton ſtyles himſelf, "Your Majeſty's faithful vaſſal, and long devoted poor ſervant Octavio Baldi." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.*247.) And in a letter to Henry Prince of Wales, dated from Venice, April 14, 1608, he alludes to this circumſtance of his life, calling himſelf "a poor counterfeit Italian." He probably aſſumed this name out of regard to the memory of Barnardino Baldi, Abbot of Guaſtalla, a great maſter in his favourite ſcience of architecture, and quoted by him as a commentator on Ariſtotle's Mechanics.

certain news to Florence, that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing travel and buſineſs to be the beſt ſchools of wiſdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, adviſed him to return preſently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongſt other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was, after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the Houſe, of whom he demanded, "If he knew one Henry "Wotton, that had ſpent much time in foreign travel?" The lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother: Then the King, aſking where he then was, was anſwered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he underſtood he would ſuddenly be at Paris. "Send "for him," ſaid the King; "and when he ſhall come into England, bid "him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, aſked the King, "If he knew him?" to which the King anſwered, "You "muſt reſt unſatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this diſcourſe, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome, by the name of *Octavio Baldi;* ſaying he was the moſt honeſt, and therefore the beſt diſſembler that ever he met with: And ſaid, "Seeing I "know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I "have had ſo real a teſtimony of your faithfulneſs and abilities to manage "an ambaſſage, I have ſent for you to declare my purpoſe; which is, to "make uſe of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did ſo moſt of thoſe two-and-twenty years of his reign; but before he diſmiſſed Octavio Baldi from his preſent attendance upon him, he reſtored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him[q].

Not long after this, the King having reſolved, according to his motto "BEATI PACIFICI[r]" to have a friendſhip with his neighbour kingdoms of France

[q] James I. was as liberal in the diſtribution of honours, as his predeceſſor Queen Elizabeth was ſparing. In 1603 he conferred knighthood on more than five hundred perſons.

[r] James I. heard with great pleaſure the epithet of the "pacific" monarch applied to himſelf. "I know not by what fortune the *diction* of pacific was added to my title at my coming into

France and Spain; and alſo for divers weighty reaſons, to enter into an alliance with the ſtate of Venice, and to that end to ſend ambaſſadors to thoſe ſeveral places, did propoſe the choice of theſe employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who conſidering the ſmallneſs of his own eſtate (which he never took care to augment), and knowing the courts of great princes to be ſumptuous, and neceſſarily expenſive, inclined moſt to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and beſt ſuiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with buſineſs, ſtudy, and a trial of natural experiments: for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cheriſher of all arts, is ſo juſtly famed in all parts of the Chriſtian world.

Sir Henry having after ſome ſhort time and conſideration reſolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a ſettled maintenance during his ſtay there, he left England[s], nobly accompanied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the beſt families and breeding that this nation afforded: they were too many to name, but theſe two, for the following reaſons, may not be omitted. Sir Albertus Morton his nephew, who went his ſecretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and ſanctified wiſdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of the number that did perſonally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of the following letter ſent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may teſtify he wanted not his friend's beſt wiſhes to attend him.

LETTER.

"into England, that of the *lyon* expreſſing true fortitude having been my *dicton* before: But I "am not aſhamed of this addition; for King Solomon was a figure of Chriſt, in that, that "he was a King of Peace. The greateſt gift that our Saviour gave his apoſtles immediately "before his aſcenſion was, that he left his peace with them, he himſelf having prayed for his "perſecutors and forgiven his own death, as the proverb is." (*King James's Works, p.* 590.)

[s] In 1604.

LETTER.

SIR,

AFTER thoſe reverend papers, whoſe ſoul is
Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name:
By which to you he derives much of his,
And how he may makes you almoſt the ſame;

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the ſame warm and dazzling ſun, though it
Muſt in another ſphere his virtue ſtream:

After thoſe learned papers which your hand
Hath ſtored with notes of uſe and pleaſure too;
From which rich treaſury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do.

After thoſe loving papers which friends ſend
With glad grief to your ſeaward ſteps farewel,
And thicken on you now, as prayers aſcend
To heaven on troops at a good man's paſſing-bell[t]:

Admit this honeſt paper; and allow
It ſuch an audience as yourſelf would aſk;
What you would ſay at Venice, this ſays now,
And has for nature what you have for taſk.

To ſwear much love; nor to be chang'd before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;
Nor ſhall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting-wit.

But

[t] The ſoul-bell was tolled before the departure of a perſon out of life, as a ſignal for good men to offer up their prayers *for the dying*. Hence the abuſe commenced of praying *for the dead*. "Aliquo *moriente* campanæ debent pulſari, ut populus hoc audiens oret pro illo." *(Durandi Rationale.)*

But 'tis an eaſier load (though both oppreſs)
  To want, than govern greatneſs; for we are
In that our own and only buſineſs;
  In this, we muſt for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your ſpirits now are plac'd
  In their laſt furnace, in activity,
Which fits them: ſchools, and courts, and wars o'er-paſt
  To touch and taſte in any beſt degree.

For me! (if there be ſuch a thing as I)
  Fortune (if there be ſuch a thing as ſhe)
Finds that I bear ſo well her tyranny,
  That ſhe thinks nothing elſe ſo fit for me[u].

But though ſhe part us, to hear my oft prayers
  For your increaſe, God is as near me here:
And, to ſend you what I ſhall beg, his ſtairs
  In length and eaſe are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladneſs, both for that he delivered his Ambaſſage moſt elegantly in the Italian language, and came alſo in ſuch a juncture of time, as his maſter's friendſhip ſeemed uſeful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato being then Duke, a wiſe and reſolved man, and to all purpoſes ſuch (Sir Henry Wotton would often ſay it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted, there having been formerly in the time of Pope Clement VIII. ſome conteſts about the privileges of churchmen, and the power of the civil magiſtrate; of which, for the information of common readers, I ſhall ſay a little, becauſe it may give light to ſome paſſages that follow.

[u] The author of theſe lines was then ſtruggling with poverty and domeſtic diſtreſs.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made ſeveral injunctions againſt lay perſons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magiſtrate[w]; and in that inhibition, they expreſſed their reaſons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands "of the eccleſiaſtics, it was not ſubject to alienation, by reaſon whereof "(the lay-people being at their death charitable even to exceſs) the clergy "grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all "public ſervice and taxes, and from all ſecular judgment; ſo that the bur-"den grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occaſion of difference was, that about this time complaints were juſtly made by the Venetians againſt two clergymen, the Abbot of Nerveſa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing ſuch ſins, as I think not fit to name: Nor are theſe mentioned with an intent to fix a ſcandal upon any calling. For holineſs is not tied to eccleſiaſtical orders, and Italy is obſerved to breed the moſt virtuous and moſt vicious men of any nation.—Theſe two having been long complained of at Rome, in the name of the State of Venice, and no ſatisfaction being given to the Venetians, they ſeized the perſons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to priſon.

The juſtice or injuſtice of ſuch, or the like power then uſed by the Venetians, had formerly had ſome calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement VIII. and that republic[x]: I ſay calm, for he did not excommunicate them; conſidering, as I conceive, that in the late council of Trent it was at

[w] They alſo made injunctions "Againſt the unneceſſary increaſe of new churches, convents, "and other religious buildings within their dominions."

[x] Clement VIII. the admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker's vaſt erudition was a munificent patron of learning, having promoted to the purple, Bellarmine, Baronius, and many other eminent ſcholars. Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to Lord Zouch, from Florence, July 25, 1592, gives us the following anecdote of this Pope. "The Pope (Clement VIII.) in this laſt general examina-"tion of the clergy in St. John Lateran hath depoſed four canoniſts of that church, the one for "having 'Plutarch's Lives' found on his table, the reſt for failing in declining of nouns and "verbs." He has drawn his character in another letter to the ſame nobleman, Florence, May 8, 1592; and in a letter from Florence, July 27, 1592, he declares, that Clement had "la "ſantita

at laſt (after many politic diſturbances and delays, and endeavours to preſerve the Pope's preſent power) in order to a general reformation of thoſe many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by the council, " That though diſcipline, and eſpecial excommunication, be one " of the chief ſinews of church-government, and intended to keep men in " obedience to it; for which end it was declared to be very profitable: " Yet it was alſo declared, and adviſed to be uſed with great ſobriety and " care; becauſe experience had informed them, that when it was pro- " nounced unadviſedly or raſhly, it became more contemned than feared[y]." And, though this was the advice of that council at the concluſion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians, yet this prudent patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul V. who ſucceeded him (though not immediately, yet in the ſame year), being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting thoſe late acts of that State, to be a diminution of his juſt power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to the excommunication of the republic, who ſtill offered to ſhew both reaſon and ancient cuſtom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predeceſſor's moderation, required abſolute obedience without diſputes.

Thus it continued for about a year: the Pope ſtill threatening excommunication, and the Venetians ſtill anſwering him with fair ſpeeches, and no compliance; till at laſt the Pope's zeal to the Apoſtolic ſee did make him to excommunicate the Duke, the whole ſenate, and all their domini-

 ons:

" ſantita di Pio quarto, la prudentia di Gregorii KIII. et la ſeverita di Siſto V."——Leo XI. the immediate ſucceſſor of Clement VIII. died on the 29th day of his pontificate. Upon his death, Paul V. was advanced to the Papal dignity, in preference to two learned Antagoniſts, Bellarmine and Baronius—a pontiff of a haughty, vindictive, and violent ſpirit, who, as hath already been obſerved, diſgraced his character by an expreſs approbation of the doctrine of SUAREZ the Jeſuit, in defence of " The Murder of Kings."

[y] " When it is denounced raſhly for a ſmall cauſe." (*Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, tranſlated by Sir Nathaniel Brent, p.* 754.) But ſee Father Courayer's remark on this paſſage in his elegant French verſion.

ons; and that done to ſhut up all their churches: charging the whole clergy to forbear all ſacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience ſhould render them capable of abſolution.

But this act of the Pope's did but the more confirm the Venetians in their reſolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's interdict, they preſently publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect:—

"That whoſoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict, publiſhed there, as well againſt the law of God as againſt the honour of this nation, ſhall preſently render it to the Council of Ten upon pain of death[z]. And made it loſs of eſtate and nobility but to ſpeak in behalf of the Jeſuits."

Then was Duado, their ambaſſador, called home from Rome, and the Inquiſition preſently ſuſpended by order of the ſtate: And the floodgates being thus ſet open, any man that had a pleaſant or ſcoffing wit might ſafely vent it againſt the pope, either by free ſpeaking or by libels in print; and both became very pleaſant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the ſtate adviſed with father Paul[a], a holy and learned friar, the author of "The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent," whoſe advice was, "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor loſe their own right;" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the ſtate, "That the Pope was "truſted to keep two keys, one of *prudence* and the other of *power*; and "that

[z] The Venetians had at this time baniſhed the Jeſuits from their territories, becauſe they had rendered themſelves peculiarly obnoxious by their implicit adherence to the papal power.

[a] We have already had occaſion to name this venerable eccleſiaſtic. The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent was publiſhed as the work of Pietro Soave Polano, the anagram of his name. His principal adverſaries in the Venetian cauſe were Bellarmine and Baronius, the two great champions of their church. It was ſaid of Father Paul, that "He not only knew more than "other men, but that he knew better;" and that "he ſeemed to have wiſdom by habit." Attempts have been recently made by ſome modern writers among the *high Catholics*, as they are denominated, to depreciate the fame and invalidate the authority of this great man. Theſe attempts are vain. His works will be held in veneration long after the names of his adverſaries are ſunk into oblivion.

" that if they were not both uſed together, *power* alone is not effectual in " an excommunication."

And thus theſe diſcontents and oppoſitions continued, till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Proteſtants; which was believed by many: for that it was obſerved that the Engliſh ambaſſador was ſo often in conference with the ſenate; and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel[b], more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend: And alſo, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commiſſion to Gregory Juſtiniano, then their ambaſſador in England, to make all theſe proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promiſe of his aſſiſtance, if need ſhould require; and in the mean time they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the ſame that he gave to Pope Clement, at his firſt coming to the crown of England—(that pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church);—namely, " To " endeavour the calling of a free council for the ſettlement of peace in Chri- " ſtendom; and that he doubted not but that the French king, and divers " other princes, would join to aſſiſt in ſo good a work; and in the mean time " the ſin of this breach, both with his and the Venetian dominions, muſt " of neceſſity lie at the Pope's door."

In this contention, which laſted almoſt two years, the Pope grew ſtill higher, and the Venetians more and more reſolved and careleſs; ſtill acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their conſulters of ſtate, and with his pen to defend their juſt cauſe: Which was by him ſo performed, that the Pope ſaw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians abſolution upon very eaſy terms; which the Venetians ſtill ſlighting, did at laſt obtain by that which was ſcarce ſo much as a ſhew of acknowledging it. For they made an order, that in that day in which they were

[b] Afterward Biſhop of Kilmore, in Ireland. During his reſidence at Venice for eight years, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with Father Paul, who taught him the Italian language, and who was much afflicted when Mr. Bedel returned to England, to whom at his departure he preſented his picture, the MSS. of his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, his Hiſtory of the Interdict and Inquiſition, with other literary donations.

were abſolved, there ſhould be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, leſt the common people might judge that they deſired an abſolution, or were abſolved for committing a fault[c].

Theſe conteſts were the occaſion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and intereſt with King James; for whoſe ſake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent hiſtory of the remarkable council of Trent; which hiſtory was, as faſt as it was written, ſent in ſeveral ſheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James and the then Biſhop of Canterbury, into England; and there firſt made public both in Engliſh and in the univerſal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he ſtood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion, but at laſt became much clouded by an accident which I ſhall proceed to relate.

At his firſt going ambaſſador into Italy, as he paſſed through Germany, he ſtayed ſome days at Auguſta, where having been, in his former travels, well known by many of the beſt note for learning and ingenioufneſs (thoſe that are eſteemed the virtuoſi of that nation) with whom he, paſſing an evening in merriments, was requeſted by Chriſtopher Flecamore to write ſome ſentence in his Albo (a book of white paper which the German gentry uſually carry about them for that purpoſe); and Sir Henry Wotton, conſenting to the motion, took an occaſion, from ſome accidental diſcourſe of the

[c] King James had written "A Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States," in the Latin language. Sir Henry Wotton is much cenſured for having delayed to preſent it to the Senate of Venice, as there was no doubt but that it would have tended much to ſeparate them entirely from the papal power. It was his intention to have produced it on St. James's day. Before that day came, the difference between the Pope and the Republic was made up; ſo that when he had his audience, all the anſwer he got was, "That they thanked the King of "England for his good will, but that they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that there-"fore they were reſolved not to admit any change in their religion, according to their agree-"ment with the court of Rome."—(*Burnet's Life of Bedel, p.* 13, 14.)—It muſt be remembered that the above account is expreſsly contradicted by Dr. Hickes, who aſſerts, that the King's book, of which Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks, was not then extant. "The Pope and the Venetians "were reconciled in April 1607, and the King's Premonition came not out till 1609."

the prefent company, to write a pleafant definition of an ambaffador, in thefe very words:

"Legatus eft vir bonus peregrè miffus ad mentiendum reipublicæ caufâ."

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content fhould have been thus Englifhed:

"An ambaffador is an honeft man, fent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country."

But the word for lie, being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn, was not fo expreffed in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy efpecially) fo fair a conftruction as Sir Henry thought in Englifh[d]. Yet as it was, it flept quietly among other fentences in this Albo, almoft eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jafper Scioppius[e], a Romanift, a man of a reftlefs fpirit and a malicious pen; who, with books againft

[d] This paffage reminds me of a juvenile epigram written by Dr. Donne:

"A LAME BEGGAR.

"I am unable, yonder beggar cries,
"To ftand or move; if he fay true, he *lies*.

[e] A perfon much celebrated for his intenfe application to ftudy, the quicknefs of his parts, his memory, his eloquence, and the multitude of books which he compofed. His great qualities were debafed by a want of probity and moderation. He was born at Neumark, in the higher palatinate, in 1576. On reading the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, he abjured the Proteftant religion in 1599, and was admitted into the community of the Church of Rome. He wrote with much afperity of language againft the Jefuits, againft Jofeph Scaliger, Cafaubon, and other learned men, not fparing even Cicero and the beft writers of antiquity. He attacked James I. of England. To truth he paid little regard, being more inclined to calumniate his adverfary, by the moft difgraceful arts of defamation, than to refute him by juft and folid reafoning. The very titles of his books difcover the acrimony of his temper. "Scorpiacum five "remedium contra Proteftantium hæreefes ex ipforum fcriptis petitum, adverfum Jacobum "Regem Britanniæ Magnæ," 1612.—"Collyrium regium Britanniæ Regi graviter ex oculis "laboranti muneri miffum, 1611." His writings excited fuch refentment againft him that he was alarmed for his perfonal fafety, and fled to Padua, where he died in 1649.—[*Dictionnaire Hiftorique*].—In the prologue to "Ignoramus," fpoken before James I. at Cambridge, May 6, 1615, Scioppius is cenfured with great feverity of language for his treatment of Sir Henry Wotton.

againſt King James, prints this as a principle of that religion profeſſed by the King, and his ambaſſador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was preſently after written in ſeveral glaſs-windows, and ſpitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be ſuch an overſight, ſuch a weakneſs, or worſe, in Sir Henry Wotton, as cauſed the King to expreſs much wrath againſt him; and this cauſed Sir Henry Wotton to write two Apologies, one to Velſerus[f] (one of the Chiefs of Auguſta) in the univerſal language, which he cauſed to be printed, and given and ſcattered in the moſt remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote[g] againſt the venomous books of Scioppius; and another Apology to King James: Which were both ſo ingenious, ſo clear, and ſo choicely eloquent, that his Majeſty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, that "Sir Henry "Wotton had commuted ſufficiently for a greater offence[h]."

And now, as broken bones, well ſet, become ſtronger; ſo Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majeſty's eſtimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and uſeful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his, (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his induſtry to his foes, becauſe from thence he received both: So thoſe friends,

[f] Mark Velſer, or Welſer, was born at Auſburg, June 20, 1558, of a noble and ancient German family. He purſued his ſtudies at Rome under the celebrated Muretus, and upon his return into his native city, having acquired great reputation at the bar, became one of its firſt magiſtrates, and was very learned himſelf, and a great patron of learned men. (*Dictionaire Hiſtorique*, 1777.)

[g] In this letter, written with truly claſſic elegance, Scioppius is treated with a harſhneſs, which, though probably deſerved by him, does not perfectly quadrate with the character of a ſcholar. "Cum famelicus, transfuga, & Romanæ Curiæ lutulentus circulator ſcriptitat "ſolum ut prandere poſſit; cum ſemicoctus grammaticaſter, &c. &c."

[h] After his firſt return from Venice he remained without any employment for five years. It may be inferred from a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, dated June 8, 1614, and printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 431. that Sir Henry Wotton was at that time a member of the Houſe of Commons.

that in this time of trial laboured to excuſe this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued. And thoſe acquaintance, that urged this as an advantage againſt him, cauſed him by this error to grow both more wiſe, and (which is the beſt fruit error can bring forth), for the future, to become more induſtriouſly watchful over his tongue and pen[1].

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where, notwithſtanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undiſſembled affection for him, and the malicious accuſation of Scioppius; yet his intereſt, as though it had been an intailed love, was ſtill found to live and increaſe in all the ſucceeding dukes, during his employment to that ſtate, which was almoſt twenty years: all which time he ſtudied the diſpoſitions of thoſe dukes, and the other conſulters of ſtate; well knowing that he who negociates a continued buſineſs, and neglects the ſtudy of diſpoſitions, uſually fails in his propoſed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for by a fine ſorting of fit preſents, curious and not coſtly entertainments, always ſweetened by various and pleaſant diſcourſe—with which, and his choice application of ſtories, and his elegant delivery of all theſe, even in their Italian language, he firſt got, and ſtill preſerved, ſuch intereſt in the ſtate of Venice, that it was obſerved (ſuch was either his merit or his modeſty) they never denied him any requeſt.

 But

[1] The meaning of this obſcure paſſage may probably be elucidated by the following paraphraſe. "And as Sir Henry Wotton's friend, Dr. Donne, gave in a will of his (a will "replete with facetiouſneſs) his reputation to his friends, and his induſtry to his foes; becauſe "from thence (that is, from them, from his friends and foes), he received both, namely, "reputation from his friends, and induſtry from his foes; ſo thoſe friends, who in this time "of trial laboured to excuſe this inſtance of Sir Henry Wotton's facetious freedom, became "more dear to Sir Henry, and by him more highly valued, and thoſe acquaintance, who "cenſured him for the ſentence which he had inſerted in the Album, malignantly urged that "circumſtance to his diſadvantage, by ſuch enmity taught him wiſdom, cauſed him by this "error or indiſcretion to grow more wiſe; and, which is the beſt fruit error can bring forth, "for the future to become more induſtriouſly watchful over his tongue and pen."

Whether I am praiſed or blamed, ſays a Chineſe ſage, I make it of uſe to my advancement in virtue. Thoſe who commend me I conceive to point out the way I ought to go; thoſe who blame me, as telling me the dangers I have run....

But all this ſhews but his abilities and his fitneſs for that employment: It will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what uſe he made of that intereſt which theſe procured him. And that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himſelf; he ſtill endeavouring that the reputation of the Engliſh might be maintained, both in the German Empire and in Italy: where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour; and by his intereſt, ſhelter or deliverance from thoſe accidental ſtorms of adverſity which uſually attend upon travel.

And becauſe theſe things may appear to the reader to be but generals, I ſhall acquaint him with two particular examples; one of his merciful diſpoſition, and one of the nobleneſs of his mind; which ſhall follow.

There had been many Engliſh ſoldiers brought by commanders of their own country to ſerve the Venetians for pay againſt the Turks: And thoſe Engliſh having by irregularities or improvidence brought themſelves into ſeveral galleys and priſons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that ſtate for their lives and enlargement; and his requeſt was granted: ſo that thoſe (which were many hundreds, and there made the ſad examples of human miſery, by hard impriſonment and unpitied poverty in a ſtrange nation) were by his means releaſed, relieved, and in a comfortable condition ſent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have obſerved as one teſtimony of the compaſſionate nature of him, who was, during his ſtay in thoſe parts, as a city of refuge for the diſtreſſed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a teſtimony of the nobleneſs of his mind, I ſhall make way to the reader's clearer underſtanding of it, by telling him, that beſide ſeveral other foreign employments[k], Sir Henry Wotton was ſent thrice Ambaſſador to the Republic of Venice[l]. And at his laſt going thither he was employed Ambaſſador to ſeveral of the German princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando II.; and that his employment

[k] In 1615 he was Ambaſſador to the United Provinces (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 428.)

[l] In 1604, 1615, and 1621.

employment to him, and thoſe princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the reſtoration of the Queen of Bohemia, and her deſcendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was by his eight months' conſtant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a ſucceſsful concluſion without bloodſhed. But there was at that time two oppoſite armies in the field, and as they were treating, there was a battle fought[m]; in the managery whereof, there were ſo many miſerable errors on the one ſide—(ſo Sir Henry Wotton expreſſes it in a deſpatch to the King),—and ſo advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all preſent hopes of a ſucceſsful treaty. So that Sir Henry, ſeeing the face of a peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the Emperor, was ſo bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unſeen wheels of "Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next; and therefore "humbly adviſed him to uſe his victory ſo ſoberly, as ſtill to put on "thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it ſeemed to be ſpoken with ſome paſſion (his dear miſtreſs the Queen of Bohemia[n] being concerned in it),

[m] The fatal battle near Prague in November 1620, when the Prince of Anhault, General to the King of Bohemia, was, with his whole army, totally defeated.

[n] The following verſes were wrote by Sir Henry Wotton "on his Miſtreſs, the Queen of "Bohemia:"

"You meaner *beauties* of the *night*,
"That poorly ſatisfy our *eyes*
"More by your *number* than your *light*,
"You common people of the ſkies,
"What are you when the ſun ſhall riſe?

"You curious chanters of the wood,
"That warble forth *dame Nature's* lays,
"Thinking your voices underſtood
"By your weak *accents*; what's your praiſe,
"When *Philomel* her voice ſhall raiſe?

"You *violets* that firſt appear,
"By your *pure purple mantles* known,
"Like the proud *virgins* of the *year*,
"As if the *ſpring* were all your own,
"What are you when the *roſe is blown*?

"So,

it), was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, " That he " would consider his advice. And though he looked on the King his " master as an abettor of his enemy the Paulsgrave; yet, for Sir Henry " himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, " that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit, and did " therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good " opinion of him:" Which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina, an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged and honourably entertained, acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor. Which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, " that though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in " himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an " enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his prince and this nation might be insisted upon; as namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's° return to the Church of Rome. But for

" So, when *my mistress* shall be *seen*,
" In *form* and *beauty* of her *mind*,
" By *virtue* first, then *choice* a *Queen*,
" Tell me, if *she* were not design'd
" The *eclipse* and *glory* of her kind." H. W.

° Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in the territory of Venice, to whom we are obliged for the introduction of the celebrated " History of the Council of Trent" into this kingdom. Having abandoned the religion in which he was educated, he came into England

the particulars of thefe, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of fome papers that might inform me, (his late Majefty's letter-

England in the beginning of the reign of James I. and continued there to the year 1622. The Univerfity of Cambridge, at their commencement in 1617, paid the moft flattering attention to him, while he experienced many fignal inftances of kindnefs from the King. Yet the ficklenefs of his difpofition, and, as fome have affirmed, his vanity and avarice, foon loft him all credit. Upon the promotion of Gregory XV. his friend and relation, to the Popedom, he was artfully perfuaded by Gondamar, the Spanifh Ambaffador, to return to Rome, where he publicly renounced his errors, and was again admitted into the bofom of the church. He is faid alfo to have left England with a view to convoke a general council, having entertained hopes of compofing matters of religion by fuch a meafure. The Pope at firft treated him with refpect: He was however foon delivered to the Inquifition, and imprifoned in the Caftle of Angelo, on fufpicion of herefy; and it is fuggefted that he was there poifoned.——Different accounts indeed are given of the miferable exit of this irrefolute man on his return to Rome; yet moft writers agree, that by an order of the Inquifition he was declared to be a relapfed heretic, and that, after his death, his body was publicly burnt.

"In 1617 the Archbifhop of Spalato, a convert, came into England, and preached, wrote, "and railed againft Rome, untill he was made Dean of Windfor, and Mafter of the Savoy: "Afterward he returned to Rome, and recanted there; as bitterly reproaching the Proteftant "doctrine, as here he had extolled it: And his end was in a prifon." (*Welwood's Memorials*, &c. *p.* 296.)

He hurt the caufe of Rome more by his pen, than by the defection of his perfon: His learned books entitled, "De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ" being ftill unanfwered. Of the zeal which he once difplayed againft Popery, we may form fome opinion from the ftory related by Lord Bacon. Bifhop Andrews being afked at the firft coming over of the Archbifhop of Spalato, whether he was a *Proteſtant* or no? anfwered, "Truly I know not; but I think he is "*Deteſtant*, viz. of moft of the opinions of Rome." And in a print of this prelate engraved by Sparke, is an infcription, expreffive of his ftrong averfion to the doctrines of that church which he had abjured.

"Welcome, grave primate, from th' erroneous holde
"Of Romifh Babel into Chrift his folde:
"Thy learned workes the beaft fhall deadly wound,
"Confute his errors, and his pride confound.
"Therefore converted (under Faith's defender)
"Strengthen thy brethren, and confirm the tender."

Bifhop Burnet in his "Life of Bedel" has obferved, that De Dominis was utterly ignorant of the Greek Tongue, and that Mr. Bedel, when Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, corrected

letter-office having now ſuffered a ſtrange alienation), and indeed I want time too; for the printer's preſs ſtays for what is written: ſo that I muſt haſte to bring Sir Henry Wotton in an inſtant from Venice to London; leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the ſmall ſupplement of the inſcription under his arms, which he left at all thoſe houſes where he reſted, or lodged, when he returned from his laſt Embaſſy into England.

"Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natu
" minimus, à ſereniſſimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equeſtrem titulum
" adſcitus, ejuſdemque ter ad rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius,
" ſemel ad confœderatarum provinciarum ordines in Juliacenſi negotio.
" Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiæ Ducem; ſemel ad unitos ſuperioris
" Germaniæ principes in Conventu Heilbrunenſi, poſtremo ad Archidu-
" cem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergenſem, civitates imperiales, Argen-
" tinam, Ulmamque, et ipſum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum
" Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarus, tandem hoc didicit,

" Animas fieri ſapientiores quieſcendo."

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign ſervice, promiſed him the reverſion of an office which was fit to be turned into preſent money, which he wanted, for a ſupply of his preſent neceſſities, and alſo granted him the reverſion of the Maſter of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir Julius Cæſar[p], who then

corrected many ill applications of texts of ſcripture and quotations of fathers, in his work, " De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ.

It ſhould never be forgotten that he acquired conſiderable reputation in the philoſophical world, by his explanation of the phænomena of the rainbow, in his book, " De Radiis Viſûs et Lucis."

[p] Sir Julius Cæſar, alias Adelmare, the eldeſt ſon of Cæſar Dalmarius, an Italian phyſician to Queen Mary and to Queen Elizabeth. His bounty was ſo extenſive, that he might be called " The Almoner General of the Nation." He printed a catalogue of the books, parchments,

then poſſeſſed it, and then grown ſo old that he was ſaid to be kept alive beyond Nature's courſe by the prayers of thoſe many poor which he daily relieved.

But theſe were but in hope, and his condition required a preſent ſupport: For in the beginning of theſe employments he ſold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and, which is worſe, was now at his return indebted to ſeveral perſons, whom he was not able to ſatisfy but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many ſervants, of which ſome were German and Italian artiſts; this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly ſufficient to ſupply the occaſions of the day: For it may by no means be ſaid of his providence, as himſelf ſaid of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very meaſure of congruity," he being always ſo careleſs of money, as though our Saviour's words "Care not for "to-morrow" were to be literally underſtood.

But it pleaſed the God of Providence that in this juncture of time the provoſtſhip of his Majeſty's college of Eton[q] became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray[r], for which there were (as the place deſerved) many earneſt

parchments, and papers belonging to the Court of Requeſts, in quarto, of ſingular uſe to antiquaries, but now almoſt as ſcarce as the MSS. themſelves. (*Peck's Deſid. Cur. lib.* xiv. *p.* 17.)

"It was not," ſays Lloyd in his State Worthies, p. 935, "without a proſperous omen that "his chief houſe in Hertfordſhire was called Benington, that is *villa benigna*, as one author "will have it, or as another, *villa beneficii*, the Town of Good Turns, from the river ſo named "running by it."

This venerable lawyer died April 28, 1639, in the 79th year of his age. He lies buried in great St. Helen's church, London, under a monument, having an inſcription in the form of a deed with a ſeal to it, importing "That he was willing to pay his debt to nature whenever "God pleaſed." (*Biogr. Brit.*)

[q] Archbiſhop Laud, in the account of his province of Canterbury, ſent to the King for the year 1624, gives this honourable teſtimony to Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in the government of his college:—"For Eaton college within that dioceſe (of Lincoln), I do not find but "that the provoſt, Sir Henry Wotton, hath carried himſelf very worthily."

[r] The ſucceſſor of Sir Henry Savile in the provoſtſhip of Eton college. He was a native of Scotland, tutor and ſecretary to Prince Charles. His zeal in oppoſing the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain, occaſioned his impriſonment for ſome time, along with Dr. George

neſt and powerful ſuitors[s] to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Siſyphus) rolled the reſtleſs ſtone of a ſtate employment, knowing experimentally that the great bleſſing of ſweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or buſineſs, and that a college was the fitteſt place to nouriſh holy thoughts and to afford reſt both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almoſt threeſcore years) ſeemed to require, did therefore uſe his own and the intereſt of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promiſed reverſionary offices, and a piece of honeſt policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant[t] of it from his Majeſty.

And

George Hackwell, Archdeacon of Surry, the author of "A Diſcourſe againſt the Spaniſh "Match." He died April 1, 1623. In the Cabala is a letter from Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, on the appointment of Murray to the Provoſtſhip of Eton. In this letter he complains of "The diſpenſation given to him, who was a mere layman, to hold a place which was a "living with cure of ſouls," and hints a ſuſpicion of his being averſe to the church government, as eſtabliſhed in England.

[s] Among other unſucceſsful candidates at this time was the great Lord Bacon, as appears from a letter written by him to Mr. Secretary Conway, dated Grey's-Inn, March 25, 1623. And Dr. Birch has given the following extract from an unpubliſhed letter of the Lord Keeper Williams to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated April 11, 1623. "Mr. Murray, the Provoſt of "Eton, is now dead: The place ſtayed by the fellows and myſelf, until your lordſhip's plea-"ſure be known. Whomſoever your Lordſhip ſhall name I ſhall like of, though it be Sir "William Becker, though this provoſtſhip never deſcended ſo low. The King named unto "me yeſterday morning Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley Carlton, and Sir Robert Ayton, our "late Queen's Secretary. But in my opinion, though he named him laſt, his Majeſty inclined "to this Ayton moſt. It will reſt wholly upon your lordſhip to name the man. It is ſome-"what neceſſary he be a good ſcholar, but more that he be a good huſband, and a careful "manager, and a ſtayed man, which no man can be that is ſo much indebted as the Lord St. "Albans." (*Bacon's Works, vol.* iii. *p.* 636.)

[t] He was inſtituted to the provoſtſhip July 26, 1624, having obtained the appointment by ſurrendering a grant of the reverſion of the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, and of another office. The value of this preferment in the reign of Henry VIII. is known from the following ſtory: Sir Thomas Wyat one day told the King, that he had found out a living of one hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to beſtow it on him. "Truly," ſaid the King, "We have no ſuch in England." "Yes, Sir," ſaid Sir Thomas, "The Provoſtſhip of Eton, "where a man has his diet, his lodging, his horſe-meat, his ſervants' wages, his riding charges, "and a 100l. per annum beſides." (*Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 79.)

And this was a fair ſatisfaction to his mind: But money was wanting[u] to furniſh him with thoſe neceſſaries which attend removes and a ſettlement in ſuch a place; and to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey[x] for his aſſiſtance. Of which Nicholas Pey I ſhall here ſay a little for the clearing of ſome paſſages that I ſhall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in ſome ſuch way a ſervant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's houſehold, was made a great officer[y] in his Majeſty's houſe. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey, *in whom there was a radical honeſty*, were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expreſſed by a willing and unwearied ſerviceableneſs to that family even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote[z] to uſe all his intereſt at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears (for leſs would not ſettle him in

[u] When he went to the election at Eton, ſoon after he was made Provoſt, he was ſo ill provided that the fellows of his college were obliged to furniſh his bare walls, and whatever elſe was wanting. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, after his return from his laſt ambaſſage to Venice, he thus writes: "I am left utterly deſtitute of all poſſibility to ſubſiſt at "home: Much like thoſe ſeal-fiſhes, which ſometimes, as they ſay, overſleeping themſelves in "an ebbing water, feel nothing about them in a dry ſhore when they are awake." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 320.)

[x] Of whom Sir Henry Wotton writes in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham from Venice: "That he is his friend of truſt to him at home in all his occaſions." In other letters he always mentions him in language full of reſpect. The name of this faithful ſervant, thus tranſmitted to poſterity in the page of Iſaac Walton, will ever be remembered with honour.

"Oh good old man! how well in thee appears
"The conſtant ſervice of the antique world,
"When ſervants ſweat for duty, not for meed.
"Thou art not for the faſhion of theſe times
"Where none will ſweat but for promotion,
"And having that, do choke their ſervice up
"Even with the having. It is not ſo with thee."

(*Shakeſpear's As You Like It, act II. ſcene III.*)

[y] One of the clerks of the King's kitchen.

[z] See this letter in "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 359.

the college), and the want of ſuch a ſum *wrinkled his face with care*—(it was his own expreſſion) ;—and that money being procured, he ſhould the next day after find him in his college, and "Invidiæ remedium" written over his ſtudy-door[a].

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honeſt Nicholas Pey's intereſt in court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the college: the place where indeed his happineſs then ſeemed to have its beginning. The college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a ſeafaring-man after a tempeſtuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and ſeated on ſuch a rock, as the waves of want could not probably ſhake; where he might ſit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the buſy multitude turmoiled and toſſed in a tempeſtuous ſea of trouble and dangers[b]; and, as Sir William Davenant[c] has happily expreſſed the like of another perſon,——

"Laugh at the graver buſineſs of the ſtate,
"Which ſpeaks men rather wiſe than fortunate."

Being

[a] Yet, in a letter to the King in 1628, he requeſts that, when the rolls are diſpoſed of, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reſerve for him ſome ſmall proportion towards the diſcharge of ſuch debts as he had contracted in public ſervice, and next to promiſe him the next good deanery that ſhall be vacant by death or remove. (*Reliq. Wott. p.* 563.)——And we find him in 1637, as a poor ſuppliant unto the King to confer upon him the Maſterſhip of the Savoy, in caſe Dr. Belcanquel his good friend ſhall be removed to the Deanery of Durham. (*Ibid. p.* 340.)

[b] "Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis
"E terrâ alterius magnum ſpectare laborem." LUCRET.

[c] Sir William Davenant, born at Oxford in 1605, and called by Anthony Wood "The "ſweet Swan of Iſis," was choſen poet-laureat on the death of Ben Jonſon. He attached himſelf to the royal cauſe, and entering upon a military life received the honour of knighthood for his behaviour at the ſiege of Glouceſter in 1641. Having embarked on board a ſhip to go to Virginia, he was captured by a man of war belonging to the Parliament, and carried priſoner to the Iſle of Wight. During his confinement he retained his natural vivacity of temper, and employed his time in completing his epic poem of Gondibert. It is generally ſuppoſed that

Being thus ſettled according to the deſires of his heart, his firſt ſtudy[d] was the ſtatutes of the college, by which he conceived himſelf bound[e] to enter into holy orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient ſpeed. Shortly after which time, as he came in his ſurplice from the church-ſervice, an old friend, a perſon of quality, met him ſo attired, and joyed him of his new habit: to whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, " I thank " God and the King by whoſe goodneſs I now am in this condition;—a " condition which that Emperor Charles V. ſeemed to approve; who after " ſo many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all " men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to " Philip his ſon, making a holy retreat to a cloiſteral life, where he might " by devout meditations conſult with God,"—which the rich or buſy men ſeldom do,—" and have leiſure both to examine the errors of his life paſt, " and prepare for that great day wherein all fleſh muſt make an account of

 " their

he owed the preſervation of his life to the kind interference of Milton. He had afterward an opportunity of conferring the ſame favour on our immortal bard. At the reſtoration he exerted himſelf in improving the ſcenery and decorations of the ſtage. His dramatic works are numerous. He died in April 1668, and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, near the poet May, who was his rival for the laurel.

[d] Previous to this he publiſhed his " Elements of Architecture;" a work of very great merit, and in reality the beſt upon that ſubject that had then appeared in the Engliſh language.

[e] Though the King had actually granted a diſpenſation to hold the provoſtſhip without going into orders, Sir Henry Wotton was ordained Deacon in 1627. In the " Reliq. Wottonianæ," p. 323, 327, are two letters to the King—one to make known his intention of entering into orders; the other to inform his Majeſty that he had *taken the degree of Deacon.* Sir Henry Savile and Mr. Murray, the predeceſſors of Sir Henry Wotton, were both laymen. And it is well known, that upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, the great and good Mr. Boyle was in 1665 nominated to the provoſtſhip of this college, but that his objection to entering into holy orders was a principal motive that induced him to decline the honour. Mr. Edmund Waller was more than once a candidate for this office. The King, Charles II. referred his petition to the Council, " Who, after hearing the queſtion argued by lawyers for three days, deter- " mined that the office could be held only by a clergyman, according to the act of uniformity; " ſince the provoſts had always received inſtitution, as for a parſonage, from the Biſhop of " Lincoln." *(Dr. Johnſon's Works, vol. IX. p. 256.)*

" their actions. And after a kind of tempeſtuous life I now have the like " advantage from him, '*that makes the outgoings of the morning to praiſe him;*' " even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of " an exemption from buſineſs, a quiet mind and a liberal maintenance, " even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities ſeem to ſound " me a retreat from the pleaſures of this world, and invite me to contem- " plation, in which I have ever taken the greateſt felicity."

And now to ſpeak a little of the employment of his time in the college. After his cuſtomary public devotions, his uſe was to retire into his ſtudy, and there to ſpend ſome hours in reading the bible and authors in divinity, cloſing up his meditations with private prayer. This was, for the moſt part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once ſat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts poſſeſſed his mind, and thoſe ſtill increaſed by conſtant company at his table of ſuch perſons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleaſure; but ſome part of moſt days was uſually ſpent in philoſophical concluſions. Nor did he forget his innate pleaſure of angling[f], which he would uſually call " His idle time not idly ſpent;" ſaying often, " He would rather live five May months than forty Decem- " bers."

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table; where his meat was choice, and his diſcourſe better.

He was a conſtant cheriſher of all thoſe youths in that ſchool, in whom he found either a conſtant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning. For whoſe encouragement he was (beſides many other things of neceſſity and beauty) at the charge of ſetting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he cauſed to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the moſt famous Greek and Latin hiſtorians, poets, and orators: perſuading them not to neglect rhetoric, becauſe " Almighty God has left mankind affec- " tions

[f] Angling was the favourite diverſion of Mr. Iſaac Walton, who, from his ſuperior ſkill in the art, was called " the Father of Anglers." His treatiſe of " The Complete Angler," will be always read with pleaſure even by thoſe who have no reliſh for " the fly and the cork." In his preface to this work he informs us, " That Sir Henry Wotton had declared to him his in- " tentions of writing a Diſcourſe of the Art, and in praiſe of Angling." This he doubtleſs would have done, if death had not prevented him.

" tions to be wrought upon." And he would often ſay, " That none de-
" ſpiſed eloquence but ſuch dull ſouls as were not capable of it." He would alſo often make choice of ſome obſervations out of thoſe hiſtorians and poets; and would never leave the ſchool without dropping ſome choice Greek or Latin apothegm or ſentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing ſcholar[g].

He was pleaſed conſtantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the ſchool and took into his own domeſtic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whoſe diſcourſe and behaviour he gathered obſervations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his ſtill ſtriving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to poſterity[h].

He was a great enemy to wrangling diſputes of religion[i]: concerning which I ſhall ſay a little, both to teſtify that, and to ſhew the readineſs of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleaſant prieſt, who invited him one evening to hear their veſper-muſic at church: The prieſt ſeeing Sir Henry ſtand obſcurely in a corner, ſends to him by a boy of the choir this queſtion, written in a ſmall piece of paper, " Where was
" your religion to be found before Luther?" To which queſtion Sir Henry preſently

[g] His ſingular attention to the education of the young nobility and gentry, who were ſent to Eton, tended much to recommend the ſchool. Mr. Boyle, who wrote the hiſtory of the earlier period of his own life, under the fictitious name of " Philaretus," tells us, that he and his elder brother were ſent " To be bred up at Eton college near Windſor, whoſe provoſt at that
" time was Sir Henry Wotton, a perſon that was not only a fine gentleman himſelf, but very
" well ſkilled in the art of making others ſo; betwixt whom and the Earl of Corke, an ancient
" friendſhip had been conſtantly cultivated by reciprocal civilities." *(Birch's Life of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq. p.* 23.)

[h] A ſmall fragment of this work, under the title of " A Philoſophical Survey of Education
" or Moral Architecture," is extant in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.

[i] The propoſition inſcribed on his monument, " Diſputandi pruritus eccleſiarum ſcabies," is too ſtrongly verified in the annals of hiſtory.

prefently underwrit, " My religion was to be found then, where yours is " not to be found now, in the written word of God[k]."

The next vefper, Sir Henry went purpofely to the fame church, and fent one of the choir-boys with this queftion to his honeft pleafant friend the prieft: " Do you believe all thofe many thoufands of poor Chriftians were " damned that were excommunicated becaufe the Pope and the Duke of " Venice could not agree about their temporal power? even thofe poor " Chriftians that knew not why they quarrelled. Speak your confcience." To which he underwrit in French, " Monfieur, excufez-moi."

To one that afked him, " Whether a Papift may be faved?" he replied, " You may be faved without knowing that:—Look to yourfelf".

To another whofe earneftnefs exceeded his knowledge, and was ftill railing againft the Papifts, he gave this advice; " Pray, Sir, forbear till you " have ftudied the points better: for the wife Italians have this proverb[l], " He that underftands amifs concludes worfe. And take heed of thinking, " The farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to " God."

And to another that fpake indifcreet and bitter words againft Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpofe:

" In my travel towards Venice, as I paffed through Germany, I refted " almoft a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with " Arminius[m], then the Profeffor of Divinity in that univerfity; a man much

[k] When this queftion was propofed to the learned Mr. Jofeph Mede, he anfwered with his ufual feftivity by another queftion, " Where was the fine flour when the wheat went to the mill?" And fometimes thus, " Where was the meal before the corn was ground?" *(See Dr. Clerk's Sermons, vol. III. p.* 323.)

Bifhop Bedel wrote a very long treatife on thefe two queftions—" Where was the reformed " church before Luther's time?" and " What was the fate of thofe who died in the bofom of " the church before the reformation?" Archbifhop Ufher often urged him to publifh this work, which was loft in that fcene of confufion which attended the Irifh rebellion.

[l] " Chi mal intende, peggio decide."

[m] How different is the language of King James, who hefitates not to pronounce Arminius " A feditious and heretical preacher, an infector of Leyden with herefy, and an enemy of " God." The condemnation of Arminianifm at the Synod of Dort, is principally to be attributed

" much talked of in this age, which is made up of oppofition and contro-
" verfy. And indeed, if I miftake not Arminius in his expreflions (as fo
" weak a brain as mine is may eafily do), then I know I differ from him in
" fome points: Yet I profefs my judgment of him to be, that he was a
" man of moft rare learning, and I knew him to be of a moft ftrict life,
" and of a moft meek fpirit. And that he was fo mild, appears by his
" propofals to our Mafter Perkins[n] of Cambridge, from whofe book, 'Of the
" Order

attributed to James, whilft with an inconfiftency, which it will be difficult to defend, he protected the Arminian party in his own kingdom. Of Arminius and his opinions, fee " Brandt's Hiftory of the Reformation abridged," p. 267.

How much the Arminians were favoured, appears from the following incident. Mr. Morley, afterward Bifhop of Winchefter, remarkable for his facetiofnefs and jocular fayings, being afked by a grave country gentleman, who was defirous to be inftructed what their tenets and opinions were, " What the Arminians held?" pleafantly anfwered, " That " they held all the beft Bifhoprics and Deaneries in England:" Which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets." *(Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon. Oxford. p.* 26.)

[n] Mr. William Perkins, of Chrift College in the Univerfity of Cambridge, where he died in 1602. He was minifter of St. Andrew's parifh, in Cambridge, and had the character of a learned, pious, and laborious preacher. " His life," fays Fuller, " was fo pious, fo fpotlefs, " that malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which fhe knew her teeth could not enter." Dr. Richard Montague, his fellow collegian, and afterwards Bifhop of Winchefter, preached his funeral fermon, taking for his text, " *Mofes my Servant is dead.*" It was the wifh of Archbifhop Ufher, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired crying for mercy and forgivenefs. His works, which were difperfed through Great Britain, France, Germany, the Low Countries, and Spain, many of them being tranflated into the French, German, and Italian tongues, are declared to be equal in point of language, to thofe of the beft authors. His humility, as a preacher, was eminent, in condefcending to the capacity of his meaneft auditors. His church at Cambridge, confifting of the univerfity and town, " The fcholar " could hear no learneder, or the townfman plainer fermon." See a Portrait of this good man in *Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p.* 431.

" That worthy pair of our late divines, Greenham and Perkins; whereof the one excelled in experimental divinity, and knew well how to ftay a weak confcience, how to raife a fallen, how to ftrike a remorfelefs; the other in a diftinct judgment, and a rare dexterity in clearing the obfcure fubtilities of the fchool, and eafy explication of the moft perplexed difcourfes." *(Bifhop Hall's Firft Decad of Epiftles. Ep.* 7.)

"Order and Causes of Salvation' (which was first written in Latin), Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequences of his doctrine; intending them, it is said, to come privately to Mr. Perkin's own hands; and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him, and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him. For though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them—but since his death his sons did not. And it is a pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy; yet for the most part they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And, doubtless, many middle-witted men, which yet may mean well, many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning, which yet may preach well, men that are but preachers, and shall never know, until they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England (if there be any), will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude[o], for being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not[p]."

And

[o] Rather, St. Peter. 1 *Pet.* iv. 15, and 2 *Pet.* ii. 12.

[p] In England Arminianism was hostile to civil liberty, and Calvinism favourable to it. It has been already remarked that James, however he pretended to promote the condemnation of Arminius and his doctrines at the Synod of Dort, encouraged the Arminians at home. He promoted Laud, Howson, Corbet and Neil, who were all zealous Arminians. There is reason to suppose that they abetted his arbitrary measures, and by that means recommended themselves.

"The Puritans, who will allow no free-will at all, but God does all, yet will allow the subject his liberty to do or not to do, notwithstanding the King, the God upon earth. The Arminians, who hold we have free-will, yet say, when we come to the King, there must be all obedience, and no liberty to be stood for." (*Selden's Table Talk, under the Article* FREE-WILL.)

And here it offers itſelf (I think not unfitly) to tell the reader, that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being deſigned for the employment of an ambaſſador, came to Eton, and requeſted from him ſome experimental rules for his prudent and ſafe carriage in his negociations: To whom he ſmilingly gave this for an infallible aphoriſm; "That, to be in ſafety himſelf, and ſerviceable to his country, he ſhould always, and upon all occaſions, ſpeak the truth." It ſeems a ſtate paradox: "For," ſays Sir Henry Wotton, "you ſhall never be believed: And by this means your truth will ſecure yourſelf if you ſhall ever be called to any account; and it will alſo put your adverſaries, who will ſtill hunt counter, to a loſs in all their diſquiſitions and undertakings[q]."

Many more of this nature might be obſerved, but they muſt be laid aſide; for I ſhall here make a little ſtop, and invite the reader to look back with me whilſt, according to my promiſe, I ſhall ſay a little of Sir Albertus Morton[r] and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's firſt going ambaſſador into Italy, his couſin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his ſecretary: And I am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to expreſs the ſorrow that poſſeſſed

[q] When Sir Henry Wotton gives this ſhrewd advice to his friend, he ſeems really to have held that unfavourable opinion of the function of an ambaſſador, which he had once declared in his celebrated definition.

[r] "He died in the vernality of his employments and fortunes, under the beſt king and maſter in the world." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 477.)

Sir Henry Wotton's epigram on the death of Sir Albertus Morton's wife is well known:

"He firſt deceaſed: She for a little tried
"To live without him: lik'd it not, and died."

Albertus Morton was elected ſcholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He went to Venice as Secretary to his uncle Sir Henry Wotton, and was afterward agent for King James at the court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the Union in Germany, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia in 1616, one of the Clerks of the Council, and knighted in Sept. 1617, and at laſt Secretary of State, in which poſt he died in November, 1625. (*Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.*)

Sir Henry Wotton at his firſt hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death loſt to him and this world. And yet the reader may partly gueſs by theſe following expreſſions: The firſt in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part:

——"And, my dear Nick, when I had been here almoſt a fortnight, "in the midſt of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus "Morton's departure out of this world, who was dearer to me than mine "own being in it. What a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him "and know me, will eaſily believe: But our Creator's will be done and un-"repiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature and "of all fortune, when he taketh to himſelf now one and then another, till that "expected day wherein it ſhall pleaſe him to diſſolve the whole and wrap "up even the heaven itſelf as a ſcroll[s] of parchment. This is the laſt phi-"loſophy that we muſt ſtudy upon earth. Let us, therefore, that yet re-"main here, as our days and friends waſte, reinforce our love to each other; "which of all virtues, both ſpiritual and moral, hath the higheſt privilege, "becauſe death itſelf cannot end it[t]. And my good Nick," &c.

This is a part of his ſorrow thus expreſſed to his Nick Pey: The other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may ſafely conclude it was too hearty to be diſſembled.

TEARS

[s] Iſaiah, xxxiv. 4.

[t] Theſe are noble and exalted ſentiments, ſuch as Chriſtianity alone inculcates.

TEARS

WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, BY HENRY WOTTON.

SILENCE, in truth, would ſpeak my ſorrow beſt,
For deepeſt wounds can leaſt their feelings tell[u]:
Yet let me borrow from mine own unreſt
A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewel.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have ſerv'd my youth to vent ſome wanton cries,
And now, congeal'd with grief, can ſcarce implore
Strength to accent—"Here my Albertus lies!"

This is that ſable ſtone, this is the cave
And womb of earth that doth his corps embrace:
While others ſing his praiſe, let me engrave
Theſe bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of wo;
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;
And here my faithful TEARS in ſhowers ſhall flow,
To humanize the flints on which I tread[x].

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[u] Agreeable to that more ancient obſervation, "Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent." *(Seneca.)*

[x] This curious line reminds us of part of an extravagant elegy to the memory of a pleaſant poet of the laſt century, Colonel Lovelace, in which the author, E. Revett, ſays,

"Why ſhould ſome rude hand carve thy ſacred ſtone,
"And there inciſe a cheap inſcription,
"When we can ſhed the tribute of our tears
"So long, till the relenting marble wears?
"Which ſhall ſuch order in their cadence keep,
"That they a native epitaph ſhall weep;
"Until each letter ſpelt diſtinctly lies,
"Cut by the myſtic droppings of our eyes."

Where, though I mourn my matchlefs lofs alone,
And none between my weaknefs judge and me;
Yet even thefe penfive walls allow my moan,
Whofe doleful echoes to my plaints agree[y].

But is he gone? and live I rhyming here
As if fome mufe would liften to my lay?
When all diftun'd fit waiting for their dear,
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endlefs blifs with happy fouls,
Difcharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's truft;
Whilft on this fluid globe my hour-glafs rolls,
And runs the reft of my remaining duft[z]. H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I fhall fay concerning Mr. William Bedel, I muft prepare the reader by telling him, that when King James fent Sir Henry Wotton ambaffador to the State of Venice, he fent alfo an ambaffador[a] to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the ambaffador of France went Jofeph Hall, late Bifhop of Norwich, whofe many and ufeful works fpeak his great merit: with the ambaffador of Spain went James Wadfworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

Thefe three chaplains to thefe three ambaffadors were all bred in one univerfity, all of one college (Emanuel College in Cambridge), all beneficed

[y] Thus in the beautiful "Lycidas" of Milton——

"Now thou art gone, and never muft return:
"Thee, fhepherd, thee the woods and defert caves,
"With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
"And all their echoes mourn."

[z] An ingenious modern critic has juftly remarked, that "the poetical compofitions of Sir "Henry Wotton, when confidered in their proper light, namely as the effufions of one who "merely fcribbled for his amufement, will be found deferving of praife."

[a] James Hay, Vifcount Doncafter.

ficed in one diocefe, and all moft dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadfworth[b] met with temptations, or reafons, fuch as were fo powerful as to perfuade him (who of the three was formerly obferved to be the moft averfe to that religion that calls itfelf Catholic) to difclaim himfelf a member of the church of England, and declare himfelf for the church of Rome; difcharging himfelf of his attendance on the ambaffador, and betaking himfelf to a monaftic life, in which he lived very regularly, and fo died.

When Dr. Hall, the late Bifhop of Norwich, came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadfworth (it is the firft epiftle in his printed decades), to perfuade his return, or to fhew the reafon of his apoftacy. The letter feemed to have in it many fweet expreffions of love; and yet there was in it fome expreffion, that was fo unpleafant to Mr. Wadfworth, that he rather chofe to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there paffed betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadfworth divers letters, which be extant in print and did well deferve it: For in them there feems to be a controverfy, not of religion only, but who fhould anfwer each other with moft love and meeknefs. Which I mention the rather, becaufe it too feldom falls out to be fo in a book war[c].

There

[b] Mr. *James Waddefworth*, who died a penfioner of the holy inquifition in *Seville*, was educated at *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, being a fellow-ftudent and a chamber-fellow with Mr. *Bedel*. They were alfo beneficed in the fame diocefe; and they both left England at the fame time. When Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treafurer to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, went ambaffador to Spain, he took with him Mr. *Waddefworth* as his chaplain, who was prevailed on to change his religion, and entirely to abandon his native country, and was afterward appointed to teach the *Infanta* the *Englifh* tongue, when the match betwixt Prince *Charles* and her was believed to be concluded. "It appears," fays Bifhop Burnet, "as if in thefe two, Mr. *Bedel* "and Mr. *Waddefworth*, thofe words of our Saviour had been to be verified—'*There fhall be two* "'*in one bed, the one fhall be taken and the other left.*' For as the one of thefe was wrought on to "forfake his religion, the other was very near the being an inftrument of a great and happy "change in the Republic of Venice."

[c] The collection of thefe letters forms a very valuable appendix to Bifhop Burnet's Life of Bifhop Bedel. Thofe which paffed between Mr. Bedel and Mr. Waddefworth, on the converfion of the latter to Popery, difcover that mildnefs and benignity of temper on the part of the former, which fhould be preferved in all controverfies. On the contrary, the acrimony and harfhnefs of Mr. Jofeph Hall, writing on the fame fubject, are truly reprehenfible.

There is yet a little more to be ſaid of Mr. Bedel; for the greateſt part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, written to our late King Charles I.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

" HAVING been informed that certain perſons have, by the good wiſhes " of the Archbiſhop of Armagh, been directed hither with a moſt humble " petition unto your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to make Mr. William " Bedel, now reſident upon a ſmall benefice in Suffolk[d], Governor of your " college at Dublin, for the good of that ſociety: And myſelf being re- " quired to render unto your Majeſty ſome teſtimony of the ſaid William " Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice in the time of my firſt em- " ployment there, I am bound in all conſcience and truth (ſo far as your " Majeſty will vouchſafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, " that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been pro- " pounded unto your Majeſty in your whole kingdom for ſingular erudi- " tion and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance " the cauſe of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obſcure in the " time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

" For it may pleaſe your Majeſty to know, that this is the man whom " Padre Paulo took, I may ſay, into his very ſoul; with whom he did commu- " nicate the inwardeſt thoughts of his heart; from whom he profeſſed to have " received more knowledge in all divinity, both ſcholaſtical and poſitive, than " from any that he had ever practiſed in his days: of which all the paſſages " were well known to the king your father, of moſt bleſſed memory. " And ſo, with your Majeſty's good favour, I will end this needleſs office; " for the general fame of his learning, his life and Chriſtian temper, and " thoſe religious labours which himſelf hath dedicated to your Majeſty, do " better deſcribe him than I am able.

" Your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

" H. WOTTON."

[d] Mr. Bedel had been preſented by Sir Thomas Jermyn to the living of Horingſbeath, in Suffolk.

To this letter I ſhall add this, that he was, to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton, made Governor of the ſaid college (Auguſt 1627); and that after a fair diſcharge of his duty and truſt there, he was thence removed to be Biſhop of Kilmore (September 3, 1629). In both which places his life was ſo holy, as ſeemed to equal the primitive Chriſtians. For as they, ſo he kept all the Ember weeks, obſerved (beſides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very ſtrictly, and ſo he did all the feaſts and faſt-days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both ſuch as ſhewed his affections were ſet upon "things that are above;" for indeed his whole life brought forth the "fruits "of the ſpirit;" there being in him ſuch a remarkable meekneſs that, as St. Paul adviſed his Timothy in the election of a biſhop, 1 *Tim.* iii. 7. "That he have a good report of thoſe that be without;" ſo had he: For thoſe that were without, even thoſe that in point of religion were of the Roman perſuaſion (of which there were very many in his dioceſe), did yet (ſuch is the power of viſible piety) ever look upon him with reſpect and reverence, and teſtified it by a concealing and ſafe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Iriſh knew no diſtinction of perſons: and yet there and then he was protected and cheriſhed by thoſe of a contrary perſuaſion; and there and then he died, not by violence or miſuſage, but by grief in a quiet priſon[e] (1629). And with him was loſt many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preſervation; and among the reſt was loſt the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and ſtudy, he had tranſlated into the Iriſh tongue[f], with an intent to have it printed for public uſe.

More

[e] Burnet's Life of Bedel, p. 180, 209.

[f] This zealous prelate, deſirous that the free uſe of the Scriptures ſhould diſſeminate a knowledge of the true religion among the Iriſh, ſelected one *King*, a convert from Popery, who was ſuppoſed to be the moſt elegant writer of his native language then alive, whether in proſe or verſe. Though he was much advanced in years, the Biſhop thought him not only capable of undertaking an Iriſh verſion of the Bible, but qualified for a higher character: He ordained him, gave him a benefice in his own dioceſe, and employed him in this uſeful work, directing him to found his verſion on the Engliſh tranſlation. The good Biſhop reviſed the whole: And it was his uſual cuſtom after dinner and ſupper to read over a chapter, and to compare it with the original Hebrew, the LXXII, and Diodati's Italian verſion. See Burnet's "Life of Biſhop Bedel," p. 118, 119.

More might be ſaid of Mr. Bedel, who, I told the reader, was Sir Henry Wotton's firſt chaplain, and much of his ſecond chaplain Iſaac Bargrave[g], Doctor in Divinity, and the late learned and hoſpitable Dean of Canterbury; as alſo of the merits of many others that had the happineſs to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments: But the reader may think that in this digreſſion I have already carried him too far from Eton college; and therefore I ſhall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had propoſed to himſelf, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the life of Martin Luther[h], and in it the hiſtory of the reformation as it was carried on in Germany. For the doing of which he had many advantages by his ſeveral embaſſies into thoſe parts, and his intereſt in the ſeveral princes of the empire: By whoſe means he had acceſs to the records of all the Hans towns, and the knowledge of many ſecret paſſages that fell not under common view; and in theſe he had made a happy progreſs, as is well known to his worthy friend Dr. Duppa, the late Reverend Biſhop of Saliſbury. But in the midſt of this deſign, his late Majeſty, King Charles I. that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a perſuaſive loving violence, to which may be added a promiſe of five hundred pounds a year, force him to lay Luther aſide, and betake himſelf to write the hiſtory of England: In which he proceeded to write ſome ſhort characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but for the preſent meant to be more large in the ſtory of Henry VI. the founder of that college, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happineſs,

[g] Of this excellent divine, and the cruel treatment he and his family received from Colonel Sandys, ſee Mr. Todd's "Deans of Canterbury," p. 100. His *learning* and his hoſpitality are particularly noticed in the inſcription on his monument: "Amæno ingenio pietatem et eru-"ditionem ornavit;—gentibus exteris domique nobilibus gratiſſimus hoſpes hoſpitio genero-"ſiſſimo repoſuit."

[h] A life of this reformer, written with candour and impartiality, has long been a deſideratum in the republic of letters. That which is extant in the Engliſh language, entitled "The Life "and Death of Dr. Marter, the Paſſages whereof have bin taken out of his owne and other "godly and moſt learned Men's Writings who lived in his time, 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, 13," was printed in 1641, and is a mere literal tranſlation from Melchior Adam.

neſs of his preſent being. But Sir Henry died in the midſt of this undertaking; and the footſteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence[i].

This is ſome account both of his inclination, and the employment both of his time in the college, where he ſeemed to have his youth renewed by a continual converſation with that learned ſociety, and a daily recourſe of other friends of choiceſt breeding and parts; by which that great bleſſing of a cheerful heart was ſtill maintained: He being always free, even to the laſt of his days, from that peeviſhneſs which uſually attends age.

And yet his mirth was ſometimes damped by the rememberance of divers old debts[k], partly contracted in his foreign employments; for which his juſt arrears due from the King would have made ſatisfaction. But being ſtill delayed with court-promiſes, and finding ſome decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Chriſtian deſire, that none ſhould be a loſer by him, make his Laſt Will. Concerning which, a doubt ſtill remains, namely, whether it diſcovered more holy wit, or conſcionable policy? But there is no doubt, but that his chief deſign was a Chriſtian endeavour that his debts might be ſatisfied.

And that it may remain as ſuch a teſtimony, and a legacy to thoſe that loved him, I ſhall here impart it to the reader, as it was found written with his own hand.

[i] Of this hiſtorical work a very ſmall fragment is extant, written in the Latin language, with great elegance, and entitled "Henrici VI. Angliæ et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniæ "Domini, Etonensis ad Tameſin Collegii Conditoris vita et exceſſus." Upon the King's return from Scotland, in 1633, Sir Henry Wotton wrote a Latin panegyric, printed in the "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," with this title, "Ad Regem e Scotiâ reducem Henrici Wotton "Plauſus et Vota."

[k] "Sir Henry Wotton is at this time under arreſt for three hundred pounds, upon execution, and lies by it. He was taken coming from the Lord Treaſurer's, ſoliciting a debt of four thouſand pounds, due to him from the King." *(Mr. Garrard to the Lord Deputy. Straſford's Letters, Vol. I. p.* 338.)

In the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College by Eaton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last Will and Testament, thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true Eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at, or near Eaton, to be buried in the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived, my God knows, in all loving affection; or, if I shall die near Boston Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that Parish-Church, as near as may be to the Sepulchre of my good Father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ.

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint, that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time moulders even marble to dust; for

"Monuments themselves must die[1]."

Therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apothegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose

[1] "Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris." JUVEN. Sat. x. 146.

choose only this prudent, pious, sentence, to discover his disposition and preserve his memory.——It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIÆ PRIMUS AUTHOR,

DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.

NOMEN ALIÀS QUÆRE.

Which may be Englished thus:

HERE LIES THE FIRST AUTHOR OF THIS SENTENCE,

THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.

INQUIRE HIS NAME ELSEWHERE.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence, but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, "Nothing "can be spoken, that hath not been spoken: For there is no new thing "under the sun." But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the Communion of Saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic. And questionless it will be charity in all readers to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him; and that in this sacred ecstasy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant,—into which he daily expected his admission; and that Almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety; and

where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think; and where, as our reverend Hooker[m] says, "Former Simplicity, and Softness of Spirit, is not now to be found, because, Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness." It will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: The rest of his will follows in his own words.

Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last Will and Testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Worton, second son to Sir Robert Worton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison[n], one of the Fellows of Eaton College, best acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me

[m] *Such was the ancient simplicity and softness of spirit*, which sometimes prevailed in the world, that they, whose words were even as oracles amongst men, seemed evermore loth to give sentence against any thing publicly received in the church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not so much incline to that severity, which delighteth to reprove the least things it seeth amiss, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing, that duty bindeth to reprove. The state of this present age, *wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekness*, will not now suffer any man to marvel, whatsoever he shall hear reproved, by whomsoever. *(Hooker's Eccles. Book IV. Sect. I.)*

[n] Mr. J. Harrison was elected Fellow of Eton college, October 28, 1636. He was probably that learned and eminent divine, whom Anthony Wood mentions as the author of "A "Vindication of the Holy Scriptures, or the Manifestation of Jesus Christ the true Messiah already come." London, 1658. *(Ath. Ox. Vol. II. p. 991.)*

me from his Majesty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison.

And first, to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness, (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man,) I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the backside, which hang in my great ordinary diningroom, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto[o]: Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous D. Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item, The picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano[p], or some other principal hand, long before my time.

Most

[o] This artist is mentioned in a very scarce volume, entitled, "Zanetti della pittura Venezziana," as a painter and engraver, and a native of Bologna. "Odvardo Fialetti, Bolognese. "Visse lango tempo e mori poi questo Pittore in Venezia allevato nella scuola del Tintoretto; "e fece studii assai regolati nell' arte. Il genio suo non fa tuttavia de piu vivaci e focosi." p. 502. Several of his pictures are in five of the churches of Venice; and he is celebrated for having engraved with great correctness two pictures of Tintoretto, now at Venice, in the "Scuola di S. Rocco;" the one representing St. Sebastian, the other the Marriage of Cana."

[p] Of this celebrated artist, the most universal genius of all the Lombard School, the best colourist of all the moderns, and the most eminent for histories, landscapes, and portraits. See "Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting," p. 267.—Sir Henry Wotton, during his residence at Venice, purchased several very valuable paintings for the Duke of Buckingham: Among others was probably the "Ecce Homo" of Titian, which was afterwards valued at 5000l. and bought by the Archduke Leopold, who added it to his own collection in the Castle of Prague. See "Cabala," p. 398.

Most humbly beseeching his Majesty, that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

Item, I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negociations of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knight[q], during his famous employment, under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France; which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton his son[r], to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust.

Item, I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo[s] in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince, the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues

[q] Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was eminent for his abilities in state affairs, and often sent by Queen Elizabeth ambassador to foreign courts. Of him Sir Francis Walsingham, lamenting the loss sustained by his death, writes thus in a letter to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. "Be it spoken without offence of any, for counsel in peace, and conduct in war, he hath not "left of like sufficiency his successor that I know of." (*Supplement to Collins's Peerage, p.* 90. *See also Kennet's Complete History, &c. Vol. II. p.* 430.)

[r] Thomas Lord Wotton, son of Edward, the first Lord Wotton, and nephew to Sir Henry Wotton, married Mary the daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Arthur Throgmorton of Pauler Perry in Northamptonshire.

[s] A physician of the 16th century, who published his commentaries on Dioscorides, adorned with large wooden prints. Of the great value set upon this work, see "Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith," p. 213.

virtues through the clouds of her fortune. To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury[t] now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London[u], Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at, the world: Most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my life-time, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour, than mine own utility), some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last Will and Testament, shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble; hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears.

To ———, for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues and obliging nobleness, my great Loadstone, and a piece of Amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, A piece of Crystal Serangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetian Alps, in the very place where it grew; recommending most humbly

[t] Archbishop Laud.

[u] Juxon, Bishop of London, was made Lord High Treasurer of England in 1635, through the interest of Archbishop Laud.

humbly unto his Lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the fore-named Spiritual Lords, and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item, I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano[x], to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form), which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise, my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy; in which country I first contracted with him an unremovable affection. To my other Supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my Chest, or Cabinet of Instruments and Engines of all kinds of uses: in the lower box whereof are some * fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my Arrears; and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eaton College, I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain Ring of gold, enameled black, all save the verge, with this motto within, AMOR UNIT OMNIA.

This is my Last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed, written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1637, and subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

NICH. OUDERT. HENRY WOTTON.

GEO. LASH.

[x] Giacomo da Ponte da Bassano, so called from the place of his birth in the Marca Trevisana, in 1510, was a celebrated artist, who excelled in rural scenery and animals. He died at the age of 82, leaving four sons, two of whom were distinguished painters. (*Dryden's Fresnoy's Art of Painting, p.* 290.)

* In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will did gladly receive their legacies: By which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton-Hall, where he would say, "He found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful company," which he called "the living furniture of the place:" and "a restoration of "his strength, by the connaturalness of" that which he called "his genial "air."

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death[7] he changed that for a journey to Winchester college, to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester towards Eton college, said to a friend, his companion in that journey, "How useful "was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend *to perform* "*his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually* "*meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there*; and "I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that school, "and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me "to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me: "sweet thoughts, indeed, that promised my growing years numerous plea-

 "sures

[7] In this year he wrote his letter to Milton, who then lived near Eton, thanking him for his present of "Comus," which he calls "A dainty peece of entertainment; wherein," he adds, "I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not ravish me "with a certain Dorique delicacy in your songs and odes, whereunto I must plainly con-"fess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language: ipsa mollities." (*Reliq. Wotton. p.* 343.)

Milton has commended this letter in his "Defensio Secunda Populi Anglicani." "Abeun-"tem vir clarissimus Henricus Wootonus, qui ad Venetos Orator Jacobi Regis diu fuerat, et "votis et præceptis eunti peregre sane utilissimis *eleganti epistolâ* perscriptis amicissimé prose-"quutus est."

"ſures without mixtures of cares[z], and thoſe to be enjoyed when time "(which I therefore thought ſlow paced) had changed my youth into man-"hood.—But age and experience have taught me that thoſe were but "empty hopes; for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretel, "'*Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.*' Nevertheleſs I ſaw there a ſuc-"ceſſion of boys uſing the ſame recreations, and, queſtionleſs, poſſeſſed "with the ſame thoughts that then poſſeſſed me. Thus one generation "ſucceeds another; both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Wincheſter to Eton, which was about five months before his death, he became much more retired and contemplative: in which time he was often viſited by Mr. John Hales (the learned Mr. John Hales), then a fellow of that college, to whom upon an occaſion he ſpake to this purpoſe: "I have, in my paſſage to my grave, met with moſt of "thoſe joys of which a diſcourſive ſoul is capable; and been entertained "with more inferior pleaſures than the ſons of men are uſually made par-"takers of: Nevertheleſs in this voyage I have not always floated on the "calm ſea of content; but have often met with croſs winds and ſtorms, "and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And yet, "though I have been and am a man compaſſed about with human frailties, "Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making *ſhipwreck* "*of faith and a good conſcience*, the thought of which is now the joy of my "heart; and I moſt humbly praiſe him for it: And I humbly acknowledge "that it was not myſelf, but he that hath kept me to this great age, and let "him take the glory of his great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I now ſee "that I draw near my harbour of death; that harbour that will ſecure me "from all the future ſtorms and waves of this reſtleſs world; and I praiſe "God

z "Ah, happy hills! Ah, pleaſing ſhade!
"Ah, fields belov'd in vain!
"Where once my careleſs childhood ſtray'd,
"A ſtranger yet to pain!
"I feel the gales that from ye blow
"A momentary bliſs beſtow,
"As waving freſh their gladſome wing
"My weary ſoul they ſeem to ſooth,
"And, redolent of joy and youth,
"To breathe a ſecond ſpring."

GRAY's Ode on a diſtant Proſpect of Eton College.

"God I am willing to leave it and expect a better; that world *wherein* "*dwelleth righteousness; and I long for it.*"

These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma or short spitting: But after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which, though he he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose. These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretel that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever his better part, that part of Sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man[a].

[a] The following exquisitely beautiful hymn was written by him in his sickness:

"O thou great Power, in whom I move
"For whom I live, to whom I die!
"Behold me thro' thy beams of love,
"Whilst on this couch of tears I lie,

"And

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his life was by death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton college, where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain gravestone over him. Dying worthy of his name and family; worthy of the love and favour of so many princes and persons of eminent wisdom and learning; worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his prince and country.

And all readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his memory and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

IZ. WA.

"And cleanse my sordid soul within
"By thy Christ's blood, the bath of sin.

"No hallow'd oils, no grains I need,
"No rags of saints, no purging fire;
"One rosy drop from David's seed
"Was worlds of seas to quench thine ire.
"O, precious ransom! which, once paid,
"That *consummatum est* was said;

"And said by him that said no more,
"But seal'd it with his dying breath.
"Thou then that hast dispung'd my score,
"And dying wast the death of Death,
"Be to me now, on thee I call,
"My life, my strength, my joy, my all."

AN

ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON,

WRIT BY

Mr. ABRAM COWLEY[b].

WHAT ſhall we ſay, ſince ſilent now is he,
Who when he ſpoke all things would ſilent be.
Who had ſo many languages in ſtore,
That only Fame ſhall ſpeak of him in more.
Whom England now no more return'd muſt ſee;
He's gone to heav'n on his fourth embaſſy[c].
On earth he travell'd often, not to ſay
He'd been abroad to paſs looſe time away;
For in whatever land he chanc'd to come,
He read the men and manners; bringing home

Their

[b] "Every thing which Cowley wrote," ſays the editor of his ſelect works, "is either ſo "good or ſo bad, that in all reaſon a ſeparation ſhould be made." His Elegy on the death of Sir Henry Wotton is claſſed by him among the latter, as he has not inſerted it in his "Collec- "tion of Cowley's Poems." Dr. Johnſon entertains a more favourable opinion of it: By him it is pronounced to be vigorous and happy, the ſeries of thoughts eaſy and natural, and the concluſion, though a little weakened by the intruſion of Alexander, elegant and forcible. Denham has remarked of Cowley,

"To him no author was unknown,
"Yet what he writ was all his own."

The laſt lines of this elegy bear ſo ſtrong a reſemblance to an epigram of Grotius upon the death of Joſeph Scaliger, that the great critic above quoted thinks them copied from it, though they are copied by no ſervile hand. Joſeph Scaliger, like Sir Henry Wotton, was celebrated for his accurate knowledge of languages. Grotius compoſed four elegies on the death of this eminent ſcholar.

That which Cowley is ſuppoſed to have imitated begins with theſe lines ——

"Hic jacet et Gades ſuper exauditus et Indos
"Scaliger, hic mundi publica lingua jacet."

Their wiſdom, learning, and their piety,
As if he went to conquer not to ſee.
So well he underſtood the moſt and beſt
Of tongues that Babel ſent into the Weſt;
Spoke them ſo truly, that he had (you'd ſwear)
Not only liv'd but been born every where.
Juſtly each nation's ſpeech to him was known;
Who for the world was made, not us alone.
Nor ought the language of that man be leſs,
Who in his breaſt had all things to expreſs:
We ſay that learning's endleſs, and blame Fate
For not allowing life a longer date.
He did the utmoſt bounds of knowledge find,
And found them not ſo large as was his mind;
But, like the brave Pellean youth[d], did moan,
Becauſe that art had no more worlds than one.
And when he ſaw that he through all had paſt,
He dy'd leſt he ſhould idle grow at laſt.

A. COWLEY.

[c] Sir Henry Wotton's moſt important embaſſies were thoſe to Venice. To that republic he was thrice ſent ambaſſador from James I.

[d] "Unus *Pellæo juveni* non ſufficit orbis." JUVEN. Sat. X. 168.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON is addreſſed as a poet by Baſtard the epigrammatiſt, in the following lines:

> " Wotton, the country and the country ſwaine,
> " How can they yeelde a poet any ſenſe?
> " How can they ſtirre him up or heal his vaine?
> " How can they feed him with intelligence?
> " You have that fire which can a wit enflame
> " In happy London, England's fayreſt eye:
> " Well may you poets have of worthy name
> " Which have the foode and life of poetry.
> " And yet the country or the towne may ſway
> " Or bear a part, as clownes doe in a play."

His poems were collected by Iſaac Walton, and inſerted in " RELIQUIÆ WOTTONIANÆ; or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems with Characters of ſundry Perſonages, and other incomparable Pieces of Language and Art: By the curious Pencil of the ever memorable Sir Henry Wotton, K^t. late Provoſt of Eton College, 1651." In the fourth edition which appeared in 1685, is the valuable addition of letters to the Lord Zouch.

This collection contains the " TREATISE on the ELEMENTS of ARCHITECTURE," firſt publiſhed in 1624, 4to. This Treatiſe is ſtill held in great eſtimation, has been tranſlated into Latin, and annexed to the works of Vitruvius, and to Freart's " Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern."

Beſides the pieces in " The Remains," Sir Henry Wotton wrote

I. " A JOURNAL of his EMBASSIES to ROME."

II. " THREE PROPOSITIONS to the COURT of ANGOSCIOLA, in MATTERS of DUELS."

III. " The STATE of CHRISTENDOM; or, a moſt exact and curious Diſcovery of many ſecret Paſſages and hidden Myſteries of the Times: Written by the renowned Sir Henry Wotton, K^t. Ambaſſadour in Ordinary to the Moſt Serene Republique of Venice, and late Provoſt of Eaton College." *London*, 1657. To which is added " A SUPPLEMENT to the HISTORY of the STATE of CHRISTENDOM." Reprinted in 1677.

This work was begun about the year 1599, during Sir Henry Wotton's firſt reſidence at Venice, after his haſty departure from England.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE LEARNED BOOKS

OF THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

TO HIS VERY WORTHY FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

Upon his writing and publiſhing the LIFE of the venerable and judicious

MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

I.

HAIL, ſacred mother[a]! Britiſh Church, all hail!
From whoſe fruitful loins have ſprung
Of pious ſons ſo great a throng
That Heav'n t'oppoſe their force, of ſtrength did fail,
And let the mighty conqu'rors o'er Almighty arms prevail;
How art thou chang'd from what thou wert a late!
When deſtitute and quite forlorn,
And ſcarce a child of thouſands with thee left to mourn,
Thy veil all rent, and all thy garments torn:
With tears thou didſt bewail thine own and children's fate.
Too much, alas! thou didſt reſemble then
Sion thy pattern—Sion in aſhes laid,
Deſpis'd, forſaken, and betray'd;
Sion thou doſt reſemble once agen,
And, rais'd like her, the glory of the world art made.
Threnes only to thee could that time belong,
But now thou art the lofty ſubject of my ſong.

 Begin,

[a] The church of England emerging from thoſe dreadful calamities in which ſhe had been involved by the artifices of thoſe men, who, under the pretence of zeal for the cauſe of religion, meditated her entire deſtruction, is here not unaptly pourtrayed under the figure of an afflicted parent———

"Her veil all rent, and all her garments torn."

She was then the ſubject of elegiac lamentation. The ſcene is happily changed; and ſhe is here addreſſed in the language of praiſe and exultation.

II.

Begin, my verſe, and where the doleful mother ſat[b]
(As it in viſion was to Eſdras ſhown)
Lamenting, with the reſt, her deareſt ſon,
Bleſs'd Charles, who his forefathers has outgone,
And to the royal join'd the martyr's brighter crown,
Let a new city riſe with beauteous ſtate,
And beauteous let its temple be, and beautiful the gate!
Lo! how the ſacred fabric up does riſe!
The architects ſo ſkilful all,
So grave, ſo humble, and ſo wiſe;
The axe's and the hammer's noiſe
Is drown'd in ſilence or in numbers muſical[c]:
'Tis up, and at the altar ſtand
The reverend fathers as of old,
With harps and incenſe in their hand.
Nor let the pious ſervice grow or ſtiff or cold;
Th' inferior prieſts, the while,
To praiſe continually employ'd or pray,
Need not the weary hours beguile,
Enough's the ſingle duty of each day.
Thou thyſelf, Woodford, on thy humbler pipe may'ſt play,
And tho' but lately enter'd there[d],
So gracious thoſe thou honour'ſt all appear,
So ready and attent to hear
An eaſy part, proportioned to thy ſkill, may'ſt bear.

But

[b] See 2 Eſdras, from chap. ix. 38, to the end of the tenth chapter.

[c] See 1 Kings vi. 7.

[d] Dr. Woodford, the author of this poem, was ordained by Biſhop Morley in the year in which theſe verſes were written.

III.

But where, alas? where wilt thou fix thy choice?
The ſubjects are ſo noble all,
So great their beauties and thy art ſo ſmall,
They'll judge, I fear, themſelves diſparag'd by thy voice:
Yet try, and ſince thou canſt not take
A name ſo deſpicably low,
But 'twill exceed what thou canſt do,
Tho' thy whole mite thou away at once ſhouldſt throw,
Thy poverty a virtue make:
And, that thou may'ſt immortal live,
(Since immortality thou canſt not give)
From one who has enough to ſpare be ambitious to receive.
Of reverend and judicious Hooker ſing;
Hooker does to the church belong,
The church and Hooker claim thy ſong,
And inexhauſted riches to thy verſe will bring;
So far beyond itſelf will make it grow,
That life, his gift to thee, thou ſhalt again on him beſtow.

IV.

How great, bleſs'd ſoul, muſt needs thy glories be!
Thy joys how perfect, and thy crown how fair!
Who mad'ſt the church thy chiefeſt care;
This church which owes ſo much to thee,
That all her ſons are ſtudious of thy memory.
'Twas a bold work the captiv'd to redeem,
And not ſo only, but th' oppreſs'd to raiſe
(Our aged mother) to that due eſteem
She had and merited in her younger days.
When primitive zeal and piety
Were all her laws and policy,
And decent worſhip kept the mean;
Its too wide ſtretch'd extremes between,

The rudely ſcrupulous and extravagantly vain——
This was the work of Hooker's pen.
With judgment, candor, and ſuch learning writ,
Matter and words ſo exactly fit
That were it to be done agen,
Expected 'twould be as its anſwer hitherto has been.

RITORNATA.

To Chelſea[e], ſong; there tell thy maſter's friend
The church is Hooker's debtor—Hooker his;
And ſtrange 'twould be if he ſhould glory miſs
For whom two ſuch moſt powerfully contend:
Bid him cheer up, the day's his own,
And he ſhall never die,
Who, after ſev'nty's paſt and gone,
Can all th' aſſaults of age defy;
Is maſter ſtill of ſo much youthful heat,
A child ſo perfect and ſo ſprightly to beget.

BENSTEAD, HANTS,
March 10, 16$^{69}_{70}$.

SAM. WOODFORD[f].

[e] The reſidence of Morley Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe liberality appropriated to the uſe of his ſucceſſors a magnificent houſe at Chelſea, which he had purchaſed for four thouſand pounds. He obtained an act of Parliament, by which that houſe was declared to be within the dioceſe of Wincheſter. Such was his known beneficence, that on his promotion to the ſee of Wincheſter, Charles II. ſaid of him, "That notwithſtanding its vaſt revenue he would "be never the richer for it."

[f] The author of theſe verſes, Dr. Samuel Woodford, was born in 1636, and having been a commoner of Wadham College, in Oxford, he took his firſt degree in arts, and afterward removed to the Inner Temple, where he was chamber-fellow with Mr. Flatman, the poet. In 1669, he was ordained by Morley Biſhop of Wincheſter, and being created Doctor of Divinity by a diploma from Archbiſhop Sancroft, was preferred to a prebend in the church at Wincheſter. He compoſed a Paraphraſe on the Pſalms, commended by Mr. Richard Baxter, as alſo on the Canticles, with many original poems, and tranſlations from the Greek, Latin, Spaniſh, and Italian writers. He died in 1700. *(Wood's Athen. Ox.)*

TO THE READER.

I THINK it neceſſary to inform my reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Biſhop of Worceſter) hath alſo lately wrote and publiſhed the life of Mr. Hooker. And though this be not writ by deſign to oppoſe what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a neceſſity to ſay, that in it there be many material miſtakes, and more omiſſions. I conceive ſome of his miſtakes did proceed from a belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller[g], who had too haſtily publiſhed what he hath ſince moſt ingenuouſly retracted. And for the Biſhop's omiſſions, I ſuppoſe his more weighty buſineſs and want of time made him paſs over many things without that due examination, which my better leiſure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages have made known unto me.

And now for myſelf, I can ſay, I hope, or rather know, there are no material miſtakes in what I here preſent to you that ſhall become my reader. Little things that I have received by tradition (to which there may be too much and too little faith given) I will not at this diſtance of time undertake to juſtify: for, though I have uſed great diligence, and compared relations and circumſtances, and probable reſults and expreſſions, yet

g. Dr. Thomas Fuller, celebrated as a biographer and an hiſtorian, was educated at Cambridge, having been firſt admitted of Queen's College, from whence, being incapacitated by the ſtatutes from ſucceeding to a fellowſhip, he removed to Sidney College. He died in 1661. He was a general ſcholar, had a prodigious memory, a quick wit, a luxuriant fancy and invention, but not the moſt exact judgment. Such was his moderation during the time of the civil wars, that by one party, before whom he preached, he was called "a hot Royaliſt;" while, for his diſcourſes before the King and Court at Oxford, he was blamed as being too lukewarm. Soon after the reſtoration he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, being alſo in a well-grounded expectation of ſome preſent farther advancement; but here death ſtepped in, and drew the curtain between him and the eccleſiaſtical dignities that awaited him. His laborious but imperfect "Hiſtory of the Worthies of England" is conſidered as the moſt valuable of his works. See his account of Mr. Hooker in "The Church Hiſtory of Britain," B. IX. p. 214, 217, 235. (*Echard's Hiſtory of England, vol. III. p. 71.—Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, p. 5, 53.*)

yet I ſhall not impoſe my belief upon my reader, I ſhall rather leave him at liberty: But if there ſhall appear any material omiſſion, I deſire every lover of truth and the memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promiſe to acknowledge and rectify any ſuch miſtake in a ſecond impreſſion, which the printer ſays he hopes for; and by this means my weak, but faithful, endeavours may become a better monument, and, in ſome degree, more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confeſs, that when I conſider the great learning and virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what ſatisfaction and advantages many eminent ſcholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder that in ſixty years no man did undertake to tell poſterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and ſometimes wonder more at myſelf that I have been perſuaded to it; and indeed I do not eaſily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my reader ſhall, unleſs my introduction ſhall prove my apology, to which I refer him.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been perſuaded by a friend, that I ought to obey, to write The Life of Richard Hooker[f], the happy author of five (if not more) of the eight learned books of "The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity." And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with ſome unwillingneſs, foreſeeing that it muſt prove to me, and eſpecially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, conſider, reſearch, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and muſt therefore not only look back to his death (now ſixty-four years paſt) but almoſt fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence ſuch obſervations and prognoſticks, as may at leaſt adorn, if not prove neceſſary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foreſee, and foreſee alſo that it is impoſſible to eſcape cenſures; againſt which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me (for I conſider the age in which I live); and ſhall therefore but intreat of my reader a ſuſpenſion of them, till I have made known unto him ſome reaſons, which I myſelf would now fain believe, do make me in ſome meaſure fit for this undertaking: And if theſe reaſons ſhall not acquit me from all cenſures, they may at leaſt abate of their ſeverity; and this is all I can probably hope for.——My reaſons follow:

About forty years paſt (for I am now in the ſeventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer (now with God) grand-

 nephew

[f] Iſaac Walton's edition of 1675 has been followed in the preceding lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton. It is thought expedient to deviate from that edition in the Life of Mr. Hooker, by adopting that which was laſt reviſed by Walton, and is prefixed to his works printed at London in 1723, and at Oxford in 1793, yet without admitting thoſe paſſages which Mr. Strype has introduced into the text.

nephew unto the great Archbiſhop of that name; a family of noted prudence and reſolution; with him and two of his ſiſters I had an entire and free friendſhip: One of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a boſom-friend, and ſometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and after Preſident of the ſame. I name them here, for that I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in this following diſcourſe; as alſo their brother, of whoſe uſeful abilities my reader may have a more authentic teſtimony than my pen can purchaſe for him, by that of our learned Camden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named ſiſters, had ſome affinity, and a moſt familiar friendſhip with Mr. Hooker, and had had ſome part of their education with him in his houſe, when he was parſon of Biſhop's-Born near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had, I ſay, a great part of their education with him, as myſelf, ſince that time, a happy cohabition with them; and having ſome years before read part of Mr. Hooker's works with great liking and ſatisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquiſitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his perſon, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my conſideration, and intended for the ſatisfaction of my reader.

I had alſo a friendſhip with the Reverend Doctor Uſher [g], the late learned Archbiſhop of Armagh; and with Doctor Morton, the late learned and charitable [h] Biſhop of Durham; as alſo with the learned John Hales, of

[g] The character of this eminent Prelate is happily expreſſed in the eulogium of the Univerſity of Oxford, inſcribed on his portrait, which was ordered to be prefixed to his edition of The Epiſtles of Ignatius. "Jacobus Uſſerius, Archiepiſcopus Armachanus, totius Hyberniæ "Primas, Antiquitatis primævæ peritiſſimus, orthodoxæ Religionis Vindex ἀναντιῤῥητος, "Errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar "ſpectabile."

[h] How properly this epithet is applied to this excellent perſon appears, from his behaviour in 1602, in the earlier period of his life, while the plague raged at York. The poorer ſort of the infected, being turned out of their habitations, had booths erected for them at a moor near the city; for whoſe comfort and relief in that fatal extremity, Mr. Morton often repaired to them from Marſton,

of Eaton College, and with them alſo (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many diſcourſes concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitneſs for what by perſuaſion I have now undertaken. But though that full harveſt be irrecoverably loſt, yet my memory hath preſerved ſome gleanings, and my diligence made ſuch additions to them, as I hope will prove uſeful to the completing of what I intend. In the diſcovery of which I ſhall be faithful, and with this aſſurance put a period to my Introduction.

Marſton, to preach unto them, and to miniſter conſolation to their languiſhing ſouls, having withal proviſions of meat carried with him in ſacks, to relieve the pooreſt ſort with. But as often as he went thither, he ſuffered not any ſervant to attend him, but himſelf ſaddled and unſaddled his horſe, and he had a private door made through the wall of his ſtudy (being the utmoſt part of the houſe) for prevention, leſt he might bring the contagion with him and endanger his whole family. *(Richard Baddiley's Life of Biſhop Morton.)*——Having thus laid the foundation of virtue when in a more private and humble ſtation, he built upon it a moſt noble ſuperſtructure. His various actions of ſplendid liberality and extenſive beneficence, through the whole courſe of a long life, are only to be equalled by the magnanimity which he diſplayed in his great ſufferings. By his will, dated Feb. 20, 1658, and proved Oct. 1, 1660, when he had little or nothing left, he bequeathed his chalice to All-Saints Church in York, and ten pounds to the poor of the pariſh where he died, which was at Eaſton-Maudit, in Northamptonſhire. In his epitaph he is declared—"Bonis exutus omnibus, bonâ "præterquam Famâ et Conſcientiâ."

THE LIFE OF RICHARD HOOKER.

IT is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts[i], or in the city of Exeter. A city which may juſtly boaſt, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley[k]; as indeed the county may, in which it ſtands, that it hath furniſhed this nation with Biſhop Jewell[l],

[i] On the eaſt of Exeter is a pariſh church, called Heavy-Tree, memorable for the birth of Mr. Hooker, the judicious author of "The Eccleſiaſtical Polity," and of that great civilian, Dr. Arthur Duck. *(Camden's Britannia.)*

[k] Sir T. Bodley was the founder, or rather the reſtorer of the public library at Oxford, which was originally begun by Humphry, Duke of Glouceſter, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. and collected together, and conſiderably enlarged two libraries, one founded by Richard of Bury, from his great love of books, uſually called Philo-biblos, Biſhop of Durham in the reign of Ed. III. and another by Thomas Cobham, Biſhop of Worceſter.—"Illa Bodlei Induſtria pluſquam humana; illa tot Linguarum Artiumque infinita Comprehenſio doctos tantum egit in Stuporem; at illa incredibilis Morum Suavitas, ille in Congreſſibus Geſtuque toto Lepos et veluti Atticiſmus quidam doctos indoctoſque juxta cepit." *(Orat. Funebr. I. Hales.)*—"King James, in 1605, when he came to ſee our Univerſity of Oxford, and amongſt other edifices now went to view that famous library renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure broke out into that noble ſpeech. *If I were not a king, I would be an univerſity man. And if it were ſo, that I muſt be a priſoner, if I might have my wiſh, I would deſire to have no other priſon than that library, and to be chained together with ſo many good authors and* mortuis magiſtris." *(Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part I. Sect. II. p. 177.)*

[l] Dr. John Jewell, Biſhop of Saliſbury, one of the brighteſt ornaments of the reformed religion, the celebrated author of "The Apology of the Church of England;" a work ever to be commended for the claſſic elegance of its language, and the nervous ſtrength of its argumentation. It attracted the notice of the Council of Trent, who paſſed a very ſevere cenſure upon it, and though a refutation of it was undertaken by a Spaniſh and Italian Biſhop,

Sir Francis Drake[m], Sir Walter Raleigh[n], and many others memorable for their valour and learning[o]. He was born about the year of our Redemption, one thousand five hundred fifty and three; and of parents that were not

Bishop, it remains yet unanswered. Originally written in Latin, it was translated into the Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch languages. To Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and many other foreign Protestants, it gave infinite satisfaction. An English version by a lady, Anne the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, and the wife of the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, was published for the use of the common people in 1564, and ordered to be kept in every parish-church throughout England and Wales. This great and good prelate, having impaired his constitution, as well by the fatigues he underwent when abroad, as by an incessant application to his studies, died Sept. 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age.—— Of his noble challenge to the learned of his adversaries, or to all the learned men that be alive. See "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," Vol. IV. p. 220.

"Juelle, Mater quem tulit Devonia,
"Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,
"Quem Maria ferro et igne patriâ expulit;
"Virtus reduxit, præsulem fecit parens
"Elizabetha docta doctarum artium:
"Pulvis pusillus te sepulchri hic contegit,
"Quam parva tellus nomen ingens occulit!"

BUCHANANI POEMATA, p. 3, 60.

[m] Sir Francis Drake, the first captain who achieved the circumnavigation of the globe, was the son of a private clergyman in Devonshire. See "Prince's Worthies of Devon," p. 239, and his Life in Dr. Johnson's Works, Vol. XII. p. 63.

[n] Prince's Worthies, &c. p. 530, says:—"Who hath not known or read of this prodigy of "wit and fortune, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man unfortunate in nothing but in the greatness of "his wit and advancement, whose eminent worth was such both in domestic policy, foreign "expeditions, and discoveries in art and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it "might seem at once to conquer example and imitation." *(Howell's Familiar Letters, p. 387.)* This great man fell a victim to the jealousy of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. No one encountered danger with more intrepidity and firmness: Yet his character never shone with greater lustre, than when he patiently sustained the injurious and indecent language of the Attorney-General, Coke, at his trial.

[o] Mr. Prince, in the dedication of his "Danmonii Orientales Illustres," or "The Worthies of Devon," observes, that "he presents to the view of the reader such an illustrious troop of "heroes as no other country in the kingdom, no other kingdom (in so small a tract) in "Europe in all respects is able to match, much less excel."

not ſo remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and induſtry, and God's bleſſing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in ſome degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair teſtimony, and that nature is not ſo partial as always to give the great bleſſings of wiſdom and learning, and with them the greater bleſſings of virtue and government, to thoſe only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may gueſs by him at the age of forty) was ſanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was ſlow, even in his youth; and ſo was his ſpeech, never expreſſing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but a gravity ſuitable to the aged. And it is obſerved (ſo far as inquiry is able to look back at this diſtance of time) that at his being a ſchoolboy, he was an early queſtioniſt, quietly inquiſitive[p]; "Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered?" "Why this was granted, and that denied?" This being mixed with a remarkable modeſty, and a ſweet ſerene quietneſs of nature, and with them a quick apprehenſion of many perplexed parts of learning, impoſed then upon him as a ſcholar, made his maſter and others to believe him to have an inward bleſſed divine light, and therefore to conſider him to be a little wonder. For in that, children were leſs pregnant, leſs confident, and more malleable, than in this wiſer, but not better age[q].

This meekneſs and conjuncture of knowledge, with modeſty in his converſation, being obſerved by his ſchoolmaſter, cauſed him to perſuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at ſchool till he could find out ſome means, by perſuading his rich uncle, or ſome other charitable perſon, to eaſe them of a part of their care and charge; aſſuring them, that their ſon was ſo enriched with the bleſſings of nature and grace, that God ſeemed to ſingle him out as a ſpecial inſtrument of his glory. And the good man told them alſo, that he would double his diligence in inſtructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of ſo hopeful and happy an employment.

This

[p] Principium eſt ſcientiæ quærere, et principium quærendi dubitare.

[q] The age was, perhaps, not wiſer, though it might be more knowing in ſome reſpects.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved *so it should be.* And in the mean time his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the *seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *loving and fearing God*; *of an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our souls*; *that he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man, what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catched in his own snare.* These seeds of piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of God's blessed spirit, that his infant virtues grew into such holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man; which, with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding generations.

This good schoolmaster, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his scholar) was very solicitous with John Hooker[r], then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the university, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some college; still urging and assuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

These

[r] John Hooker, alias Vowell, was born at Exeter, in 1524, of a very creditable family, being the second son of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city. Having received his education at Oxford, where he studied the Civil Law, he travelled into Germany, and at Cologn kept his exercises in law, and took his degree there. Next he went to Strasbourg, and sojourned with Peter Martyr, by whom he was instructed in divinity. Returning home after a short stay, he travelled into France, and was prevented from proceeding into Italy and Spain by the French declaration of war against England. Hence he retired to his native town, whereof he became the first Chamberlain in 1554, and was chosen one of the Citizens for the same in the Parliament, holden at Westminster in 1571. He died in 1601, at the age of near eighty years. He assisted Holinshed in his Chronicles, and is mentioned by several writers with singular respect as an antiquary, and an historian of great accuracy and fidelity.

Thefe reafons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good mafter, and God's blefling upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promife that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promife was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Bifhop of Salifbury) having been in the firft of this queen's reign expelled[s] out of Corpus Chrifti college in Oxford (of which he was a fellow), for adhering to the truth of thofe principles of religion, to which he had affented in the days of her brother and predeceffor Edward VI. and he, having now a juft caufe to fear a more heavy punifhment than expulfion, was forced, by forfaking this, to feek fafety in another nation, and, with that fafety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worfhip for which he fuffered.

But the cloud of that perfecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the church and ftate did then look more clear and comfortable; fo that he, and many others of the fame judgment, made a happy return into England about the firft of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was fent a commiffioner or vifitor of the churches of the weftern parts of this kingdom, and efpecially of thofe in Devonfhire[t], in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendfhip with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

[s] This good man was one of the firft victims to Popifh refentment after the acceffion of Queen Mary, being expelled by feven of the fellows of his college, for attending Peter Martyr's lectures in divinity; for preaching doctrines contrary to Popery; for receiving ordination by the new form, and refufing to be prefent at mafs. He concluded his valedictory fpeech, delivered on occafion of his expulfion, with thefe words: "Valeant ftudia, valeant hæc tecta, "valeat fedes cultiffima literarum, valeat jucundiffimus confpectus veftri: valete juvenes, va-"lete focii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, omnes valete." His temporary dereliction of the Proteftant faith, which happened foon afterward, affords a melancholy inftance of the imbecillity of human nature to withftand the attempts of infidious artifice. But, like Cranmer, he burft forth with fevenfold fplendor from that momentary eclipfe which obfcured his fame.

[t] "Mr. Jewel was appointed for the weftern circuit, and fo it fell out fitly that he prefented the firft-born of his labours in the miniftry, after his return from exile, in Devonfhire, and parts adjacent; there firft breaking the bread of life where firft he received the breath of life; where he endeavoured more to win his countrymen to embrace the reformation by preaching and good ufage, than to terrify and awe them by that great authority the Queen's majefty had armed him with." (*Prince's Worthies, &c. p.* 422.)

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Bishop of Salisbury; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it, John Hooker gave him a visit at Salisbury, "and besought him, for charity's sake, to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop would, therefore, become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes." And though the bishop knew men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he assented so far to John Hooker, that he appointed the boy and his schoolmaster should attend him, about Easter next following, at that place; which was done accordingly: and then, after some questions and observations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the bishop gave the schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was, by the bishop, appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole[u], then president of Corpus Christi college; which he did; and Dr. Cole had (according to a promise made to the bishop) provided for him both a tutor (which was said to be the learned Dr. John Reynolds[x]) and a clerk's place in that college; which place,

[u] Dr. William Cole, in 1599, exchanged with Dr. John Reynolds the presidentship of Corpus Christi College for the deanery of Lincoln, which he did not long enjoy. He fled into Germany in the time of Queen Mary, and Anthony Wood names him as one of the exiles at Geneva engaged with Miles Coverdale and others in a new translation of the Bible. He mistakes him for his brother Thomas Cole, mentioned in "Lewis's History of the several "Translations of the Bible," p. 206.

[x] The great prodigy of learning in his time, Crakanthorp, under whom he was educated, applied to him what was said of Athanasius. "To name Reynolds is to commend virtue itself." "He alone," says Bishop Hall, in his "Decad of Epistles," (Dec. I. Ep. 7.) "was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the reading of that man were near to a miracle." He was the great champion of Protestantism against Bellarmine.

"Cum vibrat doctæ Reynoldus fulmina linguæ,
"Romanus trepidat Jupiter, et merito."

Having

place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued penſion of his patron, the good biſhop, gave him a comfortable ſubſiſtence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, ſtill increaſing in learning and prudence, and ſo much in humility and piety, that he ſeemed to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and even, like St. John Baptiſt, to be ſanctified from his mother's womb, who did often bleſs the day in which ſhe bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous ſickneſs, which laſted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earneſtly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Auguſtine did that he might become a true Chriſtian, and their prayers were both ſo heard as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention

 with

Having ſucceeded Dr. Cole as Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, he died May 21, 1607. Whilſt he was public profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, he was involved in a controverſy "on the Authority of the Scripture Chronology," with Hugh Broughton, a vain and arrogant man, though the firſt ſcholar of his age in oriental literature. From the active part which he took in the conference at Hampton Court, he is claſſed amongſt "the pillars of puritaniſm and the grand favourers of nonconformity." Yet it ought never to be forgotten, that to his exertions we are principally indebted for that noble verſion of the Bible which is now in uſe. Fuller aſſerts, "that his diſaffection to the diſcipline eſtabliſhed in England was not ſo great as ſome biſhops did ſuſpect, or as more nonconformiſts did believe. No doubt, he deſired the aboliſhing of ſome ceremonies for the eaſe of the conſcience of others, to which in his own practice he did willingly ſubmit, conſtantly wearing hood and ſurplice, and kneeling at the ſacrament. On his death-bed he earneſtly deſired abſolution, according to the form of the church of England, and received it from Dr. Holland, whoſe hand he affectionately kiſſed in expreſſion of the joy he received thereby." (*Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book X. p.* 48.)

It has been related that *John Reynolds* was brought up in the church of Rome, whilſt his brother *William* was educated a Proteſtant: and that the two brothers, meeting together one day, diſputed with ſo much energy, that each of them changed his religion on conviction from the other's arguments. This circumſtance gave occaſion to a copy of verſes, concluding with this diſtich,

> "Quod genus hoc pugnæ eſt? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
> "Et ſimul alteruter ſe ſuperâſſe dolet."

To this *William Reynolds* has been aſcribed an Engliſh New Teſtament in quarto, printed at Rheims, in 1582, tranſlated from the vulgate Latin, and retaining many Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, with an apparent intention of rendering the text leſs intelligible to common readers

with much joy, and pray that he " might never live to occaſion any ſorrow " to ſo good a mother[y]; whom, he would often ſay, he loved ſo dearly, that " he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her ſake, as for his " own."

As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered from his ſickneſs, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to ſatisfy and ſee his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or want of money or their humility made it ſo: But on foot they went, and took Saliſbury in their way, purpoſely to ſee the good biſhop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr Hooker boaſted of with much joy and gratitude when he ſaw his mother and friends: and at the biſhop's parting with him, the biſhop gave him good counſel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the biſhop had conſidered, he ſent a ſervant in all haſte to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return the biſhop ſaid to him, " Richard, I ſent for you back to lend " you a horſe which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with " much eaſe[z];" and preſently delivered into his hand a walking-ſtaff, with which he profeſſed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he ſaid, " Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horſe; be ſure you be " honeſt, and bring my horſe back to me at your return this way to Ox- " ford. And I do now give you ten groats[a], to bear your charges to Ex- " eter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your " mother, and tell her, I ſend her a biſhop's benediction with it, and beg the

[y] The tender anxiety of *Monica*, the wife of *Patricius*, and mother of *St. Auguſtine*, for the reform and converſion of her ſon, was abundantly recompenſed by his extraordinary piety. " Miſiſti, Domine, manum tuam ex alto, et de hâc profundâ caligine eruiſti animam meam, " cum pro me ploraret ad te mater mea, fidelis tua, amplius quam flent matres corporea fu- " nera." *(Auguſtin. Confeſſ. L. III. C. ii.)*

[z] While Biſhop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, the plague, which prevailed there, occaſioned his removal into a country village, where he purſued his ſtudies in a low and damp lodging-room. Thus contracting a cold, he got a lameneſs, which affected him to his death. Yet, notwithſtanding this, moſt of his journeys in Germany, as well as in England, were undertaken on foot.

[a] It is well known that pieces of ten groats, or three ſhillings and fourpence, were current at this time.

" the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horſe back to " me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the college: " and ſo God bleſs you, good Richard."

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for as he lived, ſo he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both ſo zealouſly, that it became a religious queſtion, " Whether his " laſt ejaculations or his ſoul did firſt enter into heaven[b]?"

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of ſorrow and fear: of ſorrow, for the loſs of ſo dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear for his future ſubſiſtence. But Mr. Cole raiſed his ſpirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his ſtudies, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould neither want food nor raiment (which was the utmoſt of his hopes), for he would become his patron.

And ſo he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time the following accident did befal Mr. Hooker.

Edwin

[b] " It is hard to ſay whether his ſoul or his ejaculations arrived firſt in heaven, ſeeing he " prayed dying, and died praying." *(Fuller.)*——The circumſtances that attended his death are related in " Prince's Worthies," p. 428. The following beautiful lines upon him were written by Fuller:

" Holy learning, ſacred arts,
" Gifts of nature, ſtrength of parts,
" Fluent grace, an humble mind,
" Worth reform'd, and wit refin'd,
" Sweetneſs both in tongue and pen,
" Inſight both in books and men,
" Hopes in wo, and fears in weal,
" Humble knowledge, ſprightly zeal,
" A lib'ral heart, and free from gall,
" Cloſe to friend and true to all,
" Height of courage in truth's duel,
" Are the ſtones that made this JEWEL.
" Let him that would be truly bleſt
" Wear this Jewel in his breaſt."

FULLER'S *Abel redivivus*, p. 314.

Edwin Sandys[c] (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another nation; where, for many years, Bishop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany[d]; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of Bishop Jewel, which was in 1571. A little before which time the two bishops meeting, Jewel began a story of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop Sandys was educated in Cambridge[e], where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his resolution was, that his son Edwin[f] should be sent to Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be

[c] Dr. Edwin Sandys was born at Hawkshead in Westmoreland, where he founded a grammar-school. When he was reproached with being neither gentleman nor honest man, he answered "that he would not contend for gentry, but would defend his honesty; that his "father was an honest man, and served the King, and was a justice of peace in his country." He and Jewel were two of the eight divines appointed by Queen Elizabeth to hold a conference with an equal number of Romanists, before the two Houses of Parliament, on certain great controversial points of their religion. While he was Archbishop of York, he spent the greater part of his time in retirement at Southwell. A very numerous family demanded from him the utmost œconomy. Hence he has been charged with excessive parsimony, though in the inscription on his monument, in the church of Southwell, he is called "Summe liberalis, atque "misericors, hospitalissimus." "He was," saith Fuller, "an excellent and painful preacher, "of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, "while he had one foot in the grave he had the other in heaven. It is hard to say, whether "he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity." His sermons, preached between 1550 and 1576, are said to have been superior to those of his cotemporaries, and are yet admired as patterns of eloquence and fine writing.

[d] First at Francfort, afterward at Strasburgh and Zurich, in which two last places they resided in the house of Peter Martyr.

[e] At St. John's college in Cambridge.

[f] Afterward Sir Edwin Sandys, prebendary of York, and the author of "Europæ Specu-"lum; or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Westerne Parts of the World; "wherein the Romane Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to sup-"port the same, are notably displayed with some other memorable Discoveries and Memora-"tions.

be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his ſon Edwin was then almoſt of the ſame age: For the biſhop ſaid, "I will have a tutor for my ſon, that ſhall "teach him learning by inſtruction, and virtue by example; and my "greateſt care ſhall be of the laſt; and (God willing) this Richard Hooker "ſhall be the man into whoſe hands I will commit my Edwin." And the biſhop did ſo about twelve months after this reſolution.

And doubtleſs, as to theſe two, a better choice could not be made; for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had ſpent five in the univerſity; and had, by a conſtant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted ſtudy, he had made the ſubtilty of all the arts eaſy and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch learning as lay hid

"tions. Hagæ Comitis, 1629." This work is dedicated to Archbiſhop Whitgift. In the addreſs to the reader, the editor ſtyles the author "ingenuous, ingenious, and acute: a gentle-"man who, as I have been credibly informed, both heretofore deſerved right well of his "countrye in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords of the States General, his Ma-"jeſty of England's faſt friends and allies." The reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following ſpecimen of his mode of writing. He thus deſcribes the various contrarieties of the ſtate and church of Rome. "What pomp, what riot, to that of their cardinals? What ſeve-"rity of life comparable to that of their heremits and capuchins? Who wealthier than their "prelates? who poorer by vow and profeſſion than their mendicants? On the one ſide of the "ſtreet, a cloiſter of virgins: on the other, a ſtye of courtezans, with public toleration. This "day all in maſks, with all looſeneſs and foolery: to-morrow all in proceſſions, whipping them-"ſelves till the blood follow. On one door an excommunication, throwing to hell all tranſ-"greſſours: on another a jubilee, or full diſcharge from all tranſgreſſions. Who learneder in "all kinds of ſciences than their Jeſuits? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary maſs-"prieſts? What prince ſo able to prefer his ſervants and followers as the Pope, and in ſo "great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? What pride "equal unto his, making kings kiſs his pontafle? What humility greater than his, ſhriving "himſelf daily on his knees to an ordinary prieſt?" Page 39.

Sir Edwin Sandys was the intimate friend of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. On a large ſilver flagon belonging to the communion-plate at Little Gidding, are theſe inſcriptions: On the handle, "For the church of Little Giddinge in Huntington ſhyer." And on the bottom of the flagon, "What Sir Edwin Sandys bequeathed to the remembrance of friendſhip, his friend hath con-"ſecrated to the honour of God's ſervice." He died in 1629, leaving behind him five ſons, all of whom, except one, forgetting their allegiance to their King, joined the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion; his ſecond ſon, Colonel Edwin Sandys, particularly diſgracing his family by acts of the moſt ſavage inhumanity againſt the royaliſts.

from common ſearchers. So that by theſe, added to his great reaſon, and his induſtry added to both, *he did not only know more of cauſes and effects; but what he knew he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a moſt bleſſed and clear method of demonſtrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils (which in time were many), but eſpecially to his two firſt, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer: of which there will be a fair teſtimony in the enſuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongſt other teſtimonies, this ſtill remains of him, that in four years he was but twice abſent from the chapel prayers; and that his behaviour there was ſuch as ſhewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worſhipped and prayed to; giving all outward teſtimonies, that his affections were ſet on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is obſervable, that he was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extreme in any of his deſires; never heard to repine or diſpute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle ſubmiſſion and reſignation of his will to the wiſdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: And by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his perſon, even from thoſe that at other times and in other companies, took a liberty to caſt off that ſtrictneſs of behaviour and diſcourſe that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleaſant, his wit was never blemiſhed with ſcoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon or might beget a thought of looſeneſs in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his college; and thus this good man continued till death; ſtill increaſing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was choſen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty ſcholars of the foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonſhire; out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the founder's ſtatutes. And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved college, which was then noted for an eminent library, ſtrict ſtudents, and remarkable ſcholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had biſhop Jewel,

Dr.

Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackfon[5], of that foundation. The firft famous by his learned "Apology for the Church of England," and his

 "Defence

[5] Dr. Thomas Jackfon, defcended from a refpectable family and born at Witton on the Wear, in the county of Durham, was defigned by his parents to be a merchant in Newcaftle-upon-Tyne. From this intention he was diverted by the Lord Eure, Baron of Malton, &c. through whofe perfuafion he was placed in Queen's College, Oxford, and from thence removed to Corpus Chrifti College. He was firft promoted to the pleafant rectory of Winfton, in his native county, and then to the vicarage of Newcaftle-upon-Tyne. After a refidence of fome years in that town, he was invited to return to Oxford, and was appointed prefident of his college.

The precious manufcripts, which he left at his death, were configned by Archbifhop Sheldon to the care of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who tells us, that "the reader will find in this author "an eminent excellency in that part of divinity which I make bold to call Chriftology, in dif-"playing *the great myftery of godlinefs, God manifefted in human flefh.*" He adds, "He that will "carefully perufe this good author's works, fhall thereby have a goodly profpect of the Old "and New Teftament opened unto him; fhall mightily improve in the underftanding of the "holy Bible." And in his preface to Mr. Herbert's "Country Parfon," he bleffes God for the confirmation which Dr. Jackfon hath given him in the Chriftian religion againft the Atheift, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Proteftant againft Rome.

One part of Dr. Jackfon's character is highly deferving of imitation. He willingly admitted, and was much delighted with the acquaintance and familiarity of hopeful young divines, not defpifing their youth, but accounting them as fons and brethren, encouraging and advifing them what books to read, and with what holy preparations; lending them fuch books as they had need of. So placid and benign was his difpofition, that no one ever went fad from his prefence.

A circumftance, which occurred in his earlier life, affords an opportunity of congratulating the prefent age on a noble and humane inftitution. That circumftance is thus related by his biographer:

"Walking out with others of the company to wafh himfelf, he was in imminent peril of "being drowned. *The depth clofed him round about, the weeds were wrapt about his head. He* "*went down to the bottom of the mountains, the earth with her bars was about him for ever, yet God* "*brought his foul from corruption,* Jonah ii. 5, 6. that, like Mofes from the flags, for the future "good of the church and government of the college where he lived, there might be pre-"ferved the meekeft man alive; or, like Jonas, *there might be a prophet revived,* as afterwards he

"Defence of it against Harding[h]." The second, for the learned and wise manage of a public dispute with John Hart[i], of the Roman persuasion, about

"he proved, to forewarn the people of ensuing destruction, if peradventure they might repent, "and God might revoke the judgments pronounced against them, and spare this great and sin-"ful nation. It was a long and almost incredible space of time wherein he lay under water, "and before a boat could be procured, which was sent for rather to take out his body, before "it floated, for a decent funeral, than out of hopes of recovery of life. The boatman discern-"ing where he was by the bubbling of the water, the last signs of a man expiring, thrust down "his hook at that very moment, which, by happy Providence, at the first essay, lighted under "his arm, and brought him up into the boat. All the parts of his body were swollen into a "vast proportion, and although by holding his head downward they let forth much water, yet "no hopes of life appeared, therefore they brought him to the land, and lapped him up in the "gowns of his fellow-students, the best shroud that love or necessity could provide. After some "warmth and former means renewed, they perceived that life was yet within him, conveyed "him to the College, and commended him to the skill of Dr. Channel, an eminent physician "of the same house, where, with much care, time, and difficulty, he recovered, to the equal "joy and wonder of the whole society. All men concluded him to be reserved for high and "admirable purposes."

[h] Dr. Thomas Harding, educated at Winchester school, became Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1536. He was the first King's Hebrew professor in that university, having been appointed by Henry VIII. in, or about, 1542. He was, in the reign of King Edward VI. a constant attendant on the lectures of Peter Martyr, and displayed great zeal for the reformed religion. A little before the King's death he exhorted the people not to shrink from the true doctrine of the gospel in the day of trouble, but to consider persecution as sent from God to try their faith. But, alas! he found himself unequal to temptation. Under Queen Mary he abandoned his principles, and obtained considerable preferment, a prebend in the church of Winchester, and the treasureship of of Salisbury. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he adhered to the religion to which he had recently conformed, and fled beyond sea to Louvain, where he distinguished himself by writing against Bishop Jewel's "Challenge." He had been chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey. A letter from her is yet extant in Fox's "Book of Martyrs," addressed to him in very strong language. She admonishes him to relinquish the errors of Popery, reproaches him for his apostacy, and urges many arguments to persuade him to repentance and reformation. Mr. Hooker *(Eccles. Polit. B. II. 6.)* applies to Bishop Jewel and this his antagonist, what Velleius Paterculus remarks of Jugurtha and Marius: "Sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in "contrariis facerent." Mr. Harding and the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one university, it fell

about the head and faith of the church, then printed by consent of both parties. And the third for his most excellent "Exposition of the Creed," and for his other treatises; all such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his strict and pious life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all[k].

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's grace was given him for inceptor of arts; Dr. Herbert Westphaling[l], a man of noted learning, being then vice-chancellor, and the act following, he was completed master, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year vice-chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, then one of the proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil[m], warden of Merton

 College,

fell out in them which was spoken of two others, "they learned in the same that which in "contrary camps they did practise."

[l] A convert to Popery, styled by Camden the most learned of his brethren, known principally from his dispute with Dr. Reynolds, the particulars of which are related in "the Sum "of a Conference between John Reynolds and John Hart, touching the Head and the Faith "of the Church, &c. London, 1588." approved, as it is said, by John Hart to be a true conference, and translated into Latin by Henry Parry, C. C. C.—Being banished from England with other Roman priests in 1584, he was admitted of the Society of Jesus, and was much respected by his fraternity for his learning and sanctity of life. *(Wood's Ath. Ox.)*

[k] In the preceding editions the name of Cardinal Poole was inserted. He was originally of Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1515 he was admitted B. A. In 1522 Bishop Fox appointed him Fellow of Corpus Christi College, during his residence in foreign parts, but whether he came to take possession of his fellowship is not certain. *(See Gutch's Wood's Colleges and Halls, p.* 320, 398.)

[l] Otherwise Westfayling, of foreign extraction, being the grandson of Harbert, a native of Westphalia in Germany; he was canon of Christ Church, and vice-chancellor of the university for one part of the year in 1576, and consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1585-6: a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity, that he was scarce ever seen to laugh; leaving no great estate, but, as he declares in his will, such a one as would be attended with the blessing of God, as being conscious to himself that no part of it was acquired by any dishonest means.

[m] 1576. John Underhill of New college, Pr.
And
1576. Henry Savil of Merton College, Pr. [Le Neve.]

Henry Savil, celebrated for his superior knowledge of Greek Literature, his proficiency in mathematical and philosophical studies, has been styled "That magazine of learning, whose memory

College, and provoſt of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil that tranſlated and enlightened the "Hiſtory of Cornelius Ta-"citus," with a moſt excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcattered pieces of St. Chryſoſtom and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a moſt judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happineſs to be a contemporary, and a moſt familiar friend to our Richard Hooker, and let poſterity know it.

And

memory ſhall be honourable amongſt not only the learned, but the righteous for ever." He was born at Over-Bradley near Halifax in Yorkſhire, Nov. 30, 1547, and was admitted into Merton College, Oxford, in 1561. Upon his return from his travels into France and other countries, he was appointed Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth in the Greek language. He was one of the learned men, to whom the province of tranſlating the bible was conſigned in the beginning of the reign of James I. His name is in the fifth claſs, among thoſe to whom the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Apocalypſe were allotted. Nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge of Engliſh antiquities. He founded and liberally endowed two profeſſorſhips at Oxford, one of Geometry, the other of Aſtronomy. At this time ſcholaſtic learning and polemic divinity were principally regarded and encouraged. In the preamble of the deed, by which a ſalary was annexed to thoſe two profeſſorſhips, it is expreſsly ſaid that "Geometry was almoſt totally unknown and abandoned in England."

One of the moſt important tranſlations in the 16th centry was that of the four firſt books of "Tacitus," and "The Life of Agricola," by Sir Henry Savil. The valuable notes that accompanied theſe tranſlations were rendered into Latin by Gruter, and publiſhed at Amſterdam. Ben Jonſon has commended this work in an epigram, which begins with theſe lines——

"If, my religion ſafe, I durſt embrace
"That ſtrange doctrine of Pythagoras;
"I ſhould beleeve the ſoule of Tacitus
"In thee, moſt weighty Savile, liv'd to us."

"Learning," ſaith Fuller, (*Holy State, p.* 186.) "hath gained moſt by thoſe books by which "the printers have loſt." As an inſtance of the truth of this remark he adds, "Our worthy "Engliſh knight, who ſet forth 'the *golden-mouthed* Father' in a ſilver print, was a loſer by it." To the excellency of this edition a learned foreigner hath given his teſtimony by applying to it the line in Horace.

"Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatemur."

And in this year of 1577, he was chosen fellow of the college: happy also in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately spoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after and successively made presidents of his college: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and college, than in the pupilage and friendship of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his "Speculum Europæ" as his brother George[n] for making posterity beholden to his pen by a learned

[n] George Sandys, the friend of Lucius Lord Viscount Falkland, the seventh and youngest son of Archbishop Sandys, not less illustrious for his exalted piety, than for his accomplishments as a gentleman and a scholar, was born at Bishopthorp, near York, in 1577. He travelled through several parts of Europe, and visited many countries and cities of the east. The "History of his Travels," a work written by himself, is at this day read with great satisfaction. He translated "Ovid's Metamorphoses" into English verse: but he delighted chiefly in exercising his genius on sacred subjects. He is acknowledged to be the first poet of his age.—— In the parish-register of Boxley in Kent, where he died, is this entry. "Georgius Sandys "poetarum Anglorum sui sæculi princeps sepultus fuit Martii 7. stilo Angliæ. An. Dom. "1643." Mr. Dryden declares him to be the best versifier of the times in which he lived, and in the opinion of Mr. Pope, English poetry owes much of its present beauty to his translations. Nor are his original compositions less elegant and correct. To justify the character given of him as a poet by Walton, I subjoin his "Version of the VIII Psalm:"

"Lord, how illustrious is thy name!
"Whose power both heav'n and earth proclame!
"Thy glory thou hast set on high,
"Above the marble-arched sky.
"The wonders of thy power thou hast
"In mouths of babes and sucklings plac'd:
"That so thou mightst thy foes confound,
"And who in malice most abound.
"When I, pure heav'n, thy fabric see,
"The moon and stars dispos'd by thee;
"O what is man or his frail race,
"That thou shouldst such a shadow grace!
"Next to thy angels most renown'd,
"With majesty and glory crown'd:

"The

learned relation and comment on his dangerous and remarkable travels; and for his harmonious tranſlation of the Pſalms of David, the book of Job, and other poetical parts of holy writ, into moſt high and elegant verſe.—And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I ſhall refer my reader to the printed teſtimonies of our learned Mr. Camden[o], the Lord Tottenes[p], Fines Moriſon[q], and others.

" This Cranmer, whoſe Chriſtian name was George, was a gentleman of " ſingular hope, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Cranmer, ſon of Edmund Cran- " mer, the Archbiſhop's brother: he ſpent much of his youth in Corpus " Chriſti College in Oxford, where he continued maſter of arts for many " years before he removed, and then betook himſelf to travel, accompany- " ing that worthy gentleman Sir Edwin Sandys into France, Germany, " and Italy, for the ſpace of three years; and after their happy return, he betook

" The king of all thy creatures made;
" That all beneath his feet hath laid:
" All that on dales or mountains feed,
" That ſhady woods or deſerts breed;
" What in the airy region glide,
" Or through the rowling ocean ſlide.
" Lord, how illuſtrious is thy name!
" Whoſe pow'r both heav'n and earth proclame!"

King, biſhop of Chicheſter, who himſelf tranſlated the Pſalms for the uſe of the common people, obſerves that Mr. George Sandys was too elegant for the vulgar uſe, changing both the metre and tunes wherewith they had been long acquainted.

o " Cecidit tamen ex Anglis Cranmerus pro-rege ab epiſtolis, vir eruditiſſimus, et ipſi eo no- " mine longe chariſſimus." (*Camden, Annal. Regin. Eliz. ſub. An.* 1600.)

p Sir George Carew, created by Charles I. Earl of Totnes, and celebrated for his military exploits in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the author of " Pacata Hibernia; " or, the Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland, eſpecially within the Province of Munſter, in the " Years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602.

q Mr. Morriſon, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, and author of " An Itinerary, containing his " ten Years Travels through the twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Switzerland, " Denmark, Poland, England, Scotland, and Ireland; divided into three Parts. London, 1617." Fol. Publiſhed after his death, and originally written in Latin.

"betook himſelf to an employment under Secretary Daviſon[r]; after whoſe "fall he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killigrew[s] in his em-"baſſage into France; and after his death he was ſought after by the moſt "noble Lord Mountjoy[t], with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained

[r] William Daviſon, Eſq. one of the Principal Secretaries of State to Queen Elizabeth, a plain and honeſt man, without policy, and totally unſkilled in the dark intrigues of a court. His conduct with reſpect to the warrant granted for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots has been variouſly reported. *(See the State Trials,* 1583, 30 *Eliz.)* The fulleſt credit may probably be given to his own aſſertions in the Star-Chamber, when he proteſted before God and the commiſſioners that were appointed to try him, "That wittingly or willingly he had "done nothing in this thing but that which he was perſuaded in his conſcience the Queen "willed. In the which if he had carried himſelf to do any part either by unſkilfulneſs or ne-"gligence, he could not chooſe but be grievouſly ſorry, and undergo willingly the cenſure of "the commiſſioners." When he was ſentenced, Sir Edmond Anderſon, one of his judges, ſaid of him, that herein he had done "juſtum non juſtè;" and ſo, acquitting of all malice, cenſured him for indiſcretion. *(Fuller's Worthies, Lincolnſhire, p.* 161.)——"In the reign of "Queen Elizabeth we read of one, whom the grandees of the Court procured to be made Se-"cretary of State, only to break his back in the buſineſs of the Queen of Scots, whoſe death "they were then projecting. Like true courtiers, they firſt engage him in that fatal ſcene, "and then deſert him in it; uſing him only as a tool, to do a preſent ſtate-job, and then to be "reproached and ruined for what he had done." *(Dr. South's twelve Sermons,* 1698, *p.* 137.)

[s] Sir H. Killigrew, the huſband of Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, no leſs renowned than her three ſiſters for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages: An epitaph on this learned lady was written by Andrew Melville. *(See alſo Buchanani Poemata, p.* 351.) Fuller has preſerved ſome Latin verſes compoſed by her on the following occaſion: Her huſband Sir Henry Killigrew, being deſigned by Queen Elizabeth Ambaſſador for France in troubleſome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, this affectionate wife wrote theſe verſes to Mildred Cecil, her eldeſt ſiſter, to uſe her intereſt with the Lord Treaſurer her huſband, that Sir Henry might be excuſed from that ſervice:

"Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
"Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi ſola Soror.
"Sin malè cunctando retines, vel trans Mare mittes,
"Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla Soror.
"It ſi Cornubiam, tibi Pax ſit et omnia læta!
"Sin Mare, Cecili nuntio Bella, vale."

(Biograph. Brit. in the article COOK ANTHONY, *p.* 1456.[F])

[t] An accompliſhed and brave ſoldier. Queen Elizabeth, confiding in her own princely judgment and opinion, had formed ſo favourable an opinion of his worth and conduct, that ſhe

" mained, until in a battle againſt the rebels near Charlinford, an unfortu-
" nate wound put an end both to his life and the great hopes that were
" conceived of him."

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and theſe his two pupils, there was a ſacred friendſhip; a friendſhip made up of religious principles, which increaſed daily by a ſimilitude of inclinations to the ſame recreations and ſtudies; a friendſhip elemented in youth and in an univerſity, free from ſelf-ends, which the friendſhips of age uſually are not. In this ſweet, this bleſſed, this ſpiritual amity, they went on for many years: And, as the holy prophet ſaith, ſo " they took ſweet counſel together, and walked in the houſe of God as " friends." By which means they improved it to ſuch a degree of amity as bordered upon heaven; a friendſhip ſo ſacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it ſhall have no end.

And though this world cannot give any degree of pleaſure equal to ſuch a friendſhip; yet obedience to parents, and a deſire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more ſerviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns and leave Mr. Hooker to his college: where he was daily more aſſiduous in his ſtudies, ſtill enriching his quiet and capacious ſoul with the precious learning of the philoſophers, caſuiſts, and ſchoolmen; and with them the foundation and reaſon of all laws, both ſacred and civil; and with ſuch other learning as lay moſt remote from the tract of common ſtudies. And as he was diligent in theſe; ſo he ſeemed reſtleſs in ſearching the ſcope and intention of God's ſpirit revealed to mankind in the ſacred Scripture; for the underſtanding of which, he ſeemed to be aſſiſted by the ſame ſpirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to underſtand wiſdom ſecretly. And the good man would often ſay, " The ſcripture was not writ to beget pride and diſputa-
" tions, and oppoſition to government; but moderation, and charity, and
" humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind; of which no
" good man did ever repent himſelf upon his death-bed." And that this was really his judgment did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of

ſhe would have him and none other to finiſh and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end, which, not deceiving her good conceit of him, he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulneſs. *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 665.)*

of his life. Nor was this excellent man a ſtranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as muſic and poetry; all which he had digeſted, and made uſeful; and of all which the reader will have a fair teſtimony in what follows[u].

Thus he continued his ſtudies in all quietneſs for the ſpace of three or more years; about which time he entered into ſacred orders, and was made both deacon and prieſt; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford[x], or at St. Paul's Croſs[y], London, and the laſt fell to his allotment.

 In

[u] In 1579 Mr. Hooker read the Hebrew lecture at Oxford, during the indiſpoſition of Mr. Thomas Kingſmill, fellow of Magdalen College, who in 1565 was elected public orator, and in 1569 Hebrew profeſſor. This circumſtance, mentioned by Walton, in the earlier editions of Mr. Hooker's Life, was afterward omitted; as alſo the account of his expulſion from his college in 1579, with his immediate reſtoration. This expulſion probably did not happen, or the cauſe of it was ſo frivolous as not to deſerve notice.

[x] The Fellows of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford are obliged by their own ſtatutes to preach at Paul's Croſs, or at St. Peter's in Oxford, in Lent, before they can be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. There were no ſermons preached before the univerſity at the time of the foundation of C. C. C. but in Lent. The Univerſity Church is of a later date.

[y] We learn from Stowe, that in the midſt of the churchyard of St. Paul's was a pulpit croſs of timber, mounted upon ſteps of ſtone, and covered with lead, in which were ſermons preached by learned divines every Sunday in the forenoon, when the court and the magiſtrates of the city, beſides a vaſt concourſe of people, uſually attended. Dugdale mentions "its leaded cover." This circumſtance explains Owen's epigram entitled "Paul's Croſſe and the Croſſe in Cheap oppoſite St. Peter's Church."

"*Aurea* cur *Petro* poſita eſt *Crux, plumbea Paulo?*
"*Paulinam* decorant *aurea* Verba Crucem."

In foul and rainy weather theſe ſolemn ſermons were preached at a place called "The Shrouds," which was, it ſeems, by the ſide of the Cathedral Church, under a covering or ſhelter. In the Pepyſian Collection at Magdalen College in Cambridge, is a drawing of the pulpit at Paul's Croſs, as it appeared in 1621.——During the wars of York and Lancaſter Paul's Croſs was a mere ſtate engine.

"Here is th' indictment of the good Lord Haſtings,
"Which, in a ſet hand, fairly is ingroſs'd;
"That it may be to-day read o'er *in Paul's.*

SHAKESPEAR'S RICHARD III. *Act.* III. *Sc.* VI.

It

In order to which ſermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites-Houſe; which is a houſe ſo called; for that, beſides the ſtipend paid the preacher, there is proviſion made alſo for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his ſermon. This houſe was then kept by John Churchman, ſometimes a draper of good note in Wattling-ſtreet, upon whom, after many years of plenty, poverty had at laſt come like an armed man, and brought him into a neceſſitous condition; which, though it be a puniſhment, is not always an argument of God's disfavour, for he was a virtuous man: I ſhall not yet give the like teſtimony of his wife, but leave the reader to judge by what follows. But to this houſe Mr. Hooker came ſo wet, ſo weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to expreſs more paſſion, than againſt a friend that diſſuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no eaſier a horſe, (ſuppoſing the horſe trotted when he did not;) and at this time alſo, ſuch a faintneſs and fear poſſeſſed him, that he would not be perſuaded two days quietneſs, or any other means could be uſed to make him able to preach his Sunday's ſermon; but a warm bed, and reſt, and drink proper for a cold,

It was at Paul's Croſs that in the beginning of the reformation the Rood of Grace, whoſe eyes and lips were moved with wires, was expoſed to the view of the people and deſtroyed by them. It was a place of general reſort, where the citizens met, like the Athenians of old, for the ſake of hearing and telling of news. "A man was aſked whether he was at the "ſermon at Paul's Croſs? and he anſwered that he was there; and being aſked what news "there? Marry, quoth he, wonderful news." And it was ſometimes a ſubject of complaint, that the people walked up and down in the ſermon-time, and that there was ſuch buzzing and huzzing in the preacher's ear, that it made him oft to forget his matter.

It ſeems to have been within the province of the Biſhop of London, to ſummon from the univerſities, or from other places, deacons of the beſt abilities to preach there. Sandys, when the Biſhop of London, in an addreſs to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley and the Earl of Leiceſter, concerning ſeditious preachers, tells them that "he does what he can to procure fit men to "preach *at the Croſs*, but that he cannot know their hearts." *(Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, p. 9.)* For the due providing theſe ſermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers, Biſhop Aylmer was a great benefactor.

When Biſhop Jewel was a pupil at Oxford, Mr. Parkhurſt, his tutor, gave him "Tindal's Tranſlation of the Bible" to read, himſelf overlooking Coverdale's. Obſerving Jewel's acute remarks on theſe two verſions, he exclaimed, "Surely Paul's Croſs will one day ring of this "boy." Prophesying, as it were, ſays my author, of that noble ſermon of his at Paul's Croſs, in 1560, on 1 *Cor.* xi. 23. *(Prince's Worthies of Devon.)*

cold, given him by Miſtreſs Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this firſt public appearance to the world, he was not ſo happy as to be free from exceptions againſt a point of doctrine delivered in his ſermon, which was, that "in God there were two wills; an antecedent, and "a conſequent will: his firſt will, that all mankind ſhould be ſaved; but "his ſecond will was, that thoſe only ſhould be ſaved, that did live anſwerable "to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them." This ſeemed to croſs a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's[z], and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been ſince by Dr. Jackſon, Dr. Hammond[a], and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and juſtice of our merciful God. How he juſtified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted againſt (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occaſional anſwer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Biſhop of London[b], at

[z] Of this diſtinguiſhed divine, the founder of the Church of Geneva, ſee Mr. Hooker's Preface to his "Eccleſiaſtical Polity," Sect. II.

[a] The name of Dr. Hammond requires no eulogy. His excellent writings fully demonſtrate his piety and learning. It is remarked of him, that, after all his great acquiſitions, the ſcholar was leſs eminent than the Chriſtian: That his ſpeculative knowledge, which gave light to the moſt dark and difficult points, became eclipſed by the more dazzling luſtre of his practice.

[b] The conduct of Aylmer, Biſhop of London, in the ſcenes of public life, has been accurately deſcribed by the induſtrious pen of Mr. Strype. It will be ſufficient to notice one trait of his character, which diſplayed itſelf in his care of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he was tutor. Such was the ſuavity of his diſpoſition, ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, and with ſuch fair allurements to learning, did he inſtruct her, that ſhe thought all the time nothing, whilſt ſhe was with him. "And when I am called from him", ſaid this accompliſhed young woman, "I fall on weep-"ing, becauſe whatſoever I do elſe but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly "miſliking to me. And thus my book has been ſo much my pleaſure, and bringeth daily to "me more pleaſure and more, that in reſpect of it all other pleaſures in very deed be but "trifles and troubles to me." *(Aſcham's Schoolmaſter.)*——On this occaſion Roger Aſcham thus exclaims in a Latin letter to this lady. "O Elmarum meum feliciſſimum, cui talis "contigit diſcipula, et te multo feliciorem, quæ eum Præceptorem nacta es: Utrique certe "et tibi quæ diſcis et illi qui docet et gratulor et gaudeo."

"That

at this time one of his auditors, and at laſt one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accuſed for it.

But the juſtifying of this doctrine did not prove of ſo bad conſequence, as the kindneſs of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late diſtemper and cold, for that was ſo gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to believe all that ſhe ſaid: So that the good man came to be perſuaded by her, that "he was a man of a tender conſtitution;" and, "that it was beſt for him to have a wife, that "might prove a nurſe to him; ſuch a one as might both prolong his life, "and make it more comfortable; and ſuch a one, ſhe could and would "provide for him, if he thought fit to marry." And he not conſidering, that "the children of this world are wiſer in their generation than the "children of light;" but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, becauſe he meant none, did give her ſuch power as Eleazer was truſted with, when he was ſent to chooſe a wife for Iſaac; for even ſo he truſted her to chooſe for him, promiſing upon a fair ſummons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did ſo in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping houſe: So that he had no reaſon to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but rather to ſay with the holy prophet, "Wo is me that I am conſtrained to have my "habitation in the tents of Kedar[c]!"

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us conſider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays, "There is a wheel "within a wheel;" a ſecret ſacred wheel of Providence (eſpecially in marriages).

"That which I taught," ſays Mr. Hooker (*Anſwer to Mr. Travers's Supplication, Sect. VIII.*) "was at Paul's Croſs; it was not huddled in amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort that it could "paſs without noting: It was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. "I ſee not which way my Lord of London, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo "great a fault as patiently without rebuke or controulment afterward to hear any man there "teach otherwiſe than the word of God doth."

[c] Anthony Wood pronounces the wife of Mr. Hooker to have been a ſilly clowniſh woman, and withal a mere Xantippe.

riages) guided by his hand, that "allows not the race to the ſwift," nor "bread to the wiſe," nor good wives to good men: And he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to ſuch reaſons) only knows why this bleſſing was denied to patient Job, and (as ſome think) to meek Moſes, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But ſo it was; and let the reader ceaſe to wonder, for *affliction is a divine diet*; which though it be unpleaſing to mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often impoſed it as good, though bitter phyſic to thoſe children whoſe ſouls are deareſt to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college; from that garden of piety, of pleaſure, of peace, and a ſweet converſation, into the thorny wilderneſs of a buſy world; into thoſe corroding cares that attend a married prieſt, and a country parſonage; which was Draiton Beuchamp[d] in Buckinghamſhire, (not far from Ailſbury, and in the dioceſe of Lincoln;) to which he was preſented by John Cheney, Eſq. (then patron of it) the 9th of December, 1584, where he behaved himſelf ſo, as to give no occaſion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviſeth a miniſter of God) "In much patience, in afflictions, in anguiſhes, in neceſſities, in "poverty, and no doubt in long-ſuffering;" yet troubling no man with his diſcontents and wants[e].

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to ſee their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand (it was the "Odes of Horace"), he being then tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his ſervant was then gone home to

[d] Drayton Beacham, R. St. Mary, in the Deanery of Muralley in the Archdeaconry of Bucks. Biſhop Gauden is miſtaken when he relates that Mr. Hooker was preferred to this living by his college. Lord Cheyne preſented his clerk to this rectory in 1708. *(Bacon's Liber Regis. p. 495.)*

[e] By this inconſiderate marriage his fellowſhip was immediately vacated. Dr. Gauden's ignorance of this unfortunate event has occaſioned him to aſſign ſeveral reaſons why Mr. Hooker forſook an academic life, and choſe to conſign the rich treaſury of his learning to the retiredneſs and obſcurity of a country parſonage.

to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him unto his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and seek themselves a quieter lodging[f]. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, "as to your parsonage; and more sorry your wife proves not a more com-"fortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your rest-"less studies." To whom the good man replied, "My dear George, if "saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am "none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for "me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess "my soul in patience and peace[g]."

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York), with his tutor's sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence; which his father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which

[f] How strongly is this unpleasing domestic scene contrasted by the gentle manners, the exalted piety, the extensive charity, the saint-like humility of that excellent woman, the wife of Mr. George Herbert?

[g] On the stone which covers the body of Thomas a Kempis is his effigy, and that of another person extending to him a label whereon is written a question to this purpose:—

"Oh! where is PEACE, for thou its paths hast trod?

To which Kempis is represented as answering—

"In poverty, retirement, and with God. (*The Amaranth*, 1767, p. 23.)

which was in the year 1585[h], Mr. Alvy, Maſter of the Temple, died, who was a man of a ſtrict life, of great learning, and of ſo venerable behaviour, as to gain ſuch a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbiſhop of York being then at dinner with the judges, the reader, and benchers of that ſociety, he there met with a condolement for the death of Father Alvy, a high commendation of his ſaint-like life and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, ſo they wiſhed for a like pattern of virtue and learning to ſucceed him. And here came in a fair occaſion for the Archbiſhop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with ſo effectual an earneſtneſs, and that ſeconded with ſo many other teſtimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was ſent for from Draiton Beauchamp to London, and there the maſterſhip of the Temple propoſed unto him by the Biſhop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better ſociety, and a more liberal penſion than his parſonage did afford him. But theſe reaſons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wiſh was rather to gain a better country-living, where he might be *free from noiſe*, (ſo he expreſſed the deſire of his heart), and eat that bread, which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietneſs[i]. But notwithſtanding this averſeneſs, he was at laſt perſuaded to accept of the Biſhop's propoſal; and was by patent for

[h] Richard Alvy was alſo the firſt canon of the fifth ſtall in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter. The Maſterſhip of the Temple was vacated by his death in Auguſt 1584.

[i] Mr. Maſon has happily applied this paſſage in an elegy to the Rev. Mr. Hurd, the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter:

"Whoſe equal mind could ſee vain Fortune ſhower
"Her flimſy favours on the fawning crew,
"While in low Thurcaſton's ſequeſter'd bower
"She fixt him diſtant from promotion's view.
"Yet ſhelter'd there by calm Contentment's wing,
"Pleas'd he could ſmile, and with ſage Hooker's eye
"See from his mother-earth God's bleſſings ſpring,
"And eat his bread in peace and privacy."

for life[k] made Maſter of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age[l].

And here I ſhall make a ſtop; and, that the reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admiſſion into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than deſired; and yet here he promiſed himſelf a virtuous quietneſs; that bleſſed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that ſo he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praiſes; for this he always thirſted; and yet this was denied him. For his admiſſion into this place was the very beginning of thoſe oppoſitions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a ſtranger to, and of which the reader may gueſs by what follows.

In this character of the times, I ſhall by the reader's favour, and for his information, look ſo far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treaſons, the doubts of her ſucceſſor, the late civil war, and the ſharp perſecution that had raged to the effuſion of ſo much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were freſh in the memory of all men; and theſe begot fears in the moſt pious and wiſeſt of this nation, leſt the like days ſhould return again to them or their preſent poſterity. The apprehenſion of which dangers begot an earneſt deſire of a ſettlement in the church and ſtate; believing there was no other way to make them ſit quietly under their own vines and fig-trees, and enjoy the deſired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot ſelf-ends; and thoſe begot animoſities, envy, oppo-

[k] This you may find in the "Temple Records." William Ermſtead was maſter of the Temple at the diſſolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magiſter ſive cuſtos domûs et eccleſiæ novi Templi; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker ſucceeded that year by patent, in terminis, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.—That year Dr. Belgey ſucceeded Richard Hooker.

[l] On this occaſion two other candidates were propoſed—Mr. Walter Travers and Dr. Nicholas Bond the queen's chaplain. The former, commended by Alvy himſelf on his death-bed to be maſter after him, was ſupported by the intereſt of the Lord Treaſurer Burghley; the latter, named to the queen by Archbiſhop Whitgift, was afterward admitted preſident of Magdalen college, Oxford, and much abuſed by Martin Mar-Prelate. *(Strype.)*

oppoſition, and unthankfulneſs for thoſe bleſſings for which they lately thirſted, being then the very utmoſt of their deſires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progreſs of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for thoſe very people that had enjoyed the deſires of their hearts in a reformation from the church of Rome became at laſt ſo like the grave, as never to be ſatisfied; but were ſtill thirſting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience to government and perform thoſe vows to God, which they made in their days of adverſities and fears; ſo that in a ſhort time there appeared three ſeveral intereſts, each of them fearleſs and reſtleſs in the proſecution of their deſigns; they may for diſtinction be called the "active Romaniſts," the "reſtleſs Nonconformiſts," (of which there were many ſorts) and the "paſſive, peaceable Proteſtant[m]." The councils of the firſt conſidered and reſolved on in Rome; the ſecond in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers ſelected, ſecret, dangerous conventicles both there and within the boſom of our own nation; the third pleaded and defended their cauſe by eſtabliſhed laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from deſtroying what was by thoſe known laws happily eſtabliſhed to them and their poſterity.

I ſhall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romaniſts againſt the church and ſtate; becauſe what is principally intended in this digreſſion is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformiſts; againſt whoſe judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at laſt, but moſt unwillingly, to be engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained, not as againſt an enemy, but with the ſpirit of meekneſs and reaſon.

In which number of Nonconformiſts, though ſome might be ſincere and well-meaning men, whoſe indiſcreet zeal might be ſo like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were poſſeſſed of an high degree of ſpiritual wickedneſs; I mean with an innate, reſtleſs, radical pride and malice; I mean not thoſe leſſer ſins which are more viſible and more properly carnal, and ſins againſt a man's ſelf, as

[m] This word is here uſed in a more limited ſenſe to denote a member of the Church of England.

gluttony, and drunkenness, and the like (from which, good Lord, deliver us); but sins of a higher nature, because more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace, and more like the devil (who is no glutton, nor can be drunk, and yet is a devil); those wickednesses of malice and revenge, and opposition, and a complacence in working and beholding confusion (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and disturber of mankind; and greater sins, though many will not believe it); men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reason, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and self-conceit had made to over-value their own wisdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men which they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed *to speak evil of government*[n], and then to be the authors of confusion (of confusion as it is confusion); whom company, and conversation, and custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were errors; and at last became so restless and so hardened in their opinions, that like those who perished in the gainsaying of Korah, so these died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses; of which Coppinger and Hacket[o], and their adherents, are too sad testimonies.

And

[n] If we give credit to the historians of these times, the picture here exhibited is far from being drawn in too strong colours. Alas! the love of domination, and an uninterrupted opposition to the measures of government, have too faithfully characterised the manners of those Nonconformists. From the combination of such unamiable qualities, what other consequences could be expected than those which actually burst forth with irresistible fury? What opinion James I. entertained of them, appears from the following extract from the "Basilicon Doron:"——"Take heed therefore, my son, of such puritans, very pests in the church and "commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige, nor promises bind; breathing nothing but se-"dition and calumnies; aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their "own imaginations, without any warrant of the Word, the square of their consciences. I "protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for "me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highland or Borderer thieves greater ingrati-"tude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits."

[o] William Hacket, illiterate and of the meanest extraction, from habits of the lowest profligacy, and the most abandoned wickedness, assumed the appearance of a saint, pretending to have an inward call, and to be favoured with a special revelation. With him were associated Edmund

And in thefe times, which tended thus to confufion, there were alfo many others that pretended to tendernefs of confcience, refufing to fubmit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magiftrate: and yet thefe very men did in their fecret conventicles covenant and fwear to each other, to be affiduous and faithful in ufing their beft endeavours to fet up a church government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many felect parties that wandered up and down, and were active in fowing difcontents and fedition, by venomous and fecret murmurings, and a difperfion of fcurrilous pamphlets and libels againft the church and ftate; but efpecially againft the bifhops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indifcreet fermons, the common people became fo fanatic, as St. Peter obferves there were in his time, "fome that wrefted "the Scripture to their own deftruction:" So by thefe men, and this means, many came to believe the bifhops to be Antichrift, and the only obftructors of God's difcipline; and many of them were at laft given over to fuch defperate delufions, as to find out a text in the "Revelation of St John," that "Antichrift was to be overcome by the fword," which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that thofe very men that began with tender meek petitions proceeded to print public admonitions; and then to fatirical remonftrances; and at laft (having like David numbered who was not, and who was, for their caufe) they got a fuppofed certainty of fo great a party, that they durft threaten firft the bifhops, and not long after both the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were fecretly encouraged by the Earl of Leicefter, then in great favour with her Majefty, and the reputed cherifher and patron-general of thefe pretenders to tendernefs of con-

 fcience,

mund Coppinger, a perfon of better family; and fome others, who declared themfelves chofen veffels, proclaimed war againft the bifhops, and fcrupled not to menace the fafety of the Queen herfelf, unlefs fhe promoted their fchemes of reform. The madnefs of fanaticifm has no bounds. Hacket was at length announced by his followers (minifters of the Geneva difcipline) to be "the fupreme monarch of the world, from whom all the princes of Europe held "their fceptres, to be a greater prophet than Mofes or John Baptift, even Jefus Chrift, who "was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world." He was apprehended and convicted, and, after uttering the moft horrid blafphemies, was hanged by the common executioner. Coppinger ftarved himfelf in prifon. The contagion quickly fpread on all fides, whilft ecclefiaftical authority was rudely oppofed, and trampled under foot. *(See Kennet's Hiftory of England Vol. II. p. 563, and Carte's Hift. Vol. III. p. 637.)*

ſcience, whom he uſed as a ſacrilegious ſnare to further his deſign; which was by their means to bring ſuch an odium upon the biſhops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himſelf: which avaricious deſire had ſo blinded his reaſon, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almoſt flattered him into preſent poſſeſſion of Lambeth-Houſe.

And to theſe ſtrange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformiſts of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correſpondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; ſo that here they became ſo bold, that one[p] told the Queen openly in a ſermon, "She was like "an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but ob-"ſtructed his diſcipline[q]." And in Scotland they were more confident, for there they declared her an Atheiſt[r], and grew to ſuch a height as not to be account-

[p] Mr. Edward Dering, a puritan, the author of a book written in defence of Biſhop Jewel's "Apology," againſt Harding. He dates this work, April 2, 1568, from Chriſt's College, Cambridge, and dedicates it to Thomas Wotton, his countryman, "a perſon then of great "learning and religion, as well as wealth, in Kent." *(Strype's Annals.)*——He is commended as a truly religious man, whoſe happy death was ſuitable to the purity and integrity of his life. *(Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. Vol. I. p.* 215.)——"Once preaching before Queen Elizabeth, he "told her, that when in perſecution under her ſiſter Queen Mary, her motto was 'tanquam "'ovis,' as a ſheep; but now it might be 'tanquam indomita juvenca,' as an untamed heifer. "But ſurely the Queen ſtill retained much of her ancient motto 'as a ſheep,' in that ſhe pa-"tiently endured ſo public (and conceived cauſeleſs) reproof, in inflicting no puniſhment upon "him, ſave commanding him to forbear further preaching at the Court." *(Fuller's Church Hiſtory.)*

[q] "The biſhops have long deceived and ſeduced her Majeſty and her people." *(Martin's Epiſtle X.* 53.) The Queen was compared to Jeroboam, Ahab, Jehoram, Ahaz, Gideon, Nadab, Saul, Jehu, Aſa, and Jehoſaphat, in thoſe points whereby they offended God, and ſhe was threatened by their examples, in that having begun ſo well, ſhe did not proceed to ſet up Chriſt's kingdom thoroughly.

[r] The caſe is famous of Mr. David Blake, miniſter of St. Andrews, who had ſaid in his ſermon, "that the King had diſcovered the *treachery of his heart* in admitting the Popiſh Lords "into the country: that all kings were the devil's bairns; that the devil was in the court "and in the guiders of it." And in his prayer for the Queen he uſed theſe words: "We "muſt pray for her for faſhion's ſake, but we have no cauſe, ſhe will never do us any good." He ſaid that "the Queen of England (Queen Elizabeth) was an Atheiſt; that the Lords of "the

accountable for any thing ſpoken againſt her; no, nor for treaſon againſt their own king, if ſpoken in the pulpit[s]; ſhewing at laſt ſuch a diſobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in diſtreſs and in priſon, and in danger of death, the church denied the king their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feaſting, their church declared for a general faſt, in oppoſition to his authority[t].

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by theſe means there was diſtilled into the minds of the common people ſuch other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the church and ſtate; and theſe vented ſo daringly, that, beſide the loſs of life and limbs, the church and ſtate were both forced to uſe ſuch other ſeverities as will not admit of an excuſe, if it had not been to prevent confuſion and the perilous conſequences of it; which, without ſuch prevention, would in a ſhort time have brought unavoidable ruin and miſery to this numerous nation.

Theſe

"the Seſſion were miſcreants and bribers; that the nobility were degenerated, godleſs, "diſſemblers, and enemies to the church; that the council were holliglaſſes, cormorants, "and men of no religion." (*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottiſh Diſcipline, &c.* 1649, *p.* 13, 14. *See alſo Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p.* 420.)

[s] See "Biſhop Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland." p. 422, &c.

[t] "In the year 1582 Monſieur le Mot, a Knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, with an aſſociate, were ſent ambaſſadors from France into Scotland. The miniſters of Edinburgh approving not his meſſage, though merely civil, inveigh in their pulpits bitterly againſt him, calling his "white croſs the badge of Antichriſt," and himſelf "the ambaſſador of a mur-"derer." The King was aſhamed, but did not know how to help it. The ambaſſadors were diſcontented, and deſired to be gone. The King, willing to preſerve the ancient amity between the two crowns, and to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors with content, requires the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to feaſt them at their departure: ſo they did; but to hinder this feaſt, upon the Sunday preceding, the miniſters proclaim a faſt to be kept the ſame day the feaſt was appointed; and to detain the people all day at church, the three preachers make three ſermons, one after another without intermiſſion, thundering out curſes againſt the magiſtrates and noblemen which waited upon the ambaſſadors by the King's appointment. Neither ſtayed they here, but purſued the magiſtrates with the cenſures of the church for not obſerving the faſt by them proclaimed." (*A fair Warning to take heed of the Scottiſh Diſcipline, &c. p.* 25. *See alſo Spotſwood's Hiſtory, p.* 324.)

Theſe errors and animoſities were ſo remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this nation, writ ſcoffingly to a friend in his own country, " That the common people " of England were wiſer than the wiſeſt of his nation; for here the very " women and ſhopkeepers were able to judge of predeſtination, and deter- " mine what laws were fit to be made concerning church-government; " then, what were fit to be obeyed or aboliſhed. That they were more " able (or at leaſt thought ſo) to raiſe and determine perplexed caſes of " conſcience, than the moſt learned colleges in Italy. That men of the " ſlighteſt learning, and the moſt ignorant of the common people were mad " for a new, or ſuper, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they " appeared like that man, who would never ceaſe to whet and whet his " knife, till there was no ſteel left to make it uſeful." And he concluded his letter with this obſervation, " that thoſe very men that were moſt buſy " in oppoſitions, and diſputations and controverſies, and finding out the " faults of their governors, had uſually the leaſt of humility and mortifica- " tion, or of the power of godlineſs."

And to heighten all theſe diſcontents and dangers, there was alſo ſprung up a generation of godleſs men; men that had ſo long given way to their own luſts and deluſions; and had ſo often and ſo highly oppoſed the bleſſed motions of the bleſſed ſpirit, and the inward light of their own conſciences, that they had thereby ſinned themſelves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe there are many gods); but theſe have ſinned themſelves into a belief, that there is no god; and ſo finding nothing in themſelves, but what is worſe than nothing, began to wiſh what they were not able to hope for, " that they ſhould be like the beaſts " that periſh;" and in wicked company (which is the Atheiſt's ſanctuary) were ſo bold as to ſay ſo: though the worſt of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wiſh, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then ſinned themſelves.

And now, when the church was peſtered with them, and with all theſe other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at leaſt neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by ſeveral ſchiſms, and ſuch hereſies as do uſually attend that ſin; when the common people ſeemed

ambitious

ambitious of doing thofe very things which were attended with moft dangers, that thereby they might be punifhed, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the fpirit of oppofition a tender confcience, and complained of perfecution, becaufe they wanted power to perfecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became reftlefs to find out mifery for themfelves and others; and the rabble would herd themfelves together, and endeavour to govern and act in fpite of authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the church and ftate, when to fuppref the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearlefs fortitude, they were bleffed in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbifhop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character[u]; "That "he was a man of a reverend and facred memory, and of the primitive tem-"per; a man of fuch a temper, as when the church by lowlinefs of fpirit "did flourifh in higheft examples of virtue."

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I fhall neither do right to this difcourfe, nor to my reader, if I forbear to give him a further and fhort account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it fhall be fhort, for I long to end this digreffion, that I may lead my reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple[x].

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family[y] that was ancient and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was

[u] See 'Reliquiæ Wottonaniæ,' page 172.

[x] Ifaac Walton's epitome of the life of Dr. Whitgift, is truly excellent.

——— "a hand or eye
"By Hilyard drawne, is worth a hiftory
"By a worfe painter made."
DR. DONNE.

[y] Whitgift was defcended from an ancient family in Yorkfhire, refident at Whitgift, a town in the Weft-riding of that county. He was educated under a paternal uncle, Robert Whitgift, abbot of a monaftery in Lincolnfhire, from whom he often heard the following prophetic declaration: "That they and their religion could not long continue; becaufe," faid he, "I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion "was founded by God:" And to fupport his opinion the abbot would allege that faying of our Saviour, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted fhall be rooted "out." *Matt.* xv. 13.

was educated in Cambridge[z]; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, where Mr. Bradford[a] the martyr was his tutor: from thence he was removed to Peter-House[b]; from thence to be Master of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Mastership of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain, and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years past looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishopric of Worcester, and (which was not an usual favour) forgiving him his first-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-president of the principality of Wales. And having for several years experimented his wisdom, his justice, and moderation in the manage of her affairs in both these places, she, in the twenty-sixth of her reign, made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and not long after, of her Privy Council; and trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and, in all his employments, was like Jehoiada that did good unto Israel.

These were the steps of this bishop's ascension to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to speak Mr. Camden's very words, in his "Annals,") "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and "his

[z] He was first admitted of Queen's College. He afterward removed to Pembroke-Hall, the Master of that College at that time being Bishop Ridley.

[a] As holy a man as any who lived in his time and learned also." Of him see "Fox's Book "of Martyrs," and "Fuller's Abel redivivus," p. 179.

[b] Dr. Whitgift was the great restorer of order and discipline in the university. In 1562 he was appointed Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, the salary of the professorship being, on account of his extraordinary merit, augmented from twenty marks to twenty pounds. He did not continue Master of Pembroke-Hall above three months, being appointed Master of Trinity College, July 4, 1567, on the death of Dr. Beaumont. To this good prelate has been applied what was said of the Roman Fabius:

"Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem:
"Ergo postq; magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

Fuller tells us, that Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters, than the hands of all the privy counsellors besides. (*Ch. Hist. B. X. p.* 218.)

"his painful labours to the good of his church." And yet in this place he met with many oppositions in the regulation of church affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remissness[c] of Bishop Grindal (his immediate predecessor), the activity of the Non-conformists, and their chief assistant the Earl of Leicester; and indeed by too many others of the like sacrilegious principles. With these he was to encounter; and tho' he wanted neither courage nor a good cause, yet he foresaw, that without a great measure of the Queen's favour, it was impossible to stand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred insinuations, such as St. Paul to Agrippa ("Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest"), he wrought himself into so great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious use of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him were such, that she called him *her little black husband*[d], and called *his servants her servants;* and she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endea-

 vours

[c] Rather, according to Strype, "By reason of his suspension or sequestration which he lay "under (together with the Queen's displeasure) for some years when the ecclesiastical affairs "were managed by certain Civilians." During the latter part of his life Archbishop Grindal was confined to his house, and sequestered for a non-compliance with the directions of the Queen, when she ordered him to forbid the exercises and prophecies which were then much practised by the Puritans. He became totally blind in 1582. The resignation of his archbishoprie being frequently urged by her Majesty was delayed from time to time, until broken down with infirmity he died July 6, 1583, aged 63 years.——Though he has been blamed for holding the reins too loose in respect to the Puritans, and for his slackness in the government of the affairs of the church, yet this has been considered as too severe a charge. Hollingshead says of him, "That he was so studious, that his book was his bride, and his study his "bride-chamber, wherein he spent both his eye-sight, his strength, and his health."—In fact, he was a person of mild manners, and of singular moderation, and very unwilling to have recourse to extremities. Hence the Puritans claimed him as their own, though in reality no one was ever more sincerely attached to the Church of England.

[d] Whitgift's name gave occasion to the Queen to make a descant upon him, expressive of her regard, calling him "her White Gift." Mr. Hugh Broughton styled him "Archbishop "Lucodore;" and with the same allusion the following lines were written:——

"Quod paci, Whitgifte, faves studiisq; *bonorum,*
"Det tibi pacis amans *candida dona* Deus."

And

vours for the church's and for her good, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to truſt him with the very ſecrets of her ſoul, and to make him her confeſſor, of which ſhe gave many fair teſtimonies; and of which one was, "That ſhe would never "eat fleſh[e] in Lent, without obtaining a licenſe from her little black huſ- "band:" And would often ſay, "ſhe pitied him becauſe ſhe truſted him, and "had eaſed herſelf by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his "ſhoulders, which, ſhe was certain, he managed with prudence and piety."

I ſhall not keep myſelf within the promiſed rules of brevity in this account of his intereſt with her Majeſty, and her care of the church's rights, if in this digreſſion I ſhould enlarge to particulars; and therefore my deſire is, that one example may ſerve for a teſtimony of both. And that the reader may the better underſtand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made archbiſhop, there paſſed an act[f] or acts of Parliament, intending the better preſervation of church-lands, by recalling a power which was veſted in others to ſell or leaſe them, by lodging and truſting the future care and protection of them only in the crown; and amongſt many that made a bad uſe of this power or truſt of the Queen's, the Earl of Leiceſter[g] was one; and the good biſhop having by his intereſt with her Majeſty put a ſtop to the Earl's ſacrilegious deſigns, they two fell to an open oppoſition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the biſhop made a ſudden and ſeaſonable return to her Majeſty (for he found her alone), and ſpake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpoſe[h]:——

"I beſeech

And a ſcholar at Oxford compoſed this epitaph upon him:——

"Candida dona tibi, Whitegyfte, ſunt nomen et omen.
"Nomen habes niveis nunc inſcriptum ergo lapillis,
"Et ſtola pro meritis redditur alba tuis."

[e] Licenſes were granted at that time by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury for a man to eat fleſh and white meats, even during his whole life; but with this proviſo, "he do it ſoberly "and frugally, cautiouſly, and avoiding public ſcandal as much as might be."

[f] 1 Eliz. cap. 19.

[g] This nobleman profeſſed a great deſire of unity in the church, and yet was an earneſt patron of Cartwright and others of the Puritan ſtrain. He preferred Cartwright to the maſterſhip of his hoſpital, founded by him at Warwick. *(Strype.)*

[h] This animated ſpeech was delivered before the Queen in 1578, when Whitgift was Biſhop of Worceſter.

"I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with patience, and to believe that "your's and the church's ſafety are dearer to me than my life, but my con-"ſcience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, "and tell you, that princes are deputed nurſing fathers of the church, and "owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you ſhould be ſo "much as paſſive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I ſhould "behold it without horror and deteſtation; or ſhould forbear to tell your "Majeſty of the ſin and danger. And though you and myſelf are born in "an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's "lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that "you will but firſt conſider, and then you will believe there are ſuch ſins "as profaneneſs and ſacrilege: for if there were not, they could not have "names in holy writ; and particularly in the New Teſtament. And I "beſeech you to conſider, that though our Saviour ſaid, 'He judged no "'man;' and to teſtify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance be-"twixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery, "yet in this point of the church's rights, he was ſo zealous, that he made "himſelf both the accuſer and the judge, and the executioner to puniſh "theſe ſins; witneſſed, in that he himſelf made the whip to drive the pro-"faners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, "and drove them out of it. And conſider, that it was St. Paul that ſaid "to thoſe Chriſtians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet, "'Thou that abhorreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?' ſuppoſing, I "think, ſacrilege to be the greater ſin. This may occaſion your Majeſty "to conſider, that there is ſuch a ſin as ſacrilege; and to incline you to "prevent the curſe that will follow it: I beſeech you alſo to conſider, that "Conſtantine[i] the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and Helena[k] his mother; that "King Edgar[l], and Edward the Confeſſor[m], and indeed many others of

 "your

[i] See "Ant. Univerſ. Hiſtory," Vol. XV. p. 564, 569. "Hooker's Works," Vol. III. p. 248, Oxford edit. 1793.

[k] "Ant. Univerſ. Hiſt." Vol. II. p. 406.

[l] See "Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory," Vol. I. p. 185.

[m] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 227, 229.

" your predeceſſors, and many private Chriſtians, have alſo given to God " and to his church much land, and many immunities, which they might " have given to thoſe of their own families, and did not, but gave them as " an abſolute right and ſacrifice to God: And with theſe immunities and " lands they have entailed a curſe upon the alienators of them; God pre- " vent your Majeſty from being liable to that curſe.

" And to make you that are truſted with their preſervation the better to " underſtand the danger of it, I beſeech you, forget not that, beſides theſe " curſes, the church's land and power have been alſo endeavoured to be " preſerved, as far as human reaſon, and the law of this nation, have been " able to preſerve them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred obligation on the " conſciences of the princes of this realm. For they that conſult Magna " Charta ſhall find, that as all your predeceſſors were at their coronation, " ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the nobility and biſhops then preſent, " and in the preſence of God, and in his ſtead to him that anointed you, " *to maintain the church lands, and the rights belonging to it*[n]; and this teſti- " fied openly at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then " lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern ſtatutes " have denounced a curſe upon thoſe that break Magna Charta. And now " what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the laſt great " day, either by your Majeſty or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently " violated, I know not.

" And therefore, good Madam, let not the late lord's exceptions againſt " the failings of ſome few clergymen prevail with you to puniſh poſterity " for the errors of this preſent age; let particular men ſuffer for their par- " ticular errors, but let God and his church have their right: And though I " pretend not to prophefy, yet I beg poſterity to take notice of what is " already become viſible in many families; That church-land, added to an " ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and " ſecretly conſumed both: or like the eagle that ſtole a coal from the altar, " and thereby ſet her neſt on fire, which conſumed both her young eagles, " and

[n] The firſt Article of Magna Charta is " Que les Egliſes de Engleterre ſeront franches et " aient les dreitures franches, et enterinés, et pleniéres."

" and herſelf that ſtole it[o]. And, though I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproach-
" fully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the
" church's rights, added to the vaſt treaſure left him by his father, hath
" been conceived to bring an unavoidable conſumption upon both, not-
" withſtanding all his diligence to preſerve it.

" And conſider, that after the violation of thoſe laws, to which he had
" ſworn in Magna Charta, God did ſo far deny him his reſtraining grace,
" that he fell into greater ſins than I am willing to mention. Madam,
" religion is the foundation and cement of human ſocieties; and when
" they that ſerve at God's altar ſhall be expoſed to poverty, then religion
" itſelf will be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible; as you may
" already

[o] This beautiful apologue is taken with ſome alterations from " Æſop's Fable of the Fox and the Eagle."—Appoſite to this paſſage are the remarks in a very ſcarce and curious tract, written by Mr. Ephraim Udall, and entitled " Noli me tangere," *London*, 1642. " And it is " a thing to be thought on, that many antient families (as ſome intelligent men have obſerved) " who inherited the lands of their anceſtors, *longâ ſeri deductâ a majoribus*, when they took in " ſome of the ſpoiles made in tithes and glebe by the ſtatute of diſſolution, their poſſeſſions " quickly ſpued out the old poſſeſſors of them as a loathſome thing, the bread of God " proving as the bread of deceit, gravell in their teeth; and the portion of God's mini- " ſters becoming like antimony or ſome ſuch poyſon, that dranke into the ſtomacke pro- " vokes ſuch a nauceous abhorrence in it, that it never reſts till it hath emptied itſelf both of " the poyſon that troubles it, and of whatſoever elſe before lay quietly and inoffenſively " therein. I could therefore wiſh that all our gentry would preſerve their inheritances with- " out ruin to their poſterity, would beware they bring not any ſpoiles of the church into " their houſes, leſt they be ſpoyled by them: for they are like the eagle's feathers by which " the Ægyptians in their hieroglyphicks ſignifie *pernitioſa potentia*; for they are ſaid to con- " ſume all feathers among which they are mingled, as Pierius relateth of them. And to pre- " ſerve them from this ſin, *that they would have a tablet hang up alwaies in the dining-roome* " *where they ordinarily take their repaſt, in which ſhould be drawne an altar with fleſh and fire on* " *it for ſacrifice, with an eagle ready to take wing, having in her talons a piece of fleſh with a burn-* " *ing coale at it, and ſomething beſide it, and higher than the altar a tall tree with an eagle's neſt in it,* " *and the heads of her young ones diſcovered above the neſt, and the neſt flaming with a light fire about* " *them, with this inſcription over the altar,* NOLI ME TANGERE NE TE ET TUOS PERDAM. *For* " *things belonging to the altar will certainly prove a ſnare to devourers of them.*"—(Page 32). This ſubject is fully diſcuſſed in Dr. South's twelve ſermons, printed in 1692, p. 339, 345; and by Sir Henry Spelman, in " The Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege, diſcovered by Examples of Scripture, of Heathens, and of Chriſtians, from the Beginning of the World, continually to this Day."

" already obſerve in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And there-
" fore, as you are by a late act or acts entruſted with a great power to
" preſerve or waſte the church's lands; yet diſpoſe of them for Jeſus' ſake
" as the donors intended: Let neither falſehood nor flattery beguile you to
" do otherwiſe, and put a ſtop, I beſeech you, to the approaching ruins of
" God's church, as you expect comfort at the laſt great day; for kings
" muſt be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainneſs, my moſt dear So-
" vereign, and let me beg to be ſtill continued in your favour, and the
" Lord ſtill continue you in his."

The Queen's patient hearing this affectionate ſpeech, her future care to preſerve the church's rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair teſtimony, that he made her's and the church's good, the chiefeſt of his cares, and that ſhe alſo thought ſo. And of this, there were ſuch daily teſtimonies given, as begot betwixt them ſo mutual a joy and confidence, that they ſeemed born to believe and do good to each other; ſhe not doubting his piety to be more than all his oppoſers, which were many, and thoſe powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefeſt of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wiſdom, as thoſe dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he ſaw ſome flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour toward all men that oppoſed him, eſpecially the Earl of Leiceſter: ſo that God ſeemed ſtill to keep him in her favour, that he might preſerve the remaining church lands and immunities from ſacrilegious alienations. And this good man deſerved all the honour and power with which ſhe truſted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: He eaſed her of all her church-cares by his wiſe manage of them[p]; he gave her faithful and prudent counſels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then moſt frequently with her, and her aſſiſtant at her private devotions; to be the greateſt comfort of her ſoul upon her death-bed; to be preſent at the expiration of her laſt

[p] Mr. Hooker gave this character of Whitgift. " He always governed with that moderation, which uſeth by patience to ſuppreſs boldneſs, and to make them conquer that ſuffer; " which I think well ſuited with his poeſy or motto, VINCIT QUI PATITUR." *(Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 25.)*

laſt breath, and to behold the cloſing of thoſe eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this alſo be added, that he was her chief mourner at her ſad funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy proclaimer, that King James (her peaceful ſucceſſor) was heir to the crown.

Let me beg of my reader, that he allow me to ſay a little, and but a little more of this good biſhop, and I ſhall then preſently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, becauſe I would haſten, I will mention but one part of the biſhop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large alms-houſe near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a maſter and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he viſited ſo often, that he knew their names and diſpoſitions, and was ſo truly humbled, that he called them brothers and ſiſters: And whenever the Queen deſcended to that lowlineſs to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth[q] (which was very often), he would uſually the next day ſhew the like lowlineſs to his poor brothers and ſiſters at Croyden[r], and dine with them at his hoſpital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built alſo a fair free-ſchool, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the maſter and ſcholars; which gave juſt occaſion for Boyſe Siſi, then ambaſſador for the French King, and reſident here, at the biſhop's death, to ſay, "The biſhop had publiſhed many learned books, but "a free-ſchool to train up youth, and an hoſpital to lodge and maintain aged "and poor people, were the beſt evidences of Chriſtian learning that a bi-"ſhop could leave to poſterity[s]." This good biſhop lived to ſee King James

[q] Archbiſhop Grindal fell ſo ſoon under the diſpleaſure of Queen Elizabeth, the very year after his tranſlation from York to Canterbury, that it is probable ſhe never honoured him with any viſit at Croyden. (*Progreſſes of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 65.*)

Sir George Paul informs us, that Archbiſhop Whitgift entertained the Queen every year at one of his houſes, ſo long as he was archbiſhop, and ſome years twice or thrice; where all things were performed in ſo ſeemly an order, that ſhe went thence always exceedingly well pleaſed: And beſides many public and gracious favours done unto him, ſhe would ſalute him and bid him farewel by the name of *black huſband*, calling alſo his men *her ſervants*, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and pains. (*Life of Whitgift, p.* 103.)

[r] The Archbiſhop's moſt noble foundation of his hoſpital, free-ſchool, and chapel at Croyden, was finiſhed in 1594.

[s] "Profecto hoſpitale ad ſublevandam paupertatem et ſchola ad inſtruendam juventutem "ſunt optimi libri, quos archiepiſcopus conſcribere potuit." (*Paul's Life of Whitgift, p.* 111.)

James ſettled in peace, and then fell ſick at Lambeth[t]; of which the King having notice, went to viſit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, the King aſſured him, " He had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence " and virtues, which were ſo uſeful for the church, that he would earneſtly " beg his life of God." To which he replied, " Pro eccleſia Dei; pro ec- " cleſia Dei[u]:" which were the laſt words he ever ſpake; therein teſtifying, that as in his life, ſo at his death, his chiefeſt care was of God's church.

This John Whitgift was made archbiſhop in the year 1583. In which buſy place he continued twenty years and ſome months; and in which time you

[t] He was at court the firſt Sunday in Lent, when, being ſeized with a paralytic ſtroke that deprived him of his ſpeech, he was firſt carried to the Lord Treaſurer's chamber, and then conveyed to Lambeth. " On Tueſday," ſays Strype, " he had the honour of a viſit from the " King, who, out of a ſenſe of the great need he ſhould have of him at this particular juncture " (now he had laid ſuch a ſcheme for reformation), told him he would pray to God for his " life, and if he could obtain it, he ſhould think it one of the greateſt temporal bleſſings that " could be given him in his kingdom."

[u] "Thus died this great prelate, full of years, and full of honour, actuated to the laſt moment of his life with that zeal which animated the illuſtrious Father Paul, when upon his death-bed, to breathe out his laſt prayer for the ſafety of his country, in theſe memorable words, " Eſto perpetua." Yet it has been affirmed, that this diſtinguiſhed ornament of the Reformation exerted himſelf againſt the Puritans with ſo *unfeeling* a hand, and ſo far *beyond his legal power*, that upon the Queen's demiſe he began to be *terribly frighted* at the approach of King James's firſt Parliament, and *it is probable enough his apprehenſions haſtened his death.*" *(Preface to the firſt Edition of the Confeſſionals.)*——Let it be remembered that he was 73 years of age at the time of his demiſe, ſo that it may not be thought quite ſo probable that he died of a fright. His laſt words, as related by Strype, certainly countenance a different opinion, " Et nunc, " Domine, exaltata eſt anima mea, quod in eo tempore ſuccubui, quando mallem epiſco- " patûs mei reddere rationem quam inter homines exercere." My ſoul is lifted up, that I " die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my biſhopric than any longer " to exerciſe it among men." To him we may ſurely apply what was ſaid of Auguſtine: " O " virum ad totius eccleſiæ publicam utilitatem natum, factum, datumq; divinitus." Whitgift " ſtrove," ſays Wilſon, in his 'Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of James I.' " to prevail over " the Puritans with *ſweetneſs and gentleneſs;* and died in David's fulneſs of days, leaving a " name, like a ſweet perfume, behind him."——" He was a man born for the benefit of his " country and good of his church, wherein he ruled with ſuch moderation, as he continued " in his prince's favour all his life, ſuppreſſing ſuch new ſects as in his time began to riſe, " as by his learned work written by him againſt ſuch ſchiſms does appear." *(Stow.)*

you may believe, he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, "Vincit, qui patitur;" i. e. "He conquers that endures." And he made it good Many of his many trials were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of Leicester, who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a faction of Nonconformists to oppose him; especially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; some time contemporary with the bishop in Cambridge, and of the same college[w], of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was bishop, was Master: in which place there began some emulations (the particulars I forbear), and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was most faulty, if his expulsion out of the university can incline you to it.

And in this discontent, long before the earl's death (which was 1588) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cherisher of the party that were for the Geneva church-government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances; (especially that called the "Admonition to the

 "Parlia-

[w] Cartwright was excluded from his fellowship of Trinity College for breaking a statute of that college, in not taking holy orders upon him in due time. (*Strype's Whitgift, p.* 47.)—— He was Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity in 1569. This dignity he enjoyed a short time, being suspended for maintaining dangerous tenets concerning the government and discipline of the Church. He was highly esteemed among the Presbyterians, having received an invitation to be Divinity Professor, along with Mr. Travers, in the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland. A signal proof of his opposition to the customs and usages established in the church is given by Sir George Paul, in his "Life of Whitgift," p. 11.——"Upon a Sunday Dr. "Whitgift, the Master of Trinity College, being from home, Mr. Cartwright, with some of "his adherents, made three sermons in that one day, wherein they so vehemently inveighed, "amongst other ceremonies of our church, against the surplice, as those of Trinity College "were so moved herewith, that at evening prayer they cast off their surplices, though against "the statutes of the house, and were all placed in the chapel without surplice, three only ex-"cepted. By reason of which stirs, both that private college was greatly distracted, and the "whole university much perplexed and troubled."——Of the controversy between Archbishop Whitgift and Mr. Cartwright, the latter of whom objected to the liturgy and to the form and manner of cathedral service, and particularly "to the tossing the Psalms from one side to "the other, like tennis balls;" for thus he denominates the practice of choral and antiphonal singing. (*See Sir John Hawkins's History of Music, Vol. III. p.* 491, 492.)

When the Nonconformists were undetermined which of them should undertake to answer "Whitgift's Reply," Mr. Cartwright was chosen for that employment by lot.

"Parliament) which laſt he cauſed to be printed; to which the doctor made an anſwer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the doctor having rejoined to his reply (however Mr. Cartwright would not be ſatisfied), he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cauſe with moſt charity and reaſon.

After ſome years the doctor being preferred to the ſee, firſt of Worceſter, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his ſhare of trouble and impriſonment (for ſetting up new preſbyteries in divers places againſt the eſtabliſhed order), having received from the archbiſhop many perſonal favours, retired himſelf to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became maſter of an hoſpital, and lived quietly and grew rich; and where the archbiſhop gave him a licenſe to preach[x], upon promiſe not to meddle with controverſies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promiſe he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the archbiſhop ſurviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other[y].

And

[x] According to Strype, it is not ſo certain that the archbiſhop did grant to Cartwright a licenſe to preach. At leaſt it appears that in 1585 he refuſed to give it. "I am content and "ready to be at peace with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conſcience and "duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better perſuaded "of his conformity." *(Letter of Whitgift to the Earl of Leiceſter, July* 17, 1585.)

[y] And thus ſhould all controverſies end, or rather, if there muſt be controverſies, thus ſhould they commence, and be conducted with mutual charity and mutual forbearance. If truth and not victory be the object of purſuit, why ſhould the topic of debate be canvaſſed with animoſity or perſonal invective? Thomas Cartwright, the archbiſhop's old antagoniſt, was alive in 1601, and grew rich at his hoſpital at Warwick, preaching at the chapel there, ſaith my author, very temperately according to the promiſe made by him to the archbiſhop. Which mildneſs of his ſome aſcribed to his old age and more experience. But the latter end of next year he deceaſed, out-lived little above two months by the Archbiſhop, who yet was much his elder in years. And now at the end of Cartwright's life to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man (Sir H. Yelverton) writes of ſome of his laſt words:——"*That he ſeriouſly lamented the unneceſſary troubles he had cauſed in the "Church, by the ſchiſm he had been the great fomenter of, and wiſhed to begin his life again, that he "might teſtify to the world the diſlike he had of his former ways:*" and in this opinion he died. *(Strype's Life of Whitgift, p.* 554.)

And now after this long digreſſion, made for the information of my reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we ſhall find him as deeply engaged in a controverſy with Walter Travers[z], a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himſelf; and of which, I ſhall proceed to give this following account.

And firſt this, that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at reſt, and had been a great while, yet there was ſprung up a new generation of reſtleſs men, that by company and clamours became poſſeſſed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themſelves, but could not; men that were become poſitive in aſſerting, "that a Papiſt cannot be ſaved;" inſomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the biſhop that preached her funeral ſermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Biſhop of Peterborough[a]) was reviled for not being poſitive for her damna-

 tion

[z] Walter Travers, formerly Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, was called by Fuller, "the Neck," as Cartwright was termed by him "the Head, of the Preſbyterian party." They were intimate friends and joint preachers to the Engliſh Factory at Antwerp. When Travers came into England, he was appointed chaplain to Lord Burghley, through whoſe influence he was made Lecturer at the Temple. He is the ſuppoſed author of the book "De Diſciplinâ Eccleſiaſticâ," written in Latin againſt the government of the Church of England, and containing the ground and model of the Puritan diſcipline. Archbiſhop Whitgift, in a letter to the Queen, to whom Travers was recommended as a proper perſon to be choſen Maſter of the Temple, on the death of Father Alvy, deſcribes him as "one of the chief and principal authors of diſſenſion in the church, a contemner of the book of prayers and other orders by authority eſtabliſhed; an earneſt ſeeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the miniſtry at all, or elſe ordered beyond the ſeas not according to the form in this Church of England uſed." Mr. Travers was ordained at Antwerp, May, 8, 1578, by Cartwright, Villers, and others, the heads of a congregation there.

[a] Dr. Richard Howland, Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, and the fourth Biſhop of Peterborough, died in 1600. It does not appear that he was the preacher on this occaſion.

Gunton, in his "Hiſtory of the Church of Peterborough," page 73, &c. has given a circumſtantial account of the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots, on Tueſday Auguſt 1, 1587, ſix months after her death, for ſhe was beheaded in the caſtle of Fotheringay, February 8, in that year. He relates that the Biſhop of Lincoln (Wickham) preached out of the 39th Pſalm, 5, 6, 7. *Lord, let me know my end and the number of my days, &c.* In the prayer, when he gave thanks for ſuch as were tranſlated out of this vale of miſery, he uſed theſe words:—*Let us give thanks for*

tion. And besides this boldness of their becoming gods, so far as to set limits to his mercies, there was not only "Martin Mar-prelate[b]," but other venomous

for the happy dissolution of the high and mighty Princess Mary, late Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, of whose life and death at this time I have not much to say, because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other. I will not enter into judgment further; but, because it hath been signified to me that she trusted to be saved by the blood of Christ, we must hope well of her salvation: "For," as Father Luther was wont to say, "many one that liveth a Papist, dieth a Protestant." In the discourse of his text, he only dealt with general doctrine of the vanity of all flesh.

In the Supplement subjoined to "Gunton's History," page 331, the subject of the sermon is resumed——"Bishop Morton, in his 'Protestant Appeal,' l. IV. c. 1. hath given the best "account I meet with of that passage (which in the 'Apology of the Roman Church' is "taken out of 'Martin Mar-Prelate') in the Bishop of Lincoln's Sermon at her (the Queen of "Scots) funeral, which made so great noise among factious people, who reported that *he "prayed his soul and the souls of all there present might be with the soul of the Queen deceased.* But the "truth of the story, he says, is this, that the reverend bishop now mentioned, understanding "how that great and honourable personage in the last act of her life renounced all presumption "of her own inherent righteousness, and wholly affianced her soul unto Christ, in belief to be "justified only by his satisfactory justice, did therefore conceive hope of her salvation by virtue of that cordial prescribed by the holy apostle, viz. *that where sin aboundeth, the grace of "God doth superabound.* Which the apostle hath ministered for the comfort of every Christian, who, erring by ignorance, shall (by sincere repentance, especially for all known sins) depart from this mortal life, having the heel or end of it shod with this preparation of the "gospel of peace: not of the new Romish, but of the old Catholic faith, which is the faith of "all Protestants. And this consideration of that our preacher cannot but now worthily condemn the Apologists of partial prejudice, who chose rather to be informed concerning that "sermon by (as they confess) a reproachful traducer and libeller, than (which they might easily "have done) by testimony of a thousand temperate and indifferent hearers then present."

[b] In 1588 many libels, full of low scurrility, and petulant satire, were published against the bishops. They were principally written by a society of men, assuming the name of "Martin "Mar-Prelate." They appeared under various titles, as "Diotrephes;" "the Minerals;" "The Epistle to the Confocation House;" "Have ye any Work for a Cooper?" in answer to what Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, had written in vindication of the bishops and church of England; "More Work for a Cooper," &c. &c. The authors of these publications were John Penry, a Welshman, John Udal, and other ministers.

John Penry, or John ap Henry, was in 1593 arraigned at the King's Bench, Westminster, upon the statute of the 23 Eliz. c. 2. made *against seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen*, and soon after executed hastily, being brought in an afternoon out of the King's Bench prison:

venomous books daily printed and dispersed; books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver divines disdained them an answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till Tom Nash[c] appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing, satirical, merry pen, which he employed to discover the absurdities of those blind, malicious, senseless pamphlets, and sermons as senseless as they. Nash's answers being like his books, which bore these titles, "*An Almond for A Parrot*;" *A Fig for my Godson*; "*Come crack me this* "*Nut*," and the like; so that his merry wit made such a discovery of their absurdities,

prison, in Southwark into St. Thomas Waterings, a place of execution; on that side the river Thames, and there hanged. *(Strype.)*

We are informed by Dr. Heylin in his "History of the Presbyterians," that the men who assumed this name of "Martin Mar-Prelate" called the archbishop "Pope of Lambeth;" "the Canterbury Caiaphas;" "Esau;" "a monstrous Antichristian Pope." The Bishops were named "Petty Popes," "Petty Antichrists," "Incarnate Devils," &c. whilst the inferior clergy were "Popish Priests," "Monks," "Ale-hunters," &c.

What effects were produced by these writings we learn from "Brightman upon the Reve-"lation," p. 149. "There was," says he "one that called himself by the name of 'Martin "'Mar-Prelate,' who set forth books wherein he dealt somewhat roundly with the angel, i. e. "the Bishops of the Church of England. How were those bitter jests of his favoured among "the people? how willingly, greedily, and with what great mirth were they every where en-"tertained? There is no man so rude and unskilful, but that pondering that time in his mind "would say thus to himself, and that not without cause, *Truly the Lord hath poured out contempt* "*upon Princes; those that honour him doth he honour, and those that despise him shall be despised. He* "*hath made our priests contemptible to the whole people, because they have broken their covenant.*"

[c] Mr. Thomas Nash, a man of a facetious and sarcastic disposition, was the author of numerous tracts to which he gave quaint names, as "*the Apology of Pierce Penniless*; or, *Strange* "*News*," &c.—"*Have with you to Saffron Walden*:—*Pappe with a Hatchet*; *alias*, *a Fig for my* "*Godson*; or, *Cracke me this Nutt*; or, *a Country Cuffe*, *that is*, *a sound Box of the Ear for the* "*Idiot Martin to hold his Peace*; *written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog*." He wrote with great pleasantry and wit against a set of men, who at that time boldly pretended to prognostications and astronomical predictions.

"——————————Ridiculum acri
"Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res." HOR.

From the various tracts written by Nash, the commentators on Shakespear have happily elucidated and explained several obscure passages of their great poet.

abſurdities, as (which is ſtrange) he put a greater ſtop to theſe malicious pamphlets, than a much wiſer man had been able.

And now the reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Maſter of the Temple, this Walter Travers was lecturer there for the evening ſermons, which he preached with great approbation, eſpecially of the younger gentlemen of that ſociety, and for the moſt part approved by Mr. Hooker himſelf, in the midſt of their oppoſitions. For he continued lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameleſs life. But he had taken orders by the Preſbyters in Antwerp[d], and if in any thing he was tranſported, it was in an extreme deſire to ſet up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correſpondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva[e], and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefeſt aſſiſtants to Mr. Cartwright in this deſign.

Mr. Travers had alſo a particular hope to ſet up this government in the Temple, and to that end uſed his endeavours to be Maſter of it; and his being diſappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved ſome occaſion of his oppoſition of Mr. Hooker's ſermons publicly in the pulpit: Many of which were concerning the doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies of this church; and Mr. Hooker again publicly juſtified his doctrine againſt the other's exceptions: inſomuch, that as St. Paul withſtood St Peter to his face, ſo did they. For as one hath pleaſantly expreſſed it, "the forenoon "ſermons ſpeak Canterbury, and the afternoon's Geneva."

In theſe ſermons there was little of bitterneſs, but each party brought all the reaſons he was able to prove his adverſary's opinions erroneous. And thus

[d] The teſtimonial of his ordination at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, is inſerted in "Fuller's "Church Hiſtory," B. IX. p. 214.

[e] Strype has drawn a compariſon between theſe two rival preachers.—"Hooker was a "true man to the church as eſtabliſhed: Travers was not ſo. Hooker was for univerſal re-"demption, and taught the decrees of God concerning the ſalvation of mankind by Jeſus "Chriſt in more latitude: Travers was for the more rigid way, for abſolute excluſion of the "greateſt part of mankind from it, and to be ſhut up under a decree of reprobation and re-"jection. Theſe and other opinions cauſed different doctrines to be preached in the ſame "pulpit morning and afternoon."

thus it continued for a time till the oppoſitions became ſo high, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that place, that the prudent archbiſhop put a ſtop to Mr. Travers's preaching by a poſitive prohibition[f]; againſt which Mr. Travers appealed and petitioned[g] her Majeſty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſſiſting powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the archbiſhop, whom the Queen had entruſted with all church-power; and he had received ſo fair a teſtimony of Mr. Hooker's principles and of his learning and

[f] That prohibition was chiefly becauſe of his foreign ordination. Their different characters as preachers are thus delineated by Dr. Gauden:—"Mr. Travers was a more plauſible and "profitable preacher to vulgar auditors, as well as more popular, having much more of the "oratorian decoy, a pleaſing voice, a pathetic pronunciation, and an inſinuating faſhion or "geſture to captivate his auditors by his agreeable preſence, vigorous ſpeech, and graceful "activity; nor were his texts and matter uſually ill-choſen, or impertinently or dully handled, "upon practical heads and common places of divinity. Mr. Hooker was more profound and "the other more fluent: different gifts they had from the ſame ſpirit, for ſeveral uſes of the "church, to the ſame end of God's glory and ſouls' good, though in different ways of mini-"ſtration." (*Hooker's Life*, *p.* 30.)

According to Fuller, the manner of ſilencing Travers gave great offence. "For all the "congregation on a Sabbath in the afternoon were aſſembled together, their attention pre-"pared, the cloth, as I may ſay, and napkins were laid, yea the gueſts ſet, and their knives "drawn for their ſpiritual repaſt, when ſuddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up to the pulpit, "a ſorry fellow ſerved him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to "authority, the mild and conſtant ſubmiſſion whereunto won him reſpect with his adverſaries, "Mr. Travers calmly ſignified the ſame to the congregation, and requeſted them quietly to "depart to their chambers. Thus was our good Zaccheus (or rather Zacharias) ſtruck dumb "in the Temple, but not for infidelity; unpartial people accounting his fault at moſt but in-"diſcretion. Meantime his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him "preach ſhould ſo publicly prove abortive, and ſent ſermonleſs home) manifeſted in their va-"riety of paſſion, ſome grieving, ſome frowning, ſome murmuring, and the wiſeſt ſort, who "held their tongues, ſhaked their heads, as diſliking the managing of the matter." (*Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. IX. p.* 217.)—Upon his expulſion from the Temple he was appointed Provoſt of Trinity College in Dublin, at the inſtance of his old friend and fellow collegian Adam Loftus, Archbiſhop of Dublin. He afterward reſigned that office, and returned to England, where he lived many years in obſcurity, but with much quiet and contentment.

[g] "The Supplication made to the Council by Mr. Walter Travers" and "Mr. Hooker's "Anſwer to it, addreſſed to my Lord of Canterbury his Grace," are uſually printed with Mr. Hooker's works.

and moderation, that he withſtood all ſolicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleaſant to divers of his party, and the reaſonableneſs of it became at laſt to be ſo magnified by them and many others, as never to be anſwered: ſo that intending the biſhop's and Mr. Hooker's diſgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and ſcattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an anſwer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the archbiſhop; and it proved ſo full an anſwer, to have in it ſo much of clear reaſon, and writ with ſo much meekneſs and majeſty of ſtyle, that the biſhop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cauſe, and diſdained not earneſtly to beg his friendſhip; even a familiar friendſhip with a man of ſo much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers diſſented (all or moſt of which I have ſeen written), would prove at leaſt tedious; and therefore I ſhall impoſe upon my reader no more than two, which ſhall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the reſt.

Mr. Travers excepted againſt Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his ſermons he declared, "That the aſſurance of what we believe by the word of God "is not to us ſo certain, as that which we perceive by ſenſe." And Mr. Hooker confeſſeth he ſaid ſo, and endeavours to juſtify it by the reaſons following:

"Firſt: I taught that the things which God promiſes in his word are not "ſurer to us than that we touch handle or ſee: but are we ſo ſure and "certain of them? If we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes to "us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our ſenſible experience? for we "muſt be ſurer of the proof than of the things proved; otherwiſe it is no "proof. For example, how is it that many men looking upon the moon "at the ſame time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as "the other doth? But many believing one and the ſame promiſe have not "all the ſame fulneſs of perſuaſion. For how falleth it out, that men being "aſſured of any thing by ſenſe can be no ſurer of it than they are; when "as the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to "labour, ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpi-"ritual things may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?"

The

The ſermon that gave him the cauſe of this his juſtification makes the caſe more plain, by declaring, " that there is, beſides this certainty of evi-" dence, a certainty of adherence[h]." In which, having moſt excellently demonſtrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable uſe of it: " Comfortable," he ſays, " as to weak believers, who ſuppoſe " themſelves to be faithleſs, not to believe, when notwithſtanding they " have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and " worketh ſecretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the in-" ward teſtimony of it."

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a ſad ſenſe of his ſin; to one that, by a too ſevere judging of himſelf, concludes that he wants faith, becauſe he wants the comfortable aſſurance of it; and his anſwer will be, " Do not perſuade me, againſt my knowledge, againſt what " I find and feel in myſelf: I do not, I know I do not believe." (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) " Well then, to favour ſuch men a little in " their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that " they adhere not to God's promiſes, but are faithleſs and without belief. " But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confeſs they are. Do " they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We " know they do. Whence cometh this but from a ſecret love and liking, " that they have of thoſe things believed? For no man can love thoſe " things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think thoſe things " to be, which they ſhew they love, when they deſire to believe them; " then muſt it be, that, by deſiring to believe, they prove themſelves true " believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: " which argument all the ſubtilties of infernal powers will never be able to " diſſolve." This is an abridgment of part of the reaſons he gives for his juſtification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted againſt by Mr. Travers.

[h] The diſcourſe alluded to is entitled " A learned and comfortable Sermon of the Certainty " and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, eſpecially of the Prophet Habakkuk's Faith. Habak. " i. 4. Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, by admitting this Cogitation into his Mind, *The Law* " *doth fail*, did thereby ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever."

Mr. Hooker was alſo accuſed by Mr. Travers, for that he, in one of his ſermons[i], had declared, " That he doubted not but that God was merciful " to ſave many of our foreſathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, " for as much as they ſinned ignorantly[k] ;" and Mr. Hooker in his anſwer profeſſeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reaſons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth:

But firſt (becauſe Travers's argument againſt this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be ſaved becauſe they ſought to be juſtified by the merit of their works, and ſo overthrew the foundation of faith) he ſtates the queſtion about juſtification and works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to diſcover that way which natural men and ſome others have miſtaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlaſting happineſs: and having diſcovered the miſtaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlaſting life and bleſſedneſs is attainable. And theſe two ways he demonſtrates thus (they be his own words that follow): " That, the way " of nature; this, the way of grace: the end of that way ſalvation merited, " preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of men's works: their righteouſneſs a na- " tural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created " them in ſuch perfection. But the end of this way, ſalvation beſtowed " upon men as a gift: preſuppoſing not their righteouſneſs, but the for- " giveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, juſtification; their juſtification, not their " natural

[i] " A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the Foundation of Faith is over- " thrown. Habakkuk i. 4. *The Wicked doth compaſs about the Righteous; therefore perverſe " Judgment doth proceed.*"

[k] " Mr. Hooker affirmed the Church of Rome to be, though not a pure, ſound, and perfect church, yet a true one, in which the neceſſary and fundamental means of ſalvation are preſerved, but much diſeaſed and obſcured by ſuperſtitious ſuperſtructure, to the great danger of people's ſouls, and detriment, as well as diſhonour, of the Chriſtian religion, in its holy inſtitutions, morals, and myſteries. Mr. Travers, on the other ſide, earneſtly contended againſt the Church of Rome, as no church of Chriſt, but wholly a ſynagogue of Satan, and the ſeat of Antichriſt, denying ſalvation to all thoſe that held communion with her. Thus charity in the one, and zeal in the other, both Chriſtian and commendable graces, carried them far from each other." (*Dr. Gauden's Life of Hooker, p.* 30.)

"natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for not doing, and un-
"feigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not doers are accepted, which is
"their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of
"the number of loſt children; their election, a mediator in whom to be
"elect: this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, ſuppoſing their
"miſery for whom he vouchſafed to die, and make himſelf a mediator."

And he alſo declareth, "there is no meritorious cauſe for our juſtification
"but Chriſt; no effectual but his mercy;" and ſays alſo, "we deny the
"grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the be-
"nefit of his paſſion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit
"everlaſting life, or can be worthy of it." This belief, he declareth, is to deſtroy the very eſſence of our juſtification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. "Yet nevertheleſs," and for this he was accuſed, "conſidering how many virtuous and juſt men, how
"many ſaints and martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongſt
"which this was one, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends
"by voluntary puniſhments which they laid upon themſelves:" becauſe by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by conſequence overthrow the merits of Chriſt, ſhall man be ſo bold as to write on their graves, "Such men are damned, there is for them no ſalvation?" St. Auſtin ſays, "Errare poſſum, hæreticus eſſe nolo." And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in it, how is it poſſible that any man ſhould hope to be ſaved? give me a pope or a cardinal[1], whom great afflictions have made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love of Chriſt and his goſpel; whoſe eyes are willingly open to ſee the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and becauſe

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[1] "I do not," ſays Mr. Hooker, "propoſe to you a pope with the neck of an emperor "under his feet, a cardinal riding his horſe to the bridle in the blood of ſaints, but a pope or "a cardinal ſorrowful, penitent, diſrobed, ſtript not only of uſurped power, but alſo delivered "and recalled from error and Antichriſt; converted, and lying proſtrate at the foot of "Chriſt; and ſhall I think that Chriſt will ſpurn at him; and ſhall I croſs and gainſay the "merciful promiſes of God, generally made unto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a "pope or a cardinal." (*Hooker's Works, Vol. III. p.* 485.)

he wanteth, trembleth, and is discouraged, and yet can say, "Lord, cleanse "me from all my secret sins!" Shall I think, because of this, or a like error, such men touch not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? if they do, wherefore should I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Christ to save them? No, I will not be afraid to say to such a one, "You err in "your opinion, but be of good comfort; you have to do with a merciful "God, who will make the best of that little which you hold well, and not "with a captious sophister, who gathered the worst out of every thing in "which you are mistaken."

But it will be said, "The admittance of merit, in any degree, over-"throweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all "possibility of salvation." (And now Mr Hooker's own words follow):

"What though they hold the truth sincerely in all other parts of Christ-"tian faith? although they have in some measure all the virtues and graces "of the spirit? although they have all other tokens of God's children in "them? although they be far from having any proud opinion that they "shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? although the only thing "that troubleth and molesteth them be a little too much dejection, some-"what too great a fear, arising from an erroneous conceit, that God will "require a worthiness in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in "themselves? although they be not obstinate in this opinion? although "they be willing, and would be glad to forsake it, if any one reason were "brought sufficient to disprove it? although the only cause why they do "not forsake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it "might be disproved? although the cause why the ignorance in this point "is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and "are not to remove it? Let me die," says Mr. Hooker, "if it be ever "proved, that simply an error doth exclude a pope or cardinal in such a "case utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I must confess, that if it be "an error to think that God may be merciful to save men, even when they "err, my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this "error, I would never wish to speak or to live."

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they prove useful to

my

my reader; as alſo for that the anſwers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reaſon, and equal charity. Other exceptions were alſo made againſt him, as, " that he prayed before, and not after his ſermons; " that in his prayers he named biſhops; that he kneeled both when he " prayed, and when he received the ſacrament; and," ſays Mr. Hooker, in his defence, " other exceptions ſo like theſe, as but to name, I ſhould " have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of ſo great a controverſy, a ſharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occaſion of exceptions, to which his anſwer was, " Your next argument conſiſts of " railing and of reaſons; to your railing I ſay nothing; to your reaſons I " ſay what follows." And I am glad of this fair occaſion, to teſtify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchleſs man. Doubtleſs, if Almighty God had bleſt the diſſenters from the ceremonies and diſcipline of this church, with a like meaſure of wiſdom and humility, inſtead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kiſſed each other; then peace and piety had flouriſhed in our nation, and this church and ſtate had been bleſt like " Jeruſalem, that is at unity with itſelf;" but that can never be expected, till God ſhall bleſs the common people with a belief, " that ſchiſm " is a ſin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and " that laws are not made for private men to diſpute, but to obey."

And this alſo may be worthy of noting, that theſe exceptions of Mr. Travers, againſt Mr Hooker, were the cauſe of his tranſcribing ſeveral of his ſermons, which we now ſee printed with his books; of his " Anſwer " to Mr Travers's Supplication;" and of his moſt learned and uſeful " Diſ- " courſe of Juſtification, of Faith, and Works;" and, by their tranſcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preſerved them from being loſt, as too many of his other matchleſs writings have been; and from theſe I have gathered many obſervations in this diſcourſe of his life.

After the publication of his " Anſwer to the Petition of Mr. Travers," Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the moſt learned and wiſe of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his church-diſcipline; inſomuch, that

that though Mr. Travers left the place[m], yet the ſeeds of diſcontent could not be rooted out of that ſociety, by the great reaſon, and as great meekneſs of this humble man: for though the chief benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppoſitions by thoſe of Mr. Travers's judgment; inſomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he deſigned to write a deliberate and ſober treatiſe on the church's power to make canons for the uſe of ceremonies, and by law to impoſe an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he propoſed to do in eight books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; intending therein to ſhew ſuch arguments as ſhould force an aſſent from all men, if reaſon delivered in ſweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it; and, that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface or epiſtle to the diſſenting brethren, wherein there were ſuch bowels of love, and ſuch a commixture of that love with reaſon, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon; than which none was ever more like this epiſtle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his ſtudies, Dr. Spencer, might after his death juſtly ſay, "What admirable height of learning and "depth of judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great "in all wiſe men's eyes except his own; with what gravity and majeſty of "ſpeech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly myſteries; whoſe eyes, in "the humility of his heart, were always caſt down to the ground; how "all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the ſpirit of "love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the dove, had wanted gall; "let thoſe, who knew him not in his perſon, judge by theſe living images "of his ſoul, his writings[n].

The

[m] It redounds much to the credit both of Cartwright and Travers, that in the evening of their lives they became more temperate and moderate in their conduct. There is no doubt but that many of the younger part of his audience were extremely attached to the perſon and doctrine of Travers. Hence they contracted an utter averſion to the Engliſh hierarchy, and thoſe of them who afterwards ſat in the Houſe of Commons diſcovered great partiality to the Puritans.

[n] See Dr. Spencer's Addreſs to the Reader, prefixed to the firſt editions of "Hooker's Ec-"cleſiaſtical Polity."

The foundation of thefe books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finifh what he had there defigned; and therefore folicited the archbifhop for a remove, to whom he fpake to this purpofe: "My "Lord, when I loft the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I "found fome degree of it in my quiet country parfonage; but I am weary "of the noife and oppofitions of this place, and indeed God and Nature "did not intend me for contentions, but for ftudy and quietnefs. And, my "Lord, my particular contefts here with Mr. Travers have proved the more "unpleafant to me, becaufe I believe him to be a good man; and that be-"lief hath occafioned me to examine mine own confcience concerning his "opinions; and, to fatisfy that, I have confulted the holy Scripture, and "other laws, both human and divine, whether the confcience of him, and "others of his judgment, ought to be fo far complied with us, as to alter "our frame of church-government, our manner of God's worfhip, our "praifing and praying to him, and our eftablifhed ceremonies, as often as "their tender confciences fhall require us. And, in this examination, I have "not only fatisfied myfelf; but have begun a treatife, in which I intend "the fatisfaction of others, by a demonftration of the reafonablenefs of our "laws of ecclefiaftical polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the "church's peace; and, fo as not to provoke your adverfary Mr. Cartwright, "nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine (but not mine enemy), God "knows this to be my meaning. To which end I have fearched many "books, and fpent many thoughtful hours; and, I hope, not in vain; for I "write to reafonable men. But, my Lord, I fhall never be able to finifh "what I have begun, unlefs I be removed into fome quiet country par-"fonage, where I may fee God's bleffings fpring out of my mother earth, "and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, "without difturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great "account, which all flefh muft at the laft great day give to the God of all "fpirits.

"This is my defign; and, as thefe are the defires of my heart, fo they "fhall, by God's affiftance, be the conftant endeavours of the uncertain "remainder of my life. And therefore, if your Grace can think me and my "poor labours worthy fuch a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what "I have begun; which is a bleffing I cannot hope for in this place."

About

About the time of this requeſt to the biſhop, the parſonage or rectory of Boſcum[o], in the dioceſe of Sarum, and ſix miles from that city, became void. The Biſhop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that ſee (which was three years betwixt the death of Biſhop Pierce[p], and Biſhop Caldwell's[q] admiſſion into it), the diſpoſal of that, and all benefices belonging to it during the time of this ſaid vacancy, came to be diſpoſed of by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and he preſented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was alſo in this ſaid year inſtituted (July 17) to be a minor prebendary of Saliſbury, the corps to it being Netherhavin, about ten miles from that city; which prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that church[r]. In this Boſcum he continued till he had finiſhed four of his eight propoſed books of "The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity," and theſe were entered into the regiſter-book in Stationer's-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface which he directs to them that ſeek (as they term it) the reformation of the laws and orders eccleſiaſtical in the church of England; of which books I ſhall yet ſay nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finiſh the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boſcum he finiſhed and publiſhed but only the firſt four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He

[o] Boſcombe R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Ameſbury, in the archdeaconry of Sarum.

[p] Or rather as it is in the earlier editions, "Betwixt the tranſlation of Biſhop Pierce to the "ſee of York, and Biſhop Caldwell's admiſſion into it. Dr. John Pierce, biſhop of Saliſbury, "was elected to the ſee of York, Feb. 1, 1588, confirmed Feb. 17, and enthroniſed by proxy "the 27th of the ſame month. He died Sept. 28, 1594." *(Le Neve.)*

[q] John Caldwell, M. D. of St. John's College in Cambridge, was in 1591 promoted from the deanery of Rocheſter to the ſee of Saliſbury, after it had been vacant three years. He died in 1596.

[r] He became prebendary of Netherhavin, and ſubdean of the church of Saliſbury, on the reſignation of Dr. Nicholas Balguy, who ſucceeded him in the Maſterſhip of the Temple.—This prebend remains charged in the King's books at 28l. 19s. 2d. and has moreover the patronage of the vicarage of Netherhavin. The preferment for which it was intended to qualify him was a reſidentiaryſhip of Sarum, the canons reſidentiary of that church, ſix in number, being elected out of the prebendaries.

He left Boſcum in the year 1595, by a ſurrender of it into the hands of Biſhop Caldwell, and he preſented Benjamin Ruſſel, who was inſtituted into it, the 23d of June in the ſame year.

The parſonage of Biſhop's-Borne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbiſhop's gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the rector of it, was made Biſhop of Norwich; by which means the power of preſenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and ſhe preſented Richard Hooker, whom ſhe loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July, 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I ſhall only give ſome account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parſonage of Borne, and then give a reſt both to myſelf and my reader.

His firſt four books and large epiſtle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boſcum, anno 1594[s]. Next I am to tell, that at the end of

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[s] Mr. Hooker ſent a written copy of his book, in 1592, to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, accompanied with the following letter:

"My duty in moſt humble manner remembered. So it is, my good Lord, that manitimes "affection cauſes thoſe things to be don, which would rather be forborn, if men were wholly "guided by judgment. Albeit, therefore, I muſt needs in reaſon condemne myſelf of over-"great boldneſs for thus preſuming to offer to your Lordſhip's view my poor and ſlender la-"bours: yet, becauſe that which moves me ſo to do is a dutiful affection ſome way to mani-"feſt itſelf; and glad to take this preſent occaſion for want of other more worthy your "Lordſhip's acceptation. I am in that behalf not out of hope your Lordſhip's wiſdom wil "the eaſier pardon my fault; the rather becauſe myſelf am perſuaded that my faultineſs had "been greater, if theſe writings concerning the nobler part of thoſe laws under which we live "ſhould not have craved, with the firſt, your Lordſhip's favorable approbation. Whoſe pain-"ful care to uphold all laws, and eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical, hath by the ſpace of ſo many "years ſo apparently ſhewed itſelf: that if we who enjoy the benefit thereof did diſſemble it, "they, whoſe malice doth moſt envy our good therein, would convince our unthankfulneſs. "Wherefore ſubmitting both myſelf, and theſe my ſimple doings into your Lordſhip's moſt "wiſe judgment, I here humbly take my leave. London, the 13th of March, 1592.

"Your Lordſhip's moſt willingly at commandment,

"RICHARD HOOKER."

(From Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Appendix, B. IV. N. XVII.)

these four books, there is printed this advertisement to the reader:—"I "have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first "four books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the "whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in "question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider "apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concern-"ing particulars; in the mean time the reader is requested to mend the "printer's errors, as noted underneath."

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he chose none) the archbishop. These books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their just fame spread itself into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years past, that Cardinal Allen[t], or learned Dr. Stapleton[u] (both Englishmen, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were first printed), meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an author that

[t] See "Collier's Eccles. Hist." Vol. II. p. 643. "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. p. 268. and the inscription on Cardinal Allen's monument in the chapel of the English College at Rome. "Biograph. Brit." Vol. I. p. 80. [H.]

He was for some time fellow of Oriel College in Oxford, and Principal of St. Mary Hall. He displayed the most ardent zeal in defending the religion of his ancestors, left his country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and fled to France. Here he distinguished himself by taking under his protection the English refugees, many of whom he placed in two seminaries at Douay and Rheims. He was rewarded by Pope Sixtus V. with a cardinal's hat in 1587, with the title of Cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount. In 1589, he was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin in Brabant, and died about 1594. Pope Gregory XIII. entertained so high an opinion of him, that he introduced him to his cardinals with these words, "Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum."

[u] We learn from the letter of King, Bishop of Chichester, to Mr. Isaac Walton, that Dr. Stapleton was the person who named "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity" to Pope Clement VIII. Thomas Stapleton, D. D. descended from a noble and ancient family in the county of Sussex, left England on account of his religion, and retired into Flanders. He read lectures in divinity at Douay and afterward, at the express invitation of the King of Spain, filled the professor's chair at Louvain. He was much esteemed for his virtues and his learning, being classed second to Bellarmine in controversial skill. He was born in 1535, and died at Louvain in 1598. His works were printed at Paris in 1620, in four volumes folio. (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p.* 292.)

that both the reformed and the learned of their own church did so much magnify; and therefore caused them to be sent for; and after reading of them boasted to the Pope (which was then Clement the Eighth), "That "though he had lately said, he never met with an English book whose "writer deserved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a won-"der to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for "a poor obscure English priest had wrote four such books of laws and "church-polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble "majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they "had not met with any that exceeded him:" and this begot in the pope an earnest desire that Dr. Stapleton should bring the said four books, and, looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the first book; at the conclusion of which, the pope spake to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not "searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: This man indeed "deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for "there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they "shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his books; for at the first coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the King replied, "And I receive it with no less, that I "shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that man, "from whose books I have received such satisfaction: Indeed, my Lord, I "have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. "Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches[x], or church-"music[y], or the like, but especially of the sacraments[z], than I have had in "the reading particular large treatises written but of one of those subjects

 by

[x] "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 14.

[y] This subject is most excellently discussed in "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 38.

[z] "Eccles. Polit." B. v. Sect. 50.

" others, though very learned men: and, I obſerve, there is in Mr. " Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehenſive, clear mani- " feſtation of reaſon; and that backed with the authority of the Scripture, " the fathers, and ſchoolmen, and with all law both ſacred and civil. And " though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgot- " ten; but doubtleſs there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book the pic- " ture of a divine ſoul, ſuch pictures of truth and reaſon, and drawn in ſo " ſacred colours, that they ſhall never fade, but give an immortal memory " to the author." And it is ſo truly true, that the King thought what he ſpake; that, as the moſt learned of the nation have and ſtill do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; ſo he alſo did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his ſon, our late King Charles I[a]. ever mention him but with the ſame reverence, enjoining his ſon, our now gracious King, to be ſtudious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned antiquary Mr. Camden, in his " Annals of Eliz." mentioning the death, the modeſty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wiſhed, " that, for the honour of " this and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the univerſal " language[b]." Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary, and forſaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long ſince begun, and lately finiſhed, by the happy pen of Dr. Earle[c], now Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, of whom I may juſtly ſay (and let it not

[a] Charles I. a few days before his death, recommended to his deareſt children the diligent reading of the firſt five books of " The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity," even next the Bible, as an excellent means to ſatisfy private ſcruples, and ſettle the public peace of this church and kingdom. And in his will he bequeathed to the Princeſs Elizabeth, his daughter, the Sermons of Biſhop Andrews; Archbiſhop Laud's book againſt Fiſher, which, he ſaid, would ground her againſt Popery; and Mr. Hooker's " Eccleſiaſtical Polity."

[b] " Richardi Hooker ſcripta ante annos multos vidi, et quanquam in ſermone mihi non percognito facile cognovi exactiſſimi operis utilitatem: quæ tanta eſt, ut hunc quoque librum verti, ſed in Latinum ſermonem, pervelim. *(Grotius in Epiſtolâ ad Mer. Caſaubonum.)*——— See alſo " Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England," Vol. II. p. 619.

[c] Dr. John Earle, author of " The World diſplayed; or, ſeveral Eſſays, conſiſting of the va- " rious Characters and Paſſions of its principal Inhabitants," was firſt of Chriſt Church, and then

not offend him, becauſe it is ſuch a truth as ought not to be concealed from poſterity, or thoſe that now live and yet know him not), that ſince Mr. Hooker died none have lived whom God hath bleſſed with more innocent wiſdom, more ſanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive, temper; ſo that this excellent perſon ſeems to be only like himſelf, and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy

then of Merton College in Oxford, tutor to Prince Charles, afterward Charles I. In 1643, he was elected one of the Aſſembly of Divines; but he refuſed to act, and loſt all he had for his loyalty. After the Reſtoration, he was Dean of Weſtminſter, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Worceſter and Saliſbury. He was one of the coadjutors in the reviſal of our preſent Liturgy. He is deſcribed as a very genteel man, yet religious and a contemner of the world: In his youth an excellent orator and poet; in his advanced years an admirable preacher and diſputant. By the teſtimony of an enemy, he was a perſon of the ſweeteſt and moſt obliging good-nature that lived in his age; and none ſince has lived whom God hath bleſſed with more innocent wiſdom, more ſanctified learning, or a more pious, primitive, peaceable temper. He attended the Court when they retired to Oxford from the plague, and died Nov. 17, 1665, and was buried on the 25th of that month, near the high altar in Merton College church. His body was attended to the grave from the public ſchools by a herald of arms, and the principal perſons of the Court and Univerſity. (See the Preface to "The World Diſplayed.")

His "Tranſlation of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity" was never printed. That of the ικων βασιλικη was publiſhed under the title of "Imago Regis Caroli Primi, in Ærumnis et Solitudine. Hag. Com. 1649." 12mo.

"Ille qui Hookeri ingentis 'Politiam Eccleſiaſticam,'
"Ille qui Caroli Martyris Εικοια βασιλικη,
"(Volumen quo poſt Apocalypſin divinius nullum)
"Legavit orbi ſic Latinè redditas,
"Ut uterque unius fidei defenſor
"Patriam adhuc retineat majeſtatem.
"Si nomen ejus necdum tibi ſuboleat, lector,
"Nomen ejus, ut unguenta pretioſa,
"JOHANNES EARLE, EBORACENSIS," &c.

(Inſcription on Dr. Earle's monument in the choir and chancel of Merton College.)

In "The Muſæ Anglicanæ," Vol. I. p. 286, is a copy of elegant Latin verſes written by him, on the return of the Prince from Spain; and we are informed by Lord Clarendon, that he was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and Engliſh.

happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little iſland[d].

There might be many more and juſt occaſions taken to ſpeak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and haſten to an account of his Chriſtian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his cuſtomary rules of mortification and ſelf-denial; was much in faſting, frequent in meditation and prayers; enjoying thoſe bleſſed returns, which only men of ſtrict lives feel and know; and of which men of looſe and godleſs lives cannot be made ſenſible; for ſpiritual things are ſpiritually diſcerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendſhip was much ſought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia[e], then one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and ſometimes a paſtor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had

[d] This character of Mr. Hooker's Works is confirmed by the approbation of our beſt writers. Is it not then painful to read in a modern author, whoſe learning and critical knowledge deſerve every encomium, of 'A *malicious* obſervation of Hooker, *and as remote from truth as it is from charity?*' (See "Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield," p. 132.)

[e] Dr. Hadrian Saravia, the boſom friend of Whitgift, as well as of Mr. Hooker, was of Spaniſh extraction, and born at Hedin in Artois. He was a miniſter of the reformed church in Holland. Having taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Leyden, he was afterward incorporated in the ſame faculty at Oxford. He came into England in 1587 or 1588. He had firſt removed himſelf to Jerſey, where he taught a ſchool, and preached to his countrymen, who were exiles there. He was appointed maſter of the free-grammar ſchool at Southampton, where Mr. Nicholas Fuller, the moſt renowned critic of his age, received his education principally under him. By him alſo was educated Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State to King James I. who ſaid of him, "that he was a miniſter of ſtate fit to ſerve the greateſt prince "in Europe." He was ſucceſſively promoted to a prebend in the churches of Glouceſter, Canterbury, and Weſtminſter. He diſplayed great learning in defence of Epiſcopacy againſt Beza, when that divine, interfering with the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Scotland, adviſed the chancellor of that kingdom to abrogate Epiſcopacy. He lived to the age of eighty-two years, and died in 1612. In the inſcription on his monument, in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, he is ſtyled, "Vir in omni literarum genere eximius, pietate, probitate, gravitate, et ſuavitate "morum inſignis, ſcriptis clarus, fide plenus, et bonis operibus dives valde." All his works were publiſhed in one volume, in 1611. He muſt have acquired a very conſiderable knowledge of the Engliſh language, as we find his name in the firſt claſs of thoſe whom King James I. employed to make a new and more correct verſion of the Bible. (See "Strype's Life of Whitgift," p. 422.)

had ſtudied and well conſidered the controverted points concerning Epiſcopacy and ſacrilege, and in England had a juſt occaſion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren miniſters in the Low Countries, which was excepted againſt by Theodore Beza and others; againſt whoſe exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, eſpecially of three; one of the Degrees of Miniſters[f], and of the Biſhops' Superiority above the Preſbytery; a ſecond againſt Sacrilege; and a third of Chriſtian Obedience to Princes; the laſt being occaſioned by Gretzerus[g], the Jeſuit. And it is obſervable, that when in a time of church tumults, Beza gave his reaſons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatiſe of a threefold Epiſcopacy (which he calls divine, human, and Satanical): this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Biſhop Whitgift, made ſuch an early diſcovery of their intentions, that he had almoſt as ſoon anſwered that treatiſe as it became public; and therein diſcovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themſelves in point of Epiſcopacy. But of theſe tracts it will not concern me to ſay more, than that they were moſt of them dedicated to his and the church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the archbiſhop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker alſo appeared firſt to the world, in the publication of his four books of "Eccleſiaſtical Polity."

This friendſhip being ſought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune ſo like him as to be engaged

[f] 1. "De diverſis Graditus Miniſtrorum Evangelii." 2. "De Honore Præſulibus et Preſbyteris debito." 3. "De Sacrilegis et Sacrilegorum Pœnis." The firſt of theſe tracts was written againſt thoſe of the church of Geneva, who maintained the doctrine of the equality of the miniſters of the goſpel and a ruling preſbytery. This and the other tracts were alſo printed in Engliſh under theſe titles, viz. 1. "Of the divers Degrees of the Miniſters of the Goſpel." 2. "Of the Honour which is due unto Prieſts and Prelates of the Church." 3. "Of Sacrilege, and the Puniſhment thereof." 4. "Of Chriſtian Obedience to Princes."

[g] A moſt learned Jeſuit, and the ableſt controvertiſt of his age. He read a courſe of theological lectures with great reputation at Ingolſtad, where he died in 1625, aged 63 years. His works were publiſhed at Ratiſbon, in 1734, in thirteen volumes folio. (*Dictionaire Hiſtorique.*)

engaged againſt Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment in a controverſy too like Dr. Saravia's; ſo that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Biſhop's-Borne, theſe two excellent perſons began a holy friendſhip, increaſing daily to ſo high and mutual affections, that their two wills ſeemed to be but one and the ſame; and deſigns both for the glory of God, and peace of the church; ſtill aſſiſting and improving each other's virtues, and the deſired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, becauſe it gives a foundation to ſome things that follow.

This parſonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parſonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and ſanctity of his life became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (ſcholars eſpecially) went purpoſely to ſee the man, whoſe life and learning were ſo much admired; and alas! as our Saviour ſaid of St. John Baptiſt, "What went they out to ſee! a man clothed in purple and "fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obſcure harmleſs man; a man in poor clothes, his loins uſually girt in a coarſe gown, or canonical coat; of a mean ſtature, and ſtooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his ſoul: his body worn out, not with age, but ſtudy and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and ſedentary life[h]. And to this true character of his perſon, let me add this of his diſpoſition and behaviour; God and nature bleſſed him with ſo bleſſed a baſhfulneſs, that as in his younger days his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance; ſo neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of ſo mild and humble a nature, that his poor pariſh-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the ſame time[i]; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet

[h] When Juſtus Lipſius had acquired great literary reputation, not by his elegant Latinity, for his ſtyle is full of affectation, novelty, and conceit, but by his vaſt and extenſive erudition, ſeveral foreigners came from diſtant countries to viſit him. They were much diſappointed at ſeeing him a plain man, mean in his behaviour, dreſs, and converſation. *(Bayle's Dictionary.)*

[i] The ſtrongeſt adamant that draws our reverence and love to this excellent man is his humility. He baniſhed from his boſom every appearance of that pride which is invariably inconſiſtent with the virtuous character.

yet he was ſhort or weak-ſighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modeſty and dim-ſight were ſome of the reaſons why he truſted Mrs. Churchman to chooſe a wife for him.

This pariſh-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to ſee the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper (who ſtill lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for ſhewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place and his ſaid monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and obſervations of his humility and holineſs: in all which diſcourſes the poor man was ſtill more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning; but it ſo fell out, that about the ſaid third or fourth year of the Long Parliament[k], the preſent parſon of Borne was ſequeſtered (you may gueſs why), and a Genevian miniſter put into his good living. This, and other like ſequeſtrations, made the clerk expreſs himſelf in a wonder, and ſay, "They "had ſequeſtered ſo many good men, that he doubted if his good maſter, "Mr. Hooker, had lived till now, they would have ſequeſtered him too."

It was not long before this intruding miniſter had made a party in and about the ſaid pariſh, that were deſirous to receive the ſacrament as in Geneva; to which end the day was appointed for a ſelect company, and forms and ſtools ſet about the altar or communion-table for them to ſit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of ſome joint-ſtools, which the miniſter ſent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cuſhions. When the clerk ſaw them begin to ſit down, he began to wonder; but the miniſter bade him "ceaſe wondering and lock the church-"door:" To whom he replied, "Pray, take you the keys and lock me out,

 "I will

[k] "Of thoſe *great* and *wiſe* men who compoſed this Parliament of 1641, and greater and wiſer, or more of them at one time, England never ſaw." *(Preface to the firſt edition of the Confeſſional, p. xxviii.)*

Thus has the author of "The Confeſſional" characteriſed that Parliament, which involved three enſlaved kingdoms in confuſion and ruin; which, under the vain pretence of reformation, deſtroyed one of the beſt of our kings, and laid waſte the church of England; that church, which under God hath been long the ornament and ſupport of the Proteſtant religion.

"I will never come more into this church; for all men will ſay my Maſter "Hooker was a good man and a good ſcholar, and I am ſure it was not "uſed to be thus in his days:" And report ſays, the old man went preſently home and died; I do not ſay died immediately, but within a few days after[1].

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himſelf, continuing our obſervations of his Chriſtian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleaſures and allurements of earth; poſſeſſing his ſoul in a virtuous quietneſs, which he maintained by conſtant ſtudy, prayers, and meditations: his uſe was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechiſe after the ſecond leſſon in the evening prayer. His ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with a grave zeal and a humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place[m], to prevent his imagination from wandering; inſomuch that he ſeemed to ſtudy as he ſpake. The deſign of his ſermons (as indeed of all his diſcourſes) was to ſhew reaſons for what he ſpake; and with theſe reaſons ſuch a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and perſuade, than frighten men into piety: ſtudying not ſo much for matter (which he never wanted), as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſub-diſtinctions to amuſe his hearers and get glory to himſelf, but glory only

[1] Our biographer has lamented that it was not in his power to recover the name of Mr. Hooker's worthy ſchoolmaſter. That of his grateful pariſh-clerk was Sampſon Horton. It appears from the pariſh-regiſter of Biſhop's-Borne, that "Sampſon Horton was buried the "9th of May 1648, an aged man, who had bin clarke to this piſh, by his own relation, "threeſcore yeares."

[m] "He was," ſays Dr. Gauden, "ſo confident of the ſacred power and efficacy of the matter he delivered, that he thought it needed no great ſetting off: This made him ſo far from any life in his looks, geſtures, or pronunciations, that he preached like a *living* but ſcarce *moving* ſtatue, his eyes ſteadfaſtly fixed on the ſame place from the beginning to the end of his ſermons, his body unmoved, his tone much to an uniſon, and very unemphatic; ſo variouſly doth God diſtribute his gifts." (*Life of Hooker, p.* 30.)

only to God. Which intention, he would often ſay, " was as diſcernible " in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty[n]."

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week to give notice of it to his pariſhioners, perſuading them both to faſt, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but eſpecially for the laſt; ſaying often, " that the life of a pious clergyman was viſible rhetoric, and " ſo convincing that the moſt godleſs men (though they would not deny " themſelves the enjoyment of their preſent luſts) did yet ſecretly wiſh " themſelves like thoſe of the ſtricteſt lives." And to what he perſuaded others, he added his own example of faſting and prayer; and did uſually, every Ember-week, take from the pariſh-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himſelf up for many hours; and did the like moſt Fridays, and other days of faſting.

[n] In the printed ſermons of Mr. Hooker there are, indeed, many inſtances of juſt and animated application. In his diſcourſe on " the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," there are few who will not admire the following paſſage: " It was not the meaning of our " Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father, keep them in thy name*, that we ſhould be careleſs to " keep ourſelves. To our own ſafety our own ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for " ever and ever be that mother's child whoſe faith hath made him the child of God. The " earth may ſhake, the pillars of the world may tremble under us; the countenance of heaven " may be appalled, the ſun may loſe his light, the moon her beauty, the ſtars their glory; " but concerning the man that truſted in God, if the fire have proclaimed itſelf unable as " much as to ſinge a hair of his head; if lions, beaſts ravenous by nature and keen with hun- " ger, being ſet to devour, have, as it were, religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the faithful " man; what is there in the world that ſhall change his heart, overthrow his faith, alter his " affection towards God or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make " a ſeparation between me and my God? *Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine,* " *or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? No: I am perſuaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor* " *perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor* " *principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other* " *creature, ſhall ever prevail ſo far over me: I know in whom I have believed;* I am not ignorant " whoſe precious blood hath been ſhed for me; I have a ſhepherd full of kindneſs, full of care, " and full of power; unto him I commit myſelf; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence " on the tables of my heart. *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that* " *thy faith fail not:* therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a jewel, " unto the end; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I ſhall keep it."

He would by no means omit the cuſtomary time of proceſſion, perſuading all, both rich and poor, if they deſired the preſervation of love, and their pariſh-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and moſt did ſo: in which perambulation, he would uſually expreſs more pleaſant diſcourſe than at other times, and would then always drop ſome loving and facetious obſervations to be remembered againſt the next year, eſpecially by the boys and young people; ſtill inclining them, and all his preſent pariſhioners, to meekneſs and mutual kindneſſes and love; becauſe "Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities[o]."

He was diligent to inquire who of his pariſh were ſick, or any way diſtreſſed, and would often viſit them unſent for; ſuppoſing that the fitteſt time to diſcover thoſe errors, to which health and proſperity had blinded them. And having, by pious reaſons and prayers, moulded them into holy reſolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confeſſion, and bewailing their ſins, with purpoſe to forſake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a ſtrengthening of thoſe holy reſolutions; and as a ſeal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their ſouls, in caſe that preſent ſickneſs did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the ſick, ſo he was diligent to prevent law-ſuits, ſtill urging his pariſhioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, becauſe (as St. John ſays) "he that lives in love lives in God; for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love, conſtantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was *to watch and pray*, and always keep themſelves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a ſtrengthening of their graces. This was his advice, and at his entrance or departure out of any houſe, he would uſually ſpeak to the whole family,

[o] It was among the injunctions given by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, on the abolition of thoſe ceremonies, which attended the Popiſh proceſſions, "that the pariſhioners ſhall once in the "year, at the time accuſtomed, with the curate and the ſubſtantial men of the pariſh, *walke* "*about the pariſhes* as they were accuſtomed, and at their returne to the church make their com-"mon prayers." Many reaſons concur to evince the neceſſity of reviving the cuſtom of holding theſe perambulations frequently and regularly. See in "The Book of Homilies," p. 314 (Oxford edit. 1683), an exhortation to be ſpoken to ſuch pariſhes where they uſe their perambulation in Rogation-week for the overſight of the bounds and limits of their town.

family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did by walking with him in all holiness and humility; making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blessed with this true recordation, because he that praises Richard Hooker praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues[p].

This was his constant behaviour at Borne; thus as Enoch, so he, walked with God; thus did he tread in the footsteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed Jesus, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, holy man. His was a slander parallel to that of chaste Susannah's by the wicked elders; or that against St. Athanasius[q], as it is recorded in his life (for that holy man had heretical enemies), and which this

[p] We may surely apply to this good man these lines of Mr. Cowley:

"————his harmless life
"Does with substantial blessedness abound,
"And the soft wings of Peace cover him round."

The Editor of this Work reads this description with inexpressible satisfaction, as it recalls to his remembrance the character of a much-honoured parent, who, in the instances of duty here related, literally trod in the steps of good Mr. Hooker; a bright example of primœval piety, adorning all the acquirements of a scholar and a divine with an unblemished sanctity of life and manners.

"Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus." HOR.

[q] "Scribit Theodoretus (lib. I. cap. 3.) subornatam ab Arianis mulierem postulâsse Athanasium illati sibi per vim stupri, cum illum suscepisset hospitio. Cum igitur mulier in Athanasium suas querelas proponeret, progrediens Timotheus Presbyter, *Egone*, ait, *mulier, vim tibi et stuprum intuli?* Tum ipsa credens esse sibi ignotum Athanasium, convitiis sacerdotem excipiens, rem præfractius asseverat, et judicum fidem contra Timotheum obtestatur ad sceleris vindictam." (*Notitia Conciliorum, &c. p.* 123.)

this age calls trepanning[r]. The particulars need not a repetition; and that it was falſe needs no other teſtimony than the public puniſhment of his accuſers, and their open confeſſion of his innocency. It was ſaid, that the accuſation was contrived by a diſſenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's ſake, which he was not able to anſwer; and his name hath been told me; but I have not ſo much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a ſcandal on him to poſterity; I ſhall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accuſation, and kept it ſecret to himſelf for many months; and, being a helpleſs man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave ſuch an accidental occaſion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwyn Sandys and George Cranmer, who were ſo ſenſible of their tutor's ſufferings, that they gave themſelves no reſt, till by their diſquiſitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accuſers did confeſs they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpoſe, "The Lord forgive them; and the Lord bleſs you for this "comfortable news[s]. Now I have a juſt occaſion to ſay with Solomon, "*Friends*

[r] "——as if one eye
"Upon the other were a ſpy;"
"That to *trepan* the one to think
"The other blind, both ſtrove to blink."
(HUDIBRAS, *Part III. Canto. II. ver.* 356.)
"*Trepann'd* the ſtate, and fac'd it down,
"With plots and projects of our own." *Ib. ver.* 832.

[s] "A certain lewd woman came to his chamber, and ſolicited his charity under this cogent argument, 'that if he ſhould deny her, ſhe would lay baſe attempts to his charge;' and by this means, at ſeveral times, ſhe had gotten money from him; until at laſt Providence was pleaſed to concern itſelf for the righting wronged innocence. It ſo fell out, that this woman came to him when his two dear friends Mr. Sandys and Mr. Cranmer were with him: wondering to ſee ſuch a perſon come with ſo much confidence, they inquired of their tutor the occaſion of it, who in a little time tells them the truth of the whole abuſe. Upon which they contrive a way to be preſent in his chamber, where they might hear the whole diſcourſe at her next coming.

" *Friends are born for the days of adverſity*, and ſuch you have proved to " me: and to my God I ſay, as did the mother of St. John Baptiſt, *Thus* " *hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take* " *away my reproach among men.* And, O my God, neither my life, nor " my reputation are ſafe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didſt take " care of me when I yet hanged on my mother's breaſt. Bleſſed are they " that put their truſt in thee, O Lord; for when falſe witneſſes were riſen " up againſt me; when ſhame was ready to cover my face; when I was " bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the day " long; when my nights were reſtleſs, and my ſleeps broken with a fear " worſe than death; when my ſoul thirſted for a deliverance, as the hart " panteth for the rivers of water; then thou, Lord, didſt hear my com- " plaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as " long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy " mercies, who didſt not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O " bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee; and no proſperity ſhall make " me forget thoſe days of ſorrows, or to perform thoſe vows that I have " made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction; for with ſuch ſacri- " fices thou, O God, art well pleaſed; and I will pay them."

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is obſervable, that as the invitation to this ſlander was his meek behaviour and dove-like ſimplicity, for which he was remarkable; ſo his Chriſtian charity ought to be imitated. For though the ſpirit of revenge is ſo pleaſing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a ſupernatural grace, being indeed ſo deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the exceſſes of it (for men would not know moderation), Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but ſays, " Vengeance is mine:" and though this be ſaid by God himſelf, yet this revenge is ſo pleaſing, that man is hardly per-

coming. An opportunity ſoon offered, and the lewd woman perſiſting in her threats of laying ill things to his charge, if ſhe was denied what ſhe came for, money, his two friends ſtepped forth from behind the curtains to her confuſion and the ſhame of thoſe who had employed her in ſo vile an action; for his ſlanderers were puniſhed for this their vile attempt, who at their ſuffering ſhewed a penitent behaviour, and made an open confeſſion." (*Prince's Worthies, &c. p.* 396.)

perſuaded to ſubmit the manage of it to the time, and juſtice, and wiſdom of his Creator, but would haſten to be own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheleſs, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleaſing paſſion to the time and meaſure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his ſlanderers were to ſuffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and when that was denied him, his reply was, "That, however, he would faſt and pray, that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their puniſhment. And his prayers were ſo far returned into his own boſom, that the firſt was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confeſſion. And it is obſervable, that after this time he would often ſay to Dr. Saravia, "O with what quietneſs did I enjoy my ſoul, after I was free from the fears of my ſlander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my deſires of revenge[t]."

In the year 1600, and of his age forty-ſix, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a cold taken in his paſſage betwixt London and Graveſend, from the malignity of which, he was never recovered; for till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days and reſtleſs nights; but a ſubmiſſion to his will that makes the ſick man's bed eaſy, by giving reſt to his ſoul, made his very languiſhment comfortable; and yet all this time he was ſolicitous in his ſtudy, and ſaid often to Dr. Saravia (who ſaw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life;) "That he did not beg a long life of God, for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace[u];" which was his uſual expreſſion. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himſelf; and it is thought he haſtened his own death, by haſtening to give life to books. But

[t] "When an unworthy aſperſion was caſt on Mr. Hooker—(If Chriſt was daſht, ſhall Chriſtians eſcape in their journey to heaven?)—Mr. Travers being aſked of a private friend what he thought of the truth of the accuſation? "*In truth*," ſaid he, "*I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man*." A ſpeech which, coming from an adverſary, ſounds no leſs to the commendation of his charity who ſpoke it, than to the praiſe of his piety of whom it was ſpoken." *(Fuller.)*

[u] How different this from the application of the ſame words by Hugh Peters, and by an advocate for political reform in later times!

But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts, and resolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an aversenes to all food, insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still studied and wrote. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretel him, that his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst[x].

In this time of his sicknes, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which he having notice, his question was, "Are my books "and written papers safe?" and being answered that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me."

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends that were with him the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch, that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance,

[x] "The chamber where the good man meets his fate
"Is privileg'd beyond the common walk
"Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven.
"Fly, ye profane! if not, draw near with awe,
"Receive the blessing, and adore the chance
"That threw in this Bethesda your disease;
"If unrestor'd by this, despair your cure.

(YOUNG's *Night Thoughts.*)

pearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts: to which he replied, "That he was meditating the number and nature of angels[y], and "their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in "heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth!" After which words, he said, "I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I "have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dread-"ful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be "near: And though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared "him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to "him, and to all men; yet if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I "have done amiss, who can abide it? And, therefore, where I have failed, "Lord, shew mercy to me; for I plead not my righteousness, but the for-"giveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase a "pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it "not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I submit to it! Let not "mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!" With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber; dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words: "Good doctor, God "hath heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and he "is at peace with me; and from which blessed assurance, I feel that inward "joy which this world can neither give nor take from me." More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep[z].

And

[y] That Mr. Hooker in the full vigour of his understanding did lift up his eyes as it were from the footstool to the throne of God to consider the state of heavenly and divine creatures, see "Eccles. Polity," B. I. §. iv. "The subject which engaged Mr. Hooker's dying thoughts "ought constantly to engage our living ones; since in the prayer composed and delivered out "to his disciples by our Lord and Saviour, the obedience of the angels is proposed as the pat-"tern to be imitated by us, as the copy after which we should diligently write, *Thy will be "done on earth as it is in heaven.*" (*Bishop Horne's Sermons, Vol. IV. p.* 322.)

[z] He died Nov. 2, 1600. Thus the day of his death was noted by Archbishop Laud, in the title-page of his copy of "The Ecclesiastical Polity."

And here I draw his curtain, till with the moſt glorious company of the patriarchs and apoſtles, the moſt noble army of martyrs and confeſſors, this moſt learned, moſt humble, holy man, ſhall alſo awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Chriſtians ſhall be made partakers of. In the mean time, *Bleſs, O Lord! Lord, bleſs his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with ardent deſires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekneſs, his godly ſimplicity, and his Chriſtian moderation: for theſe are praiſe-worthy; theſe bring peace at the laſt! And let the labours of his life, his moſt excellent writings, be bleſſed with what he deſigned when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy church, and good will to mankind.* Amen, Amen.

APPENDIX

TO THE LIFE OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious ſearch ſatisfied myſelf, and, I hope, my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life; I am deſirous alſo to acquaint him with ſome obſervations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be ſpoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And firſt, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-ſeventh, if not in the forty-ſixth year of his age; which I mention, becauſe many have believed him to be more aged; but I have ſo examined it, as to be confident, I miſtake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Camden, who in his "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inſcription of his monument[a], ſet up at the charge of Sir William

[a] The following is an accurate copy of the inſcription on Mr Hooker's monument:——

SUNT MELIORA MIHI.

RICHARDUS HOOKER EXONIENSIS SCHOLARIS SOCIUSQ; COLLEGII CORP. XTII OXON: DEINDE LONDINIIS TEMPLI INTERIORIS IN SACRIS MAGISTER RECTORQ; HUJUS ECCLÆ. SCRIPSIT VIII LIBROS POLITIÆ ECCLESIASTICÆ ANGLICANÆ, QUORUM TRES DESIDERANTUR. OBIIT AN° DOM. MDC ÆTATIS SUÆ L. iij

POSUIT HOC PIISIMO VIRO MONUMENTUM AN°. DOM. MDCXXXIII. GULIELMUS COWPER ARMIGER IN CHRISTO JESU QUEM GENUIT PER EVANGELIUM. 1 *Cor. iv.* 15.

Sir

William Cooper in Borne church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is said to be anno 1603, but doubtless both are mistaken; for I have it attested under the hand of William Somner the archbishop's register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's will bears date October the 26th in anno 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following[b]. And this attested also, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice,

Sir William Cowper, who erected this monument, was the great grandfather of William, the first Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. He was created first a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterward a Baronet of England in 1641. He suffered imprisonment, the loss of his son, and other great calamities, for his fidelity to Charles I. He outlived all his troubles, residing at his castle of Hertford, and famed for his hospitality, charity, and other Christian virtues, often visiting his poor neighbours at their houses, and relieving them in private according to their necessities.

[b] The following is extracted from the registry of the archdeacon's court of Canterbury.

In the name of God Amen This sixe and twentieth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and sixe hundred I Richard Hooker of Bishopesborne though sicke in bodye yet sounde in minde thankes be unto allmightye God doe ordaine and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge First I bequeth my soule unto Allmightye God my creator hopinge assuredly of my salvation purchased thorough the death of Christ Jesus and my bodye to the earth to be buried at the discretion of mine executor Item I give and bequeth unto my daughter Alice Hooker one hundred pounds of lawfull Englishe money to be paide unto her at the daye of her marriage Item I give and bequeth unto my daughter Cicilye Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe money to be paid unto her at the daye of her marriage Item I give and bequethe unto my daughter Jane Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe money to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage Item I give unto my daughter Margaret Hooker one hundred pounds of lawful Englishe moneye to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage And if it shall happen any of my said daughters to departe this life before the daye of their said marriage then I will that her or their portion so dieinge shal be equally divided amonge her or their sisters survivinge Item I give and bequeth unto the poor of the pishe of Barha five pounds of lawful money to be paid unto them by mine executor Item I give unto the poore of the pishe of Bishopesborne fifteye shillings of lawfull Englishe money to be paid unto them by mine executor Item I give and bequeth three pounds of lawful Englishe money towards the buildinge and makeing of a newe and sufficient pulpett in the pishe church of

Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joane his wife his ſole executrix; and that by his inventory his eſtate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himſelf worth; and which was not got by his care, much leſs by the good houſewifery of his wife, but ſaved by his truſty ſervant Thomas Lane, that was wiſer than his maſter in getting money for him, and more frugal than his miſtreſs in keeping it: of which will I ſhall ſay no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have ſpoken, and ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, was one of the witneſſes to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, ſometime a ſchoolmaſter in Chicheſter, and both dead long ſince. Margaret, his youngeſt daughter, was married unto Ezekiel Clark, bachelor in divinity, and rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about ſixteen years paſt, and had a ſon Ezekiel, now living and in ſacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Suſſex; ſhe left alſo a daughter, with both whom I have ſpoken not many months paſt, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and theſe two atteſted unto me, that Richard Hooker, their grandfather, had a ſiſter, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For

of Bishopesborne The residue of goods and chattells whatsoever unbequethed my funeral debts and legacies discharged and paid I give unto Joane Hooker my welbeloved wife whom I ordaine and make sole executor of this my last will and testament And I ordaine and make my welbeloved father Mr. John Churchman and my assured good frende Mr. Edwin Sandes my overseers By me Richard Hooker Sealed and delivered in the presence of these whose names are subscribed Robert Rose Daniel Nichols Avery Cheston. ||.

Proved the third day of December 1600, before the Reverend James Bissel Clerk Surrate to Revd. George Newman Doctor of Laws Commissary General of the city and diocese of Canterbury by the oath of Joane Hooker widow the relict and sole executrix named in the said will, &c.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In^{y}	1092	9	2

Ex^{d} Wm. Cullen.

Thos. Backhouse, Registrar.

For his other two daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife ſhe was ſo unlike Jephtha's daughter, that ſhe ſtaid not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her ſecond marriage; for which doubtleſs ſhe would have found cauſe, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But ſhe is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his eſtate, his wife and his children: I am next to ſpeak of his books, concerning which I ſhall have a neceſſity of being longer, or ſhall neither do right to myſelf or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he propoſed eight books, and that his firſt four were printed anno 1594, and his fifth book firſt printed, and alone, anno 1597, and that he lived to finiſh the remaining three of the propoſed eight; but whether we have the laſt three as finiſhed by himſelf, is a juſt and material queſtion; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almoſt forty years paſt, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Biſhop Whitgift, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſent one of his chaplains to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her huſband; of which ſhe would not or could not give any account; and I have been told, that about three months after the biſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, and then by his procurement ſhe was to be examined by ſome of her Majeſty's Council, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the biſhop invited her to Lambeth; and, after ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſſed to him, "that one Mr. Chark[c], and another miniſter that dwelt near Canterbury,

[c] This could not be Mr. Ezekiel Chark, B. D. who married Margaret, the youngeſt daughter of Mr. Hooker. The perſon here meant was probably Mr. William Charke, a noted puritan, deprived of his fellowſhip at Peterhouſe in the univerſity of Cambridge, and baniſhed from the univerſity for having aſſerted in a Latin ſermon, preached at St. Mary's, Dec. 3, 1572, "that the ſtates of biſhops, archbiſhops, metropolitans (patriarchs), and laſtly of popes, were "introduced into the church by Satan; and that among the miniſters of the church one ought "not to be ſuperior to another." (*Strype's Whitgift, p.* 43.)

" terbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's " study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two " burnt and tore many of them, assuring her, that they were writings not " fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing more concerning them." Her lodging was then in King-street, in Westminster, where she was found next morning, dead in her bed, and her new husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare also, that Dr. John Spencer (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr. Hooker's college, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, and particularly in what concerned these books of Polity: This Dr. Spencer (the three first books being lost) had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. A fair testimony of this may appear by an epistle first and usually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight printed together in anno 1662, in which the publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker) with these two letters J. S. at the end of the said epistle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which epistle the reader may find these very words, which may give some authority to what I have here written.

" And though Mr. Hooker hastened his own death by hastening to give " life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these Benjamins, " these sons of his right hand, though to him they proved *Benonies*, sons of " pain and sorrow: but some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or " covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, " and their father dead, smothered them; and, by conveying the perfect co- " pies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts, dis- " membered into pieces: no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves " remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, " he might rightly have named them *Benonies*, the sons of sorrow; but " being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended " the

" the world ſhall ſee them as they are: the learned will find in them ſome " ſhadows and reſemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they " were with their brethren dedicated to the church for meſſengers of peace, " ſo, in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, " they may proſper in their work, and that, by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch " as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of " theſe our civil wars!

" J. S."

And next the reader may note, that this epiſtle of Dr. Spencer's was writ, and firſt printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expreſſed by the ſaid Dr. Spencer, ſince whoſe death it is now fifty years.

And I do profeſs, by the faith of a Chriſtian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and ſiſter to George Cranmer, of whom I have ſpoken) told me forty years ſince, in theſe, or in words to this purpoſe, " that her " huſband had made up or finiſhed Mr. Hooker's laſt three books; and " that upon her huſband's death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them " into her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any man, but be " by her delivered into the hands of the then archbiſhop of Canterbury, " which was Dr. Abbot, or unto Dr. King, Biſhop of London; and that " ſhe did as he enjoined her."

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers tranſcripts, and were to be found in ſeveral places, as namely, in Sir Thomas Bodlie's library, in that of Dr. Andrew's late Biſhop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and in the Biſhop of Armagh's, and in many others; and moſt of theſe pretended to be the author's own hand, being much diſagreeing; being, indeed, altered and diminiſhed, as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies or give authority to their corrupt deſigns; and, for proof of a part of this, take theſe following teſtimonies:

Dr. Barnard, ſometime chaplain to Dr. Uſher, late Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, hath declared in a late book, called "Clavi Trabales[d]," printed by Rich. Hodgkinſon, anno 1661, that, in his ſearch and examination of the ſaid biſhop's manuſcripts, he there found the three written books, which were the ſuppoſed ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, of Mr. Hooker's books of "Eccle-"ſiaſtical Polity;" and that, in the ſaid three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's), there are ſo many omiſſions that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cauſe many incoherencies; the omiſſions are by him ſet down at large in the ſaid printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to inſert this following ſhort part of them:

"Firſt, As there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, un-"leſs there were ſome firſt which moved all things, and continued unmove-"able; even ſo in politic ſocieties there muſt be ſome unpuniſhable, or elſe "no man ſhall ſuffer puniſhment; for, ſith puniſhments proceed always "from ſuperiors, to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice belongeth, which "adminiſtration muſt have neceſſarily a fountain that deriveth it to all "others, and receiveth not from any, becauſe otherwiſe the courſe of juſ-"tice ſhould go infinitely in a circle, every ſuperior having his ſuperior "without end, which cannot be, therefore, a well-ſpring; it followeth, "there is a ſupreme head of juſtice whereunto all are ſubject, but itſelf in "ſubjection to none. Which kind of pre-eminency if ſome ought to have "in a kingdom, who but the King ſhall have it? Kings, therefore, or no "man, can have lawful power to judge.

"If private men offend, there is the magiſtrate over them which judgeth; "if magiſtrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribu-"nal,

[d] Or, "Nails faſtened by ſome great Maſters of Aſſemblies," &c. publiſhed by Nich. Bernard, D. D. London, 1661. It is a collection made by Archbiſhop Uſher of tracts written by himſelf, Mr. Richard Hooker, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Adrian Saravia, &c. with a preface by Biſhop Sanderſon. This volume contains the Lord Primate's Original of Biſhops and Metropolitans; wherein he proves from Scripture, as alſo from the moſt ancient writings and monuments of the church, that they owe their original to no leſs authority than that of the apoſtles; ſo that there never was any Chriſtian church founded in the primitive times without biſhops: which diſcourſe was not then, nor perhaps ever will be, anſwered by thoſe of a contrary judgment. *(See Dr. Parr's Life of Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 41.)*

" nal, before which they ſhall appear; on earth they are not accountable to " any."——' Here,' ſays the doctor, ' it breaks off abruptly.'

And I have theſe words alſo atteſted under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips[e], a man of note for his uſeful books:

" I will make oath if I ſhall be required, that Dr. Sanderſon the late Bi- " ſhop of Lincoln did, a little before his death, affirm to me he had ſeen a " manuſcript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard " Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the king or ſupreme " governors being accountable to the people; this I will make oath that " that good man atteſted to me. FABIAN PHILIPS."

So that there appears to be both omiſſions and additions in the ſaid laſt three printed books; and this may probably be one reaſon why Dr. Sanderſon, the ſaid learned biſhop (whoſe writings are ſo highly and juſtly valued), gave a ſtrict charge near the time of his death, or in his laſt will, " that nothing of his, that was not already printed, ſhould be printed after " his death."

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as alſo that our late King Charles (the martyr for the church) valued them the ſecond of all books, teſtified by his commending them to the reading of his ſon Charles[f], that now is our gracious

 King;

[e] A barriſter of ſome eminence in his profeſſion, and noted for his loyalty. From his diligent ſearch of records and papers depoſited in the public offices, he obtained a moſt extenſive knowledge of the hiſtory and antiquities of England. When the bill for taking away the tenures was depending in Parliament, he publiſhed a work highly valued by profeſſional readers; " Tenenda non Tollenda; or, the Neceſſity of preſerving Tenures in Capite," &c. London, 1660. 4to.——He was alſo the author of " Veritas Inconcuſſa; or, a moſt certain Truth aſ- " ſerted, that King Charles I. was no Man of Blood, but a Martyr for his People." He concludes this tract with the following extraordinary paſſage: " The Seavern, Thames, Trent, and " Humber, four of the greateſt rivers of the kingdom, with all their leſſer running ſtreams of " the iſland in their continual courſes, and thoſe huge heaps of water in the ocean and girdle " of it, in their reſtleſs agitations, will never be able to ſcour and waſh away the guilt and ſtain " of it (the King's death), though all the rains which the clouds ſhall ever bring forth and im- " part to this nation, and the tears of thoſe that bewail the loſs of a King of ſo eminent graces " and perfection ſhall be added to it."

[f] Dr. Gauden in his Dedication of Mr. Hooker's Works to Charles II. thus addreſſes the King: " I ſhall need nothing more to ingratiate this incomparable piece to your Majeſty's ac- " ceptance

King; and you may ſuppoſe that this Charles I. was not a ſtranger to the pretended three books, becauſe in a diſcourſe with the Lord Say[g], when the ſaid lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, becauſe it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker (quoting him in one of the three written books), the King replied, " they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but " however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and conſent to what " his Lordſhip propoſed to prove out of thoſe doubtful books, if he would " but conſent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker, in the other five, that were " the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker."

In this relation concerning theſe three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker, my purpoſe was to inquire, then ſet down what I obſerved and know, which I have done, not as an engaged perſon, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give ſentence, for their legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo as to leave others the ſame liberty of believing, or diſbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's. And it is obſervable, that as Mr. Hooker adviſed with Dr. Spencer, in the deſign and manage of theſe books, ſo alſo, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer (whoſe ſiſter was the wife of Dr. Spencer), of which this following letter may be a teſtimony; and doth alſo give authority to ſome things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

CON-

" ceptance, and all the Engliſh world's, than the high commendations it hath ever had from " your Majeſty's royal father; who, a few days before he was crowned with martyrdom, " commended to his deareſt children the diligent reading of Mr. Hooker's ' Eccleſiaſtical Po- " ' lity," even next the Bible; as an excellent means to ſettle them in the truth of religion, and " in the peace of the church, as much Chriſtian and as well reformed as any under heaven: as " if God had reſerved this ſignal honour to be done by the beſt of kings and greateſt of ſuffer- " ers for this church, to him who was one of the beſt writers and ableſt defenders of it."

[g] A cloſe and ambitious man, an enemy to the church of England, and deſirous of its diſſolution. His violent ſpeech againſt biſhops is inſerted in " Nalſon's Collections," &c. Vol. II. page 266; and that againſt Archbiſhop Laud, with the Archbiſhop's Anſwer in " Laud's " Hiſtory of his Troubles," &c. page 470. Nathaniel Fiennes, his favourite ſon, was a moſt violent enemy to Epiſcopacy and monarchy, being one of thoſe called *Root and Branch Men.* Though this nobleman was the principal fomenter of the civil war, and entertained the moſt extravagant ideas of civil liberty, he found himſelf ſo unhappy under the new government, that he retired voluntarily to the Iſle of Lundy, and exerted himſelf in promoting the reſtoration of Charles II He afterward received a reward much ſuperior to his merit—the privy ſeal; the appointment to which gave great offence to many of the cavaliers.

CONCERNING

THE NEW CHURCH DISCIPLINE;

AN EXCELLENT LETTER,

WRITTEN BY MR. GEORGE CRANMER TO MR. R. H[h].

FEBRUARY MDXCVIII[i].

WHAT posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning church-discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within a few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered that at first, the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way[k]. The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded every where in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course, many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it, not as being the better form of government, but as not so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow. One man alone[l] there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who, in the diffidence of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to their defence; which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented.—

Wherein

[h] This letter is reprinted from the original edition in 1642.

[i] Anthony Wood tells us, that he was informed by Mr. Isaac Walton, that Mr. George Cranmer had written many other things besides this letter, but that they were kept private to the great prejudice of the public. (*Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col.* 306.)

[k] Namely, the discipline established by Calvin in the church of Geneva.

[l] Archbishop Whitgift.

Wherein God hath made good unto him his own empreſs, "Vincit qui "patitur:" for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands ſuſtained, the world is witneſs; and what reward of honour above his adverſaries God hath beſtowed upon him, themſelves (though nothing glad thereof) muſt needs confeſs. Now of late years the heat of men towards the diſcipline is greatly decayed; their judgments begin to ſway on the other ſide; the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wiſe men conceive ſome fear, leſt it prove not only not the beſt kind of government, but the very bane and deſtruction of all government. The cauſe of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, diſguiſed and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to poſſeſs men at firſt; but afterward, the weakneſs thereof being by time diſcovered, to loſe that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outſide of a houſe the paſſers by are oftentimes deceived, till they ſee the conveniency of the rooms within; ſo, by the very name of diſcipline and reformation, men were drawn at firſt to caſt a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themſelves only to paſs by and behold afar off the forefront of this reformed houſe; they have entered in, even at the ſpecial requeſt of the maſter workmen and chief builders thereof: they have peruſed the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not anſwerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived. So as now the diſcipline, which at firſt triumphed over all, being unmaſked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cauſe of change in opinion concerning the diſcipline is proper to the learned, or to ſuch as by them have been inſtructed. Another cauſe there is more open and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the courſe of practice which the reformers[m] have had with us from the beginning. The firſt degree was only ſome ſmall difference about cap and ſurplice, but not ſuch as either bred diviſion in the church, or tended to the ruin of the government then eſtabliſhed. This was peaceable; the next

[m] The Preſbyterian party who ſeemed at that time to take their only meaſure of truth from oppoſition to and diſtance from the church of Rome, thinking nothing good therein; or, if there was, yet ſtill to be rejected on account of what therein was evil.

next degree more ſtirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory ſort againſt our whole form of regiment. In defence of them volumes were publiſhed in Engliſh, in Latin: Yet this was no more than writing. Devices were ſet on foot to erect the practice of the diſcipline without authority; yet herein ſome regard of modeſty, ſome moderation was uſed. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, firſt in writing by Martin[n]: in whoſe kind of dealing theſe things may be obſerved: 1. That whereas T. C.[o] and others his great maſters, had always before ſet out the diſcipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God, he contrariwiſe, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the ſtage[p]. 2. Which conceit of his was grounded (as may be ſuppoſed) upon this rare policy, that ſeeing the diſcipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in ſecret corners hunted out and deſcried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly moſt plauſible) the ſtate eccleſiaſtical might have been drawn into ſuch contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof ſhould have been moſt grateful to all men, and in a manner deſired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myſelf to be true) how ſome of them, although they could not for ſhame approve ſo lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cauſe, acknowledging therein the ſecret judgments of God againſt the biſhops, and hoping that ſome good might be

[n] Mr. Hooker, when he is ſpeaking "of the ſcurrilous and more than ſatirical immodeſty "of Martiniſm," tells his reader that "the firſt publiſhed ſchedules thereof being brought to "the hands of a grave and very honourable knight, with ſignification given, that the book "would refreſh his ſpirits, he took it, ſaw what the title was, read over an unſavourie ſentence "or two, and delivered back the libel with this anſwer, 'I am ſorie you are of the mind to "'bee ſolaced with theſe ſports, and ſorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like "'your own." *(Hooker's Epiſt. Dedic. to Archbiſhop Whitgift.)*

[o] Thomas Cartwright, the author and publiſher of "The Admonition to the Parliament," printed in 1572, with the approbation and aſſiſtance of the whole party, and fully anſwered and confuted paragraph by paragraph by Dr. Whitgift in the ſame year.

[p] Vice was the fool of the old moralities, with his dagger of lath, a long coat, and a cap with a pair of aſs's ears. *(See Shakeſpear's Twelfth Night, Act IV. Sc. iv.)*

be wrought thereby for his church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For, 4thly, contrary to their expectation, that railing spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at first, to what outrage of contumely and slander they were at length proceeded, and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact: Certain prophets[q] did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that undone which they did so fiercely desire to have done, namely that his holy saints, the favourers and fathers of the discipline should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and, seeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means: and being persuaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope, that upon their preaching out of a pease-cart all the multitude would have presently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, "Viri fratres, quid agimus?" whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter; "Such and such are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down: "such and such are the dear children of God, let them be advanced." Of two of these men it is meet to speak with all commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withal some light may appear what stirring affections the discipline is likely to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds. Now if any man doubt of what society they were, or if the reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before their entering into this frantic passion? Whose sermons did they frequent? Whom did they admire?* 2. Even when they were entering into it, *Whose advice did they require?* and, when they were in, *whose approbation? Whom advertised they of their purpose? Whose assistance by prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were were

[q] William Hacket, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington.

or were they rather content to ſtand aloof and ſee the end of it, and loath to quench the ſpirit? No doubt theſe mad practitioners were of their ſociety, with whom before, and in the practice of their madneſs, they had moſt affinity. Hereof read Dr. Bancroft's book[r].

A third inducement may be to diſlike of the diſcipline, if we conſider not only how far the reformers themſelves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundations have built. Here come the Brownists in the firſt rank, their lineal deſcendants, who have ſeized upon a number of ſtrange opinions; whereof although their anceſtors, the reformers, were never actually poſſeſſed, yet by right and intereſt from them derived, the Brownists[s] and

[r] Entitled "A Survey of the pretended holy Diſcipline; to which is prefixed a Sermon "preached againſt the Puritans, at St Paul's Croſs, Feb. 9, 1588-9, from the following Text: "*Dearly beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God, for many falſe* "*Prophets have gone out into the world.* 1 *John, iv.* 1."

[s] Robert Brown, a perſon of a good family in Rutlandſhire, educated at Corpus Chriſti College in Cambridge, was the founder of a ſect of Puritans, who took their name from him. He inveighed with the moſt bitter acrimony againſt the Church of England, condemning her government as Antichriſtian, her ſacraments as ſuperſtitious, and her whole liturgy as a compound of Paganiſm and Popery. His own ſyſtem of religious inſtitution was explained by him in a book entitled "A Treatiſe of Reformation." He wrote ſeveral tracts in ſupport of his opinions, and ſuſtained various perſecutions, having been committed at different times to thirty-two priſons, in ſome of which he could not ſee his hand at broad-day. Before his removal with his followers to Middleburg in Zealand, he became diſguſted with their diviſions and diſputes; and though, according to Strype, he had gone a farther diſtance than any of the Puritans did, he renounced his principles of ſeparation, being promoted by his relation, Lord Burghley, to a benefice, that of Achurch in Northamptonſhire.———He is repreſented to have been unamiable in private life: And it is to be lamented that he always poſſeſſed a turbulent and unquiet diſpoſition. He died in a priſon, in 1630, in the 80th year of his age, having been ſent thither by a juſtice of the peace for aſſaulting a conſtable, who was executing a warrant againſt him. (*Strype's Life of Whitgift, B. IV. C. I. and Appendix, No.* 45. *Of the Brownists, ſee Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. IX. p.* 168, *and Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. IV. p.* 98.)

It appears from a paſſage in Shakeſpear that the Brownists were treated as objects of ſatire: "Policy I hate; I had as lief be a *Brownist* as a politician." (*Twelfth Night, A. III. Sc. II.*) "Why now thou art a good knave, worth a hundred Brownists." (*The Puritan, A. III. Sc. VI.*)

and Barrowists[t] have taken poſſeſſion of them. For if the poſitions of the reformers be true, I cannot ſee how the main and general concluſions of Brownifm ſhould be falſe. For upon theſe two points, as I conceive, they ſtand:

1. That becauſe we have no church, they are to ſever themſelves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own.

And if the former of theſe be true, the latter I ſuppoſe will follow. For if above all things, men be to regard their ſalvation; and if out of the church there be no ſalvation, it followeth, that if we have no church, we have no means of ſalvation; and therefore ſeparation from us in that reſpect is both lawful and neceſſary. As alſo, that men, ſo ſeparated from the falſe and counterfeit church, are to aſſociate themſelves unto ſome church; not to ours; to the Popiſh much leſs; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all theſe inferences being this, that in our church there is no means of ſalvation, is out of the reformers' principles moſt clearly to be proved. For wherefoever any matter of faith unto ſalvation neceſſary is denied, there can be no means of ſalvation; but in the Church of England, the diſcipline, by them accounted a matter of faith, and neceſſary to ſalvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the profeſſors thereof oppreſſed. Ergo.

Again (but this reaſon perhaps is weak), every true church of Chriſt acknowledgeth the whole goſpel of Chriſt; the diſcipline, in their opinion, is a part of the goſpel, and yet by our church reſiſted. Ergo.

Again, the diſcipline is eſſentially united to the church: by which term *eſſentially*, they muſt mean either an eſſential part, or an eſſential property. Both which ways it muſt needs be, that where that eſſential diſcipline is not, neither is there any church. If, therefore, between them and the Brownifts there ſhould be appointed a ſolemn diſputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes ſo earneſt challengers; it doth not yet appear what other anſwer they could poſſibly frame to theſe and the like arguments, where-

with

[t] So denominated from Henry Barrow, a layman, and noted ſectary, who ſuffered death for publiſhing ſeditious books againſt the Queen and the State. He derived his doctrine principally from Cartwright; maintaining, among other things, that the church of England was not a true church; that her miniſters had no lawful calling; and that the uſe of forms of prayer was blaſphemous. (*Of this man and his opinions, ſee Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p.* 58.—*Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p.* 571.)

with they might be preſſed, but fairly to deny the concluſion (for all the premiſes are their own), or rather ingenioufly to reverſe their own principles before laid, whereon ſo foul abſurdities have been ſo firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the diſcipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am deſirous this one ſhould be ſtrongly inforced againſt them, becauſe it wringeth them moſt of all, and is of all others (for ought I ſee) the moſt unanſwerable. You may, notwithſtanding, ſay, that you would be heartily glad theſe their poſitions might ſo be ſalved, as the Brownifts might not appear to have iſſued out of their loins; but until that be done, they muſt give us leave to think that they have caſt the ſeed whereout theſe tares are grown.

Another ſort of men there is, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor inſtruments of their own deſigns. Theſe are a ſort of godleſs politics, who, perceiving the plot of diſcipline to conſiſt of theſe two parts, the overthrow of Epiſcopal, and erection of Preſbyterial authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the deſtructive part of diſcipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other alſo they ſhall find them as ready. But when time ſhall come, it may be they would be as loath to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be releaſed from this. Theſe men's ends in all their actions is τὸ ἴδιον, their pretence and colour reformation[u]. Thoſe things, which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the clergy always in awe, and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among miniſters, they have made way to their own purpoſes for devouring cathedral churches and biſhops' livings. 3. By exclaiming againſt abuſes in the church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil ſtate more covertly. For ſuch is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, ſo as being poſſeſſed with diſlike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may eſcape them without being perceived. 4. They have ſought

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[u] In the later editions the ſentence is, "Theſe men's ends in all their actions is diſtraction; "their pretence and colour reformation."

to disgrace the clergy in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and especially of the clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted, to matters of state; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there is, though not descended from the reformers, yet in part raised and greatly strengthened by them, namely, the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain yourself therein to all points of motion and affection; as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; *senseless preaching, and disgracing of the ministry:* for how should not men dare to impugn that which neither by force of reason nor by authority of persons is maintained: But in the parties themselves these two causes I conceive of Atheism: 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning; whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth.— They are not therefore men of sound learning for the most part, but smatterers; neither is their kind of dispute so much by force of argument, as by scoffing. Which humour of scoffing and turning matters most serious into merriment is now become so common, as we are not to marvel what the prophet means by the *seat of scorners*, nor what the apostles by fore-telling of *scorners to come;* our own age hath verified their speech unto us. Which also may be an argument against these scoffers and Atheists themselves, seeing it hath been so many ages ago foretold, that such men the latter days of the world should afford; which could not be done by any other spirit save that whereunto things future and present are alike. And even for the main question of the resurrection, whereat they stick so mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men should in the latter times say, "Where is the pro-

"mise

"mise of his coming?" Against the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment. A second cause of Atheism is sensuality, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life: among which because religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour, therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that, deserving them, there may be no such pains to seize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more base than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret instinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his soul is as the soul of a beast, mortal, and corruptible with the body. Against which barbarous opinion their own Atheism is a very strong argument: For were not the soul a nature separable from the body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not so much as to dispute against heaven, and against God, if there were not in it somewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The last which have received strength and encouragement from the reformers are Papists; against whom, although they are most bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather desire than the breach and dissension of those which are confederates against him? wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papists in some few ceremonies do so much strengthen them, as is pretended, how much more doth this division and rent among ourselves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matters of faith and salvation. Which over-reaching speech of their's, because it is so open to advantage both for the Barrowist and the Papist, we are to wish and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of affection, than with soundness of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of discipline which themselves

themſelves have bred, nouriſhed and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did ſomewhat overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourſelf) to another diſcourſe, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elſewhere at large; the parts whereof may be theſe:

1. That in this cauſe between them and us, men are to ſever the proper and eſſential points and controverſy, from thoſe which are accidental. The moſt eſſential and proper are theſe two; *overthrow of Epiſcopal; erection of Preſbyterial authority.* But in theſe two points whoſoever joineth with them is accounted of their number; whoſoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of biſhops not unlawful, and of elders not neceſſary, may juſtly be ſevered from their retinue. Thoſe things, therefore, which either in the perſons, or in the laws and orders themſelves, are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpoſe. For what if all errors by them ſuppoſed in our liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts deſire; if non-reſidence, pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their lay-elders, therefore, preſently authoriſed? their ſovereign eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction eſtabliſhed?

But even in their complaining againſt the outward and accidental matters in church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propoſe to themſelves. For in declaiming againſt abuſes, their meaning is not to have them redreſſed, but, by diſgracing the preſent ſtate, to make way for their own diſcipline. As, therefore, in Venice, if any ſenator ſhould diſcourſe againſt the power of their ſenate, as being either too ſovereign, or too weak in government, with purpoſe to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be ſuffered; but not ſo, if it ſhould appear he ſpake with purpoſe to induce another ſtate by depraving the preſent: ſo, in all cauſes belonging either to church or commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or of innovation; and accordingly either to ſuffer or ſuppreſs it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why, may not men ſpeak againſt abuſes?* Yes, but with deſire to cure the part affected, not to deſtroy the whole. 2. A ſecond fault is in their manner of complaining, not only becauſe it is for the moſt

part

part in bitter and reproachful terms, but alſo becauſe it is unto the common people, judges incompetent and inſufficient, both to determine any thing amiſs, and for want of ſkill and authority to amend it. Which alſo diſcovereth their intent and purpoſe to be rather deſtructive than corrective.—3dly, Thoſe very exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things, indeed, they accuſe as impious; which if they may appear to be ſuch, God forbid they ſhould be maintained.

Againſt the reſt it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without uſe, and that better and more profitable might be deviſed. Wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a ſufficient plea to ſay, *This muſt give place, becauſe a better may be deviſed*: and in our judgments of better and worſe, we oftentimes conceive amiſs, when we compare thoſe things which are in deviſe with thoſe which are in practice; for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be diſcovered: the others are already manifeſt and open to all. But laſt of all (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am deſirous to have enlarged), they do not ſee, that for the moſt part when they ſtrike at the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, they ſecretly wound the civil ſtate. For perſonal faults, what can be ſaid againſt the church, which may not alſo agree to the commonwealth? In both ſtateſmen have always been, and will be always men, ſometimes blinded with error, moſt commonly perverted by paſſions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. As for abuſes which they pretend to be in the laws themſelves; when they inveigh againſt non-reſidence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the civil ſtate, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, himſelf continually remaining in the ſouth? *He that hath an office, let him attend his office.* When they condemn plurality of livings ſpiritual to the pit of hell, what think they of infinite, of temporal promotions? By the great philoſopher, it is forbidden as a thing moſt dangerous to commonwealths, that by the ſame man many great offices ſhould be exerciſed[x]. When they

[x] Φαῦλον δ' αν δοξειεν ειναι και το πλειους ἀρχας ἀυτον ἀρχειν· ὅπερ ἐυδοκιμει παρα τοις Καρχηδονιοις, ἑν γαρ ὕφ' ἑνος ἀριστ' ἀποτελειται· δει δ' ὅπως γινηται τοιουτον ὁρᾶν τον νομοθετην και μη προστατειν τον ἀυτον ἀυλειν και σκυτοτομειν, ὥστ' ὅπου μη μικρα πολις πολιτικωτερον πλειονας κατεχειν των αρχων, και δημοτικωτερον. κ. τ. λ.

(Ariſt. de Republicâ, Lib. ii. c. 9. Edit. Heinſ.)

they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions even to those civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of justice are used? Were it hard to argue even against circumcision, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony? against the passover, as being ridiculous—shod, girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb[y]?

To conclude, you may exhort the clergy (or what if you direct your conclusion, not to the clergy in general, but only to the learned in, or of both universities), you may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: for it oftentimes falleth out, what men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the price and excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest labour of a Christian should be to know, of a minister to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof not only wordly things, but even things otherwise precious, even the discipline itself is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of contention, and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto, therefore, they are to be exhorted, to preach Christ crucified, the mortification of the flesh, the renewing of the spirit; not those things which in time of strife seem precious, but, passions being allayed, are vain and childish.

THIS

[y] A strange reading is found in all the subsequent editions: "Against the passover as being "ridiculous; should be girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a lamb."

THIS EPITAPH was long ſince preſented to the world in memory of Mr. HOOKER, by Sir WILLIAM COWPER; who alſo built him a fair Monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his ſpiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be ſpoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious HOOKER; though this coſt be ſpent
On him that hath a laſting monument
In his own books; yet ought we to expreſs,
If not his worth, yet our reſpectfulneſs.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why,
Without all ceremony, ſhould he die?
Was it becauſe his life and death ſhould be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to aſk, why had he none?
Yet he that lay ſo long obſcurely low
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wiſe:
Humility is the true way to riſe:
And God in me this leſſon did inſpire,
To bid this humble man—"Friend, ſit up higher."

W. C.

ERRATA.

Page 206, *line* 24,—p. 530, says :—" Who, *read* p. 530.—" Who.
—— 215, —— 29,—pontafle, *read* pantofle.
—— 226, —— 27,—deacons, *read* persons.
—— 245, —— 16,—seri, *read* serie.
—— 255, —— 26,—These words, " (or rather Zacharias,)" should have been inserted in a note.
—— 271, —— 25,—graditus, *read* gradibus.
—— 280, —— ult.—books, *read* his books.
—— 303, —— pen.—of infinite, of temporal, *read* of the infinite of temporal.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF MR. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE Works of Mr. Hooker, exclusive of the Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, the different editions of which are enumerated in a subsequent page, are,

I. " ANSWER to the SUPPLICATION that Mr. TRAVERS made to the COUNCIL. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

II. " A learned DISCOURSE of JUSTIFICATION, WORKS, and how the FOUNDATION of FAITH is overthrown: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

III. " A learned SERMON of the NATURE of PRIDE: on *Habak.* ii. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

IV. " A REMEDY against SORROW and FEAR, delivered in a FUNERAL SERMON: on *John* xiv. 27. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

V. " A learned and comfortable SERMON of the CERTAINTY and PERPETUITY of FAITH in the ELECT: especially of the PROPHET HABAKKUK's FAITH: on *Habak.* i. 4. *Oxon.* 1612." 4to.

VI. TWO SERMONS upon part of St. JUDE's EPISTLES. *Epist. Jude*, ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. *Oxon.* 1613." 4to.

These Sermons were originally published by Mr. Henry Jackson, with " Wickliff's Wicket," and afterward reprinted without that tract. What reception they met with from the public we learn from one of his letters preserved in Fulman's papers in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. " Edidi ante paucos dies tractatus quosdam D. Richardi Hookeri, qui omnium Applausu, excipio Puritanos ut vocant, ita excepti sunt, ut necesse jam sit typographo nostro novam Editionem parare, quæ primâ illâ emendatior meâ curâ, deo volente, prostitura est. Cum itaque prodierit, expecta bina exemplaria una cum Wiclefi Tractatu, quem edidi eodem Tempore."

VIII. In 1641, a volume was published under the following title: " A SUMMARIE VIEW of the GOVERNMENT both of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT; whereby the EPISCOPALL GOVERNMENT of CHRIST's CHURCH is vindicated," out of the rude draughts of Launcelot Andrews, late Bishop of Winchester.

To this volume is prefixed, as a preamble to the whole, " A DISCOVERY of the CAUSES of these CONTENTIONS touching CHURCH GOVERNMENT, out of the FRAGMENTS of RICHARD HOOKER."

This volume contains certain brief treatifes, written by divers learned men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church. The treatifes are feven in number, of which this pofthumous work of Mr. Hooker is one, and as it ftands before the reft it is therefore called a Preamble to the whole.

IX. THREE TREATISES inferted in the "CLAVI TRABALES*." viz. 1. "On the KING's POWER in Matters of RELIGION." 2. "Of his POWER in the ADVANCEMENT of BISHOPS to their ROOMS of PRELACY. 3. "The KING EXEMPT from CENSURE, and other JUDICIAL POWER."

It will not be improper to notice a publication of great merit, entitled "A FAITHFUL ABRIDGMENT of the WORKS of that learned and judicious Divine, Mr. RICHARD HOOKER, in eight books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, and of all the other Treatifes which were written by the fame Author. With an Account of his Life. By a Divine of the Church of England. *London*, 1705."

In "Fulman's Manufcript Hiftory of Corpus Chrifti College, Oxford," the time and birth of Mr. Hooker, with fome other particulars relative to him, are afcertained.

"Richardus Hooker apud Heavy-tree juxta Civitatem Exoniam natus eft circa finem Martii Menfis, Anno 1554 ineunte."

"He was admitted Scholar of C. C. C. Dec. 24, 1573, being twenty years old the Eafter following; and admitted Probationer, Sept. 16, 1577, being 23 years old the Eafter preceding."

* See page 506 of this work.

OF

OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF

The three laſt Books of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

THE writings of the learned and judicious Mr. Richard Hooker have ſo deſervedly obtained the character of ſuperior excellency, that it becomes a matter of no little conſequence to diſtinguiſh his genuine works from any ſuppoſitious productions that have appeared in his name. Of the authenticity of the three laſt Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, much doubt has been entertained. As I am not inclined to hope that it is in my power to throw new light upon the ſubject, I ſhall merely ſuggeſt ſome few obſervations that obviouſly occur on a plain repreſentation of the caſe.

The four firſt books of this celebrated work were firſt printed in 1594, and the fifth in 1597. While they were admired and applauded by wiſe and good men both at home and abroad, they gave great offence to that numerous band of puritanical writers, whoſe unremitting zeal, in oppoſing our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, uniformly diſplayed itſelf on all occaſions. In fact this performance of Mr. Hooker ſoon engaged the attention of thoſe writers. They treated him with much aſperity in a tract entitled "A Chriſtian Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants, unfained Favourers of the preſent State of Religion, authoriſed and profeſſed in England, unto that reverend and learned man Mr. R. HOO. requiring reſolution in certaine matters of doctrine (which ſeeme to overthrow the foundation of Chriſtian Religion, and of the Church among us) expreſslie contained in his five books of Eccleſiaſticall Policie. 1599." This tract is ſaid to have given that wound to Mr. Hooker, "that it was not the leaſt cauſe to procure his death." But, "it was far otherwiſe," according to Dr. Covel[a], who, with equal modeſty and learning, has diſcuſſed all the poſitions advanced in *the Chriſtian Letter*; "for he contemned it in his wiſdom; and yet in his humilitie would have anſwered it, if he "had lived."

It cannot be denied that Mr. Hooker completed eight books[b]. The accompliſhment of this work was the wiſh neareſt to his heart. He had formed in his vaſtly comprehenſive mind a noble and magnificent plan. Having lived to ſee that plan perfected, he died with complacency and contentment.

Many

[a] See "A Juſt and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Eccleſiaſtical Policie, written by Mr. Richard Hooker, againſt an uncharitable Letter of certain Engliſh Proteſtants (as they tearme themſelves), craving Reſolution, &c. Written by William Covel, Doctor in Divinitie. *London*, 1603."

[b] Of this circumſtance Dr. Gauden ſeems not to be appriſed. He tells us that they were eſteemed abortives, with ſuch lineaments of their father's virtue and vigour in them, that they may be eaſily and juſtly owned for genuine, although perhaps they had not the laſt politure of their parent's head: Their ſtrength ſhews them to be a legitimate progeny, however they may ſeem to want ſomething of that beauty and luſtre which always attended Mr. Hooker's conſummation." (*Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker*, p. 14.)

Many circumſtances contributed to excite a ſuſpicion, that an attempt would be made to ſuppreſs or deſtroy his manuſcripts. This appears from a Letter written by Dr. Launcelot Andrews, who was then Maſter of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, to Dr. Parry[c].

"SALUTEM IN CHRISTO,

"I cannot chooſe but write though you do not: I never failed ſince I laſt ſaw you, but "dayly prayed for him till this very inſtant you ſent this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed, "*ſerva nobis hunc:* now muſt I, *da nobis alium.* Alas for our greate loſs! And when I ſay "ours, though I meane yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the loſſe ſince "they have of ſo greate a damage, the more ſad wee neede to bewayle them and ourſelves, "who knowe his workes and his worth to be ſuch, as behind him he hath not (that I knowe) "left anie neere him. And whether I ſhall live to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate "doubt, that I care not how manie and myſelf had redeemed his longer life to have done "good in a better ſubject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, "have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a greate "ſtroke in it) his father in lawe, that there be ſpecial care and regard for preſerving ſuch "papers as he left, beſides the three laſt books expected. By preſerving I meane, that not "only they be not embezelled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate "hands, whoe will only have uſe of them *quatenus et quouſque*, and ſuppreſſe the reſt, or un-"happily all: but rather into the hands of ſome of them that unſeinedly wiſhed him well, "though of the meaner ſort; who may upon good aſſurance (very good aſſurance) be truſted "with them; for it is pitie they ſhould admit anie limitation. Do this, and do it mature: "it had bin more than time long ſince to have bin about it, if I had ſooner knowne it. If "my word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it ſhould not want. But what "cannot yourſelf or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he "ſhall gaine a weeke or two before he knowe of it. Almightie God comfort us over him! "whoſe taking away I truſt I ſhall no longer live, then with grief I remember; therefore with "grief, becauſe with inward and moſt juſt honour I ever honoured him ſince I knew him.

"Your aſſured

"Poore loving Friend,

At the Court, 7 Novr. 1620. "L. ANDREWES.

We learn from the Latin epitaph inſcribed on the monument which was erected in 1631, to the memory of Mr. Hooker, above thirty years after his death, that the ſuſpicion was not groundleſs, and that three books were actually wanting. "Scripſit, octo Libros Politiæ Eccleſiaſticæ Anglicanæ, *quorum tres deſiderantur.*"

Within

[c] From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, and inſerted in the Oxford edition of Mr. Hooker's works. Dr. Henry Parry, to whom this letter ſeems to have been addreſſed, was educated in Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford. In 1607, he was appointed Biſhop of Glouceſter, and in 1610, Biſhop of Worceſter. He was reputed by all of his time, an able divine, well read in the Fathers, a thorough-paced diſputant, and ſo eloquent a preacher, that King James I. "who did ken a man of merit as well as any prince in Chriſtendom," always profeſſed he ſeldom heard a better. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 416."

Within four years after the death of this venerable man, the most strict and diligent inquiry was made after them without success. Anthony Wood announces the publication of all the eight books, with certain tractates and sermons, so early as in 1617. The titlepage of the edition of that year, on which he establishes his opinion, utters a glaring falsehood; the volume containing only five books, as well in this edition of 1617, as in the subsequent ones of 1621 and 1631. The compilers of "The General Dictionary," and of "The Biographia Britannica," relying on the authority of Wood, have fallen into the same error.—Without condescending to examine the contents of the volume, they very injuriously charge Dr. Gauden with ignorance or confidence, when he insinuates that the Seventh Book was first published in 1662.

The Sixth and Eight Books were printed at London in 1648, 4to, under the title of "The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, the Sixth and Eight Books: By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now published according to the most authentique copies." In this edition it is asserted that they were compared with five copies extant, in different libraries; in the Bodleian Library, in that at Lambeth, and in those of Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Usher, and Lord Edward Conway. With regard to the degree of credit due to these copies, a profound silence is observed.

Fourteen years after, namely in 1662, the Seventh Book (touching Episcopacy, or the Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Government of the Church) said to be completed out of his own manuscripts, was published by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter, along with Mr. Hooker's other works[d].

It seems reasonable to expect that the fullest and most convincing proofs should have been adduced to substantiate these books as authentic. A cautious editor, when he presents to the public light a choice and precious manuscript, that had long been buried in obscurity, will not content himself with mere assertions: He will endeavour to inform his readers when and where it was discovered: He will endeavour to establish its authority with all possible precision, so as to banish every doubt concerning its genuineness. On the present occasion nothing of this kind has been attempted. When asseverations are urged without any attendant arguments to confirm their validity, the mind is left to fluctuate in uncertainty and perplexedness. It is declared by Dr. Gauden, that "these three last books were never finished[e]." The truth of this declaration is expresly contradicted, both by the above cited epitaph, and by Isaac Walton's narrative.

It is added, that "they had been *for many ages* suppressed." Was it not, therefore, highly requisite to advance some evidence of their originality after this long suppression; to ascertain the place where they had eluded all inquiry; to instruct us by what means they were brought from their dark abode? A treasure so inestimable, a deposit so dear to every good man, would surely have been preserved with the utmost fidelity and caution; and, when ushered into

[d] Dr. Gauden published "Hooker's Works," in 1662, fol. A second edition, with "The Life of Mr. Hooker, by Isaac Walton," appeared in 1666. fol. A third in 1676. fol. A fourth in 1682. fol. A fifth in 1723, fol. And a sixth in 1793, printed at Oxford in three volumes, 8vo.

[e] See "Dr. Gauden's Life, &c. of Mr. Richard Hooker."

into the world, would have been accompanied with all the atteſtations neceſſary to enhance its worth.

He proceeds: "They are now come to light after our late long troubles, as ſome buried ſtatues or hidden monuments are oft diſcovered by earthquakes." Are we to attribute the diſcovery of them, after a concealment for ſo extenſive a period of time, to the diſtracted ſtate of this country, amidſt the horrors and confuſions of a civil war? Yet what prevented their more early appearance? In the mild and peaceable reign of James I. when diſquiſitions on the diſcipline and doctrine of the Church of England were the ſubjects of general attention, the publication of them would have been peculiarly acceptable. And if their genuineneſs admitted no doubt, what cauſes can poſſibly be aſſigned for ſecreting them? If they remained in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Hooker's friends, thoſe friends would eagerly and without delay have conſigned them to the preſs. If his enemies concealed them, it is ſcarce probable that from their hands they would emerge pure and uncontaminated[f].

He adds further: "Each of them is by learned critics judged to be genuine or authentic." Who thoſe learned critics are, or upon what grounds they founded their criticiſm, we are left to conjecture. King Charles I. by whom the very name of Mr. Hooker was held in the higheſt veneration, thought otherwiſe. In his interview with Lord Say, he expreſsly maintained that the Sixth and Eight Books were not allowed to have been written by Mr. Hooker. And this opinion was probably the reſult of his diſcourſes on the ſubject with thoſe divines, in whoſe converſation he delighted, and who were perfectly competent to decide upon the matter, being men of great candour and known integrity of mind, neither deficient in inquiſitiveneſs, nor liable to be deceived by artifice. And no recent teſtimony has been ſince adduced to enervate the evidence that ariſes from the king's aſſertion.

Of the authenticity of the Sixth Book no intelligence is communicated.

The Seventh Book is affirmed, "by comparing the writing of it with other indiſputable papers or known manuſcripts of Mr. Hooker, to be undoubtedly his own hand throughout." From this laſt poſitive declaration it may be deemed difficult to withhold aſſent. Our acquieſcence in it would have been cheerfully given, if it had been ſupported by any corroborating arguments:—If we had been informed when theſe papers and known MSS. were depoſited, and by whoſe nice diſcriminating eye the collation was made.

The

[f] It is remarked of the puritanical writers of thoſe times, that they were not aſhamed "to ſett forth ſuppoſitious pamphlets in favour of their cauſe, under the counterfeit names of other men of known piety and parts, whoſe former writings have been entertained with general approbation abroad in the world:" Their very names, they thought, would give ſome countenance to any cauſe which they could ſeem in any degree to own." "This," ſays Dr. Sanderſon, "is one of their *piæ fraudes*, or godly cheats; a practice common to them with the Jeſuits, as many other of their practices (ey and of their doctrines too) are. Such an unhappy fatal coincidence not ſeldom there is of extremes. Thus they dealt with the reverend Primate of Armagh, printing his name, and that in his life-time too (which was their modeſty and tenderneſs of conſcience), to two ſeverall pamphlets, the one called 'Vox Hiberniæ,' and the other 'A Direction to the Parliament,' &c." See "Clavi Trabales," p. 151.

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT.

The Eight Book has no other mark of legitimacy upon it, has no other character to elucidate its origin, than the bare affirmation, that "it is written by another hand, as a copy, but interlined in many places with Mr. Hooker's own character, *as owned by him.*"

Dr. John Spencer, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, solicitous to preserve every document, every fragment of the writings of his friend, commissioned Mr. Henry Jackson[g], a fellow collegian, to form a transcript of all the papers which were left. This transcript was bequeathed by Dr. Spencer to Dr. John King, Bishop of London, on whose demise it devolved upon his son the Bishop of Chichester, by whom it was placed in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth. The dreadful devastation made of that library by Hugh Peters, and the other Goths and Vandals of the age, leaves us no reason to think, that the transcript, whatever it contained, escaped the general wreck. But there is no proof that it actually comprised the books in question. A particular description of it is given by Dr. Spencer himself in the advertisement prefixed to the sixth edition of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity. He assures us concerning these three last Books, that "some evil-disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies, left unto us *nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces, and scattered, like Medea's Absirtus, no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them.*" If he ever arranged these papers with a view to publish them as the finished works of Mr. Hooker, he seems to have altered his design, from a decided conviction that they had no claim to be acknowledged in that light[h].

He intimates, in the advertisement above quoted, that there is a purpose of setting forth the three last Books also, their father's *posthumi.* It may be asked, what hindered this purpose? Nothing certainly, but an assurance that the papers found by Mr. Henry Jackson were in so mangled and mutilated a condition, that they could not appear without manifest injury to the reputation of their author. When it is remembered that Dr. Spencer survived Mr. Hooker fourteen years, we must conclude that his respect for the dignity of his friend's character deterred him from obtruding any work on the public which he did not consider as indisputably authentic.

 It

[g] Mr. Henry Jackson, born in the city of Oxford, was admitted Probationary Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Sept. 5, 1612. He was a great admirer of Mr. Richard Hooker, and of Dr. John Reynolds; whose memories being most dear to him, he did for the sake of the first, industriously collect and publish some of his small treatises, and of the latter several of his epistles and orations. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 291.

[h] We learn from a letter, written by Mr. Henry Jackson, and preserved in Fulman's papers, in the library of C. C. C. that Dr. Spencer actually intended to publish the Eight Book. "Puto præsidem nostrum emissurum sub suo Nomine D. Hookeri Librum octavum a *me plane vitæ restitutum.* Tulit alter honores." What pains were taken by Mr. Jackson to render this Eight Book as perfect as possible, and how doubtful he was whether it really deserved the public light, appears from another letter: "Si totus non essem *in poliendo libro octavo* D. Richardi Hooker de Ecclesiasticâ Politiâ, quem præses collegii nostri mihi commendavit, aliquid ad te misissem, ut tuum expiscarer judicium an lucem neene mereatur."

It has been already remarked, that a copy of the three laſt Books is ſaid to have been placed in Archbiſhop Uſher's library. If that learned and ſagacious man had deemed the copy authentic, is it poſſible to ſuppoſe that he would have withheld it from the public eye? In fact, his anxiety to preſerve and make known the genuine writings of Mr. Hooker, appears from the care with which he ſelected three ſhort treatiſes written, with the hand of that excellent perſon, and publiſhed by Dr. Bernard, with the Primate's marginal notes, in the "Clavi Trabales: "Of gold," ſays Biſhop Sanderſon, in a preface to this publication, "*quævis bracteola* the very filings are precious; and our Bleſſed Saviour, when there was no want of proviſion, yet gave it in charge to his diſciples, that the offall ſhould not be loſt."

Mr. Iſaac Walton informs us, that the three perfect Books were loſt, and that the wife of Mr. Hooker did not pay much attention to his memory after his death. She permitted Mr. Charke[1] and his companion to ranſack his ſtudy. Theſe two men, profeſſedly hoſtile to the Church of England, burnt and tore many of his written papers, aſſuring her that they were writings not fit to be ſeen. Thus the invaluable treaſure was irrecoverably gone, before Mr. Henry Jackſon entered on his commiſſion. Nothing remained for him but the reliques of their ſavage plunder. Yet Mr. Neale, in his "Hiſtory of the Puritans," Vol. I. p. 571. aſſerts with his uſual boldneſs, that "the three laſt Books were not publiſhed till many years after the author's death, *though they were depoſited in the hands of Archbiſhop Abbot, from whoſe copy they were printed about the beginning of the civil wars.*" Not to remark the inaccuracy of his obſervation, for the Seventh Book firſt appeared in 1662, after the Reſtoration, we are led to infer from this aſſertion, that the three Books in their preſent ſtate as corrected, reviſed, and prepared by Mr. Hooker for the preſs, were placed in the library at Lambeth, and there carefully preſerved; when it is clear from the beſt authority, that of Dr. Spencer, that nothing was left but "certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, diſmembered into pieces, and ſcattered like Medea's Abſirtus."

The excellent Dr. Jeremy Taylor confirms the ſuſpicion, that the three Books are not genuine. In the dedication of his celebrated work, entitled "Ductor Dubitantium," to King Charles II. He obſerves, that "thoſe caſes that concern the power, and offices of eccleſiaſtical Superiors and *Supreme*, were, though in another manner, long ſince done by the incomparable Mr. Hooker, in the Seventh and Eight Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, or the learned Archbiſhop of Spalato: but *their labours were unhappily loſt, and never ſaw the light.*" He adds, "Though I cannot attain to the ſtrength of theſe *champions* of David, yet ſince their portion of works is fallen into my hands, I have heartily endeavoured to ſupply their loſs."

THE

[1] In the earlier editions of "Walton's Lives," the perſon who married Margaret, the youngeſt daughter of Mr. Hooker, is called *Charke*. This circumſtance will admit an excuſe for the error in the note at p. 287.

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

Upon his Excellent LIFE of

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAV'NS youngeſt ſon, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, ſacred Poeſie,
No longer ſhall a virgin reckoned be
(What ere with others 'tis) by me,
A female muſe, as were the nine;
But (full of vigour maſculine)
An eſſence male, with angels his companions ſhine.
With angels firſt the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, inſtructed them to ſing
The praiſes of th' Immortal King,
Who Lucifer in triumph led:
For, as in chains the monſter ſank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him firſt taught, "How art thou fallen thou morning ſtar?" they ſaid,
Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a maid:
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel leſs would Urbin's* ſkill upbraid.

II.

Thus 'twas in heaven: this, Poeſy's ſex and age;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He choſe a form more like his own,

 And

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

And Jeſſe's youngeſt ſon inſpir'd with holy rage,
The ſprightly ſhepherd felt unuſual fire,
  And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and ſtruck't, and his own ſoft touches did admire.
  Thou, Poeſy, on him didſt beſtow
Thy choiceſt gift, a honour ſhew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'ſt him thy empire and dominion;
  The happy land of verſe, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
  Wherewith thou didſt adorn his brow,
And mad'ſt his firſt, more flouriſhing, and triumphant crown.
Aſſiſt me thy great prophet's praiſe to ſing,
David, the poet's, and bleſs'd Iſrael's king;
And with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
Then on the wings of ſome auſpicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the ſtarry volume of the ſky,
  A laſting record find:
  Be with his mighty pſaltery join'd;
Which, taken long ſince up into the air,
And call'd the harp, makes a bright conſtellation there.

III.

Worthy it was to be tranſlated hence,
And there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which ſo oft the princely prophet ſang,
  And myſtic oracles did diſpenſe.
  Though had it ſtill remain'd below,
  More wonders of it we had ſeen,
How great the mighty Herbert's ſkill had been;
Herbert, who could ſo much without it do;
Herbert, who did its chords diſtinctly know;
More perfectly than any child of verſe below.

Oh!

O! had we known him half ſo well!
But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing ſo fair, and worthy praiſe to do;
Who, ſo exactly all his ſtory tell,
That though he did not want his bays,
Nor all the monuments virtue can raiſe,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praiſe.
Herbert and Donne again are join'd,
Now here below, as they're above;
Theſe friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
And ſince by you the interview's deſign'd,
Too weak to part them death does prove;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n they love.

BENSTEAD, *April* 3. } SAM. WOODFORDE, D. D.

IN VITAM

GEORGII HERBERTI,

AB

ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

O Quàm erubeſco cum tuam vitam lego,
Herberte Sancte, quamq; me pudet meæ!
Ego talpa cæcus hic humi ſodiens miſer,
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
Ego Choicum vas terreas fæces olens,
Tu (ſola namq; Urania tibi ex muſis placet)
Nil tale ſpiras; ſed ſapis cœlum et Deum,
Omniq; vitæ, libri et omni, lineâ;
Templúmq; tecum ubiq; circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii ſedes; ubi
Tu ſancte vates, templum ibi, et cœlum, et Deus.

Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis
Speculum Sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
Paſtoris ideam et libro et vitâ tuâ
Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
Morumq; nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum*, Magiſtro nempe proximum Tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui ſolus fuit.
Canonizet ergò quos velit Dominus Papa;
Sibiq; ſanctos, quos facit, ſervet ſuos
Colátque; ſancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus;
Oraq; pro me, dicerem, ſi fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec eſt ſanctis dari;
Velis nec ipſe; recolo te, ſed non colo.
Talis legenda eſt vita Sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quàm potens et efficax!
Per talia exempla eſt breve ad cœlos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas ſcribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, inſigni adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus ſuis
Plures repræſentare; quod tu dum facis
Vitamq; et illis et tibi das poſthumam,
Lectoris æternæq; vitæ conſulis.
Urge ergò penſum; et interim ſcias velim,
Plutarchus alter ſis licèt Biogræphus,
Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
Meliornè amicus, ſponſus, an Paſtor Gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facilè ſciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubiq; optimus.

JACOB DUPORT, S. T. P.
Decanus Petr.

* Sic Chriſtum ſolens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the buſineſs of this world, and thoſe many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myſelf, I fell into a contemplation of ſome of thoſe hiſtorical paſſages that are recorded in ſacred ſtory, and more particularly of what had paſt betwixt our Bleſſed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and ſinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, becauſe I did not then, nor do now conſider her, as when ſhe was poſſeſt with ſeven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and diſhevelled hair, were deſigned and managed to charm and inſnare amourous beholders: But, I did then, and do now conſider her, as after ſhe had expreſſed a viſible and ſacred ſorrow for her ſenſualities; as after thoſe eyes had wept ſuch a flood of penitential tears as did waſh, and that hair had wip't, and ſhe moſt paſſionately kiſt the feet of hers, and our bleſſed Jeſus. And I do now conſider, that becauſe ſhe loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beſide that bleſſed bleſſing of having her ſins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, ſhe alſo had from him a teſtimony, that her alabaſter box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that ſpikenard, and thoſe ſpices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preſerve his ſacred body from putrefaction, ſhould ſo far preſerve her own memory, that theſe demonſtrations of her ſanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, ſhould be recorded and mentioned wherefoever his goſpel ſhould be read; intending thereby, that as his, ſo her name ſhould alſo live to ſucceeding generations, even till time itſelf ſhall be no more[a].

Upon

[a] If ſome very learned and able commentators have entertained an opinion, that Mary Magdalen was the afflicted and penitent ſinner mentioned in the ſeventh chapter of St. Luke's Goſpel, it is not ſurpriſing that Mr. Walton ſhould fall into the ſame error.

Upon occaſion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without ſome content (at leaſt to myſelf) that I have endeavoured to deſerve the love, and preſerve the memory of my two deceaſed friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the ſeveral employments and various accidents of their lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whoſe Life I now intend to write) were to me a ſtranger as to his perſon, for I have only ſeen him; yet ſince he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to thoſe that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to ſee this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which, many things that concerned them, and ſome things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be leſs perfect, and loſt to poſterity.

For theſe reaſons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler perſon, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE

THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that caſtle that did then bear the name of that town and county[b]; that caſtle was then a place of ſtate and ſtrength, and had been ſucceſſively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long poſſeſſed it; and, with it, a plentiful eſtate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been bleſſed with men of remarkable wiſdom, and a willingneſs to ſerve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent: But alas! this family did in the late rebellion ſuffer extremely in their eſtates; and the heirs of that caſtle ſaw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury thoſe wretches that were the cauſe of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert[c], the ſon of Edward Herbert

[b] The caſtle of Montgomery derived its name from Roger de Montgomery, a noble Norman, Earl of Shrewſbury, who, winning much land from the Welſh, firſt built this caſtle to ſecure his conqueſt. It ſtandeth not far from the banks of the river Severn, upon the riſing of a rock, from whence it hath a very free proſpect into a pleaſant plain that lieth beneath it.—The family of the Herberts is very much diffuſed, and of great authority in this part of Wales. *(Heylin's Help to Engliſh Hiſtory.)*——An order was made by the Parliament, June 11, 1649, for demoliſhing Montgomery Caſtle, which Anthony Wood calls "a pleaſant and romancy "place," and for an allowance to the Lord Herbert for his damage thereby.

[c] Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury deſcribes Richard Herbert his father to have been "black haired and bearded, as all his anceſtors of his ſide are ſaid to have been, of a manly "or ſomewhat ſtern look, but withall very handſome and well compact in his limbs, and of "a great courage. As for his integrity in his places of Deputy Lieutenant of the county, "Juſtice of the Peace, and Cuſtos Rotulorum, which he, as his father before him, held, it is "ſo memorable to this day that it was ſaid his enemies appealed to him for juſtice, which "they always found on all occaſions. His learning was not vulgar, as underſtanding well "the Latin tongue, and being well verſed in Hiſtory." *(The Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himſelf. Strawberry-Hill,* 1764. *p.* 34.)

Herbert, Knight, the ſon of Richard Herbert, Knight, the ſon of the famous Sir Richard Herbert[d] of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngeſt brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport[e], the youngeſt daughter of Sir Richard, and ſiſter to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſehold[f]. A family that for their loyalty have ſuffered

[d] This gentleman was anceſtor to the Lords Herbert of Cherbury, and to the preſent Earl of Powis. In the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, this Sir Richard Herbert ſignalized himſelf by his bravery on many occaſions. He and his brother William, the firſt Earl of Pembroke, were taken priſoners after the battle of Danes-more, near Edgecote in Northamptonſhire, on July 26, 1469, and were beheaded the next day after the battle. Hall, in his Chronicle, relates, "that much lamentation, and no leſs intreaty, was made to "ſave the life of Sir Richard Herbert, both for his goodly perſonage, which excelled all men "there, and alſo for the noble chivalry he had ſhewed in the field in the day of battle, inſo-"much that his brother the Earl, when he laid down his head on the block to ſuffer, ſaid to "Sir John Conyers, *Let me die, for I am old, but ſave my brother, who is young, luſty, and hardy,* "*mete and apt to ſerve the greateſt prince of Chriſtendom.*" See "Collins's Peerage," Vol. V. p. 181.——The title of Banneret was a very ancient title of military honour, never conferred but upon the achievement of ſome great and noble action in the field. Knights Bannerets are termed by Matthew Paris, "Milites vexilliferi," and were diſtinguiſhed by having a ſquare ſhield, and bearing their arms in a banner of the ſame form.

[e] "My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret "his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Burnley, one of the Privy Councell, and execu-"tor to King Henry VIII. who, ſurviving her huſband, gave rare teſtimonies of an incom-"parable piety to God, and love to her children, as being moſt aſſiduous and devout in her "daily, both private and public, prayers, and ſo careful to provide for her poſterity, that "though it were in her power to give her eſtate, which was very great to whom ſhe would, "yet ſhe continued ſtill unmarried, after ſhe lived moſt virtuouſly and lovingly with her huſ-"band. She after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery Church, "brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courſes for making their fortunes; "and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath deſcribed her, in his funeral ſermon of her "printed." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 10, 11.)

[f] Charles I. in 1642, advanced Sir Richard Newport to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Newport, of High Ercall in Shropſhire. On this occaſion that loyal gentleman

ſuffered much in their eſtates, and ſeen the ruin of that excellent ſtructure, where their anceſtors have long lived, and been memorable for their hoſpitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whoſe perſon, and wiſdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a ſeaſonable place) was the happy mother of ſeven ſons, and three daughters, which ſhe would often ſay, was *Job's number*, and *Job's diſtribution*; and, as often bleſs God, that they were neither defective in their ſhapes or in their reaſon; and very often reprove them that did not praiſe God for ſo great a bleſſing. I ſhall give the reader a ſhort account of their names, and not ſay much of their fortunes.

Edward[g], the eldeſt, was firſt made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being inſtalled Knight of the Garter; and

 after

tleman preſented his Majeſty with the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds. (*Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. II.* p. 348.)——Dying Feb. 8, 1650, at Moulins in France, he was ſucceeded by Francis his ſon, who after the reſtoration was made Comptroller, and then Treaſurer of the King's Houſehold, Viſcount Newport 27 Cha. II. and Earl of Bradford, in 1694. The laſt title became extinct in 1762.

[g] No character is more hetorogeneous than that of this nobleman, not leſs renowned for his proweſs and martial gallantry, than for his literary acquirements. Ben Jonſon ſtyles him

> "All-virtuous Herbert, in whoſe every part
> "Truth might ſpend all her voice, Fame all her art."

He is claſſed among the moſt eminent of the Deiſtical writers, having attempted to reduce Deiſm into a regular ſyſtem; and, by aſſerting the ſufficiency, univerſality, and abſolute perfection of natural religion, to diſcard all revealed religion as uſeleſs. It is unneceſſary to add that his opinions have been diſcuſſed with great ability, moderation, and candour, by Dr. Leland, in his "Review of the Deiſtical Writers."

He has given the following account of himſelf in the earlier period of his life: "It was ſo "long before I began to ſpeak, that many thought I ſhould be ever dumb: The very farthest "thing I remember is, that, when I underſtood what was ſaid by others, I did yet forbear to "ſpeak, leſt I ſhould utter ſomething that was imperfect or impertinent. When I came to "talk, one of the farthest inquiries was, how I came into this world." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 16.)——"At twelve years old, my parents thought fit to ſend me to Oxford, to Univerſity "College, where I remember to have diſputed, at my firſt coming, in logick." (*Ib. p.* 25.) His father died; he left Oxford, married, and afterward returned to the univerſity.——

"Not

after many years' uſeful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James ſent ambaſſador reſident to the then French king, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not ſubject himſelf to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court: ſo that, upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in ſome diſpleaſure; but at his return he gave ſuch an honourable account of his employment, and ſo juſtified his comportment to the duke, and all the court, that he was ſuddenly ſent back upon the ſame embaſſy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him firſt Baron of Caſtle-Iſland; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reaſon, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate;" and by his "Hiſtory of the Reign of King Henry VIII." and by ſeveral other tracts.

The ſecond and third brothers were Richard[h] and William[i], who ventured their lives to purchaſe honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died

"Not long after my marriage, I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, "who took a houſe, and lived for ſome certain time there." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 26.)—And now he followed his book more cloſe than ever; in which courſe he continued till he had attained about the age of eighteen, when his mother took a houſe in London, between which place and Montgomery Caſtle he paſſed his time till he came to the age of one and twenty. At the requeſt of his mother, he undertook the burden of providing for his brothers and ſiſters, giving to his brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly, and to his three ſiſters 1000l. a piece; which portions married them.

[h] "My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Coun-"tries, where he continued many years with much reputation both in the wars, and for "fighting ſingle duels, which were many, in ſo much that between both he carried, as I have "been told, the ſcars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in "Bergenopzoom." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)

[i] "My brother William, being likewiſe brought up in learning, went afterward to the wars "in Denmark, where fighting a ſingle combat, and having his ſword broken, he not only de-"fended himſelf with that piece which remained, but cloſing with his adverſary threw him "down, and ſo held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low "Countries, but lived not long after." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)

died officers in that employment. Charles[k] was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry[l] was the ſixth, who became a menial ſervant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be ſo for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Maſter of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wiſdom, with which God hath bleſſed him.

 The

k "My brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after "he had given great hopes of himſelf every way." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12.)——Mr. Charles Herbert was the fellow collegian and friend of Dr. Richard Zouch, to whoſe poem entitled the "The Dove," he has prefixed Latin verſes. We alſo obſerve his name ſubſcribed to ſome lines addreſſed to his virtuous kinſman, Thomas Herbert, Eſq. on the publication of that gentleman's "Travels into divers Parts of Aſia and Afrique."

l "Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was ſent "by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much per-"fection, after which time he came to court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy "Chamber, and Maſter of the Revels; by which means, as alſo by a good marriage, he at-"tained to great fortunes for himſelf and poſterity to enjoy: He alſo hath given ſeveral proofs "of his courage in duels and otherwiſe, being no leſs dextrous in the ways of the court, as "having got much by it." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 15.)

Mr. Richard Baxter, who was educated at High Ercall, was in his early youth recommended to the care of Sir Henry Herbert, and by him kindly received. But that celebrated Nonconformiſt did not reliſh a court life, and very ſoon returned to his privacy and ſtudies. "I went "up," ſays he, "ſtayed at Whitehall with Sir H. H. about a month, but I had quickly enough "of the court, when I ſaw a ſtage-play, inſtead of a ſermon, on the Lord's days in the after-"noon, and ſaw what courſe was there in faſhion, and heard little preaching but what was as "to one part againſt the Puritans: I was glad to be gone." (*Reliq. Baxter. p.* 11.)

It was within the department of the Maſter of the Revels to licenſe the preſs, and accordingly we find many books printed at this time, with an imprimatur "granted by Henry Herbert."

The following ſtory is related of him: "A few days before the murder of the king, meeting "in Hyde Park with Thomas Herbert, Eſq. his kinſman, who then waited on his Majeſty "as one of the grooms of his bed-chamber, and inquiring how his Majeſty did, he deſired he "would let him know, that if he pleaſed to read the ſecond chapter of Eccleſiaſticus, he would "there find comfort. Accordingly Mr. Herbert acquainted the King, who thanked Sir Henry, "and commended his excellent parts; being a good ſcholar, ſoldier, and an accompliſhed cour-"tier, and for his many years' faithful ſervice much valued by the King, who preſently turned "to the chapter, and read it with much ſatisfaction." (*Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p.* 198.)

The ſeventh ſon was Thomas[m], who, being made captain of a ſhip in that fleet with which Sir Robert Manſell[n] was ſent againſt Algiers, did there ſhew a fortunate and true Engliſh valour. Of the three ſiſters[o] I need not ſay

[m] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, having related many glorious and gallant exploits of his brother Thomas, thus concludes his account of him: "After all theſe proofs given of himſelf, "he expected ſome great command, but finding himſelf, as he thought, undervalued, he re-"tired to a private and melancholy life, being much diſcontented to find others preferred to "him, in which ſullen humour having lived many years he died, and was buried in London, "in St. Martin's, near Charing Croſs." *(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)*

[n] At the inſtance of Count Gondomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Sir Robert Manſell, Vice-Admiral of England, was ſent in 1620, with a fleet for the Mediterranean, with a view to humble the Algerine pirates, who infeſted the Spaniſh coaſts. Captain Thomas Herbert had then the command of the Marmaduke, a merchant ſhip, of fifty men and twelve guns. *(Lediart's Naval Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 45.)*——Sir Robert in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, dated from aboard the Lyon, in Alegant road, informs his Grace of the event of this expedition againſt the Algerines, and names Captain *Giles* and Captain *Herbert* as very active in aſſiſting him. *(Catala, p. 323.)*

[o] "Elizabeth, my eldeſt ſiſter, was married to Sir Henry Jones, who by her had one ſon: "and two daughters: The latter end of her time was the moſt ſickly and miſerable that hath "been known in our times, while for the ſpace of about fourteen years ſhe languiſhed and "pined away to ſkin and bones, and at laſt died in London." *(Life of Lord Herbert, p. 15.)*

"Margaret was married to John Vaughan ſon and heir to Owen Vaughan, of Lluydart, by "which match ſome former differences betwixt our houſe and that were appeaſed and recon-"ciled." *(Ib. p. 15.)*

"Frances, my youngeſt ſiſter, was married to Sir John Brown, Knight, in Lincolnſhire, "who had by her divers children, the eldeſt of whom, though young, fought divers duels; in "one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancaſhire." *(Ib. p. 16.)*

To Elizabeth, his eldeſt ſiſter, was written the following affectionate letter by Mr. George Herbert:

"FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER.

"MOST DEAR SISTER,

"Think not my ſilence forgetfulneſs, or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though "buſineſs may ſtop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you: and, "which is more, with our good and gracious God, inceſſantly begging ſome eaſe of your pains, "with that earneſtneſs, that becomes your griefs and my love. God, who knows and ſees this,

ſay more, than that they were all married to perſons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George[p], who was the fifth of thoſe ſeven brothers.

George Herbert ſpent much of his childhood in a ſweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for ſhe was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well inſtructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale[q], who was then Dean of Weſtminſter, and

" this writing, knows alſo that my ſoliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; " judge me then by thoſe waters, and not by my ink, and then you ſhall juſtly value

" Your moſt truly,

" Moſt heartily,

" Affectionate brother and ſervant,

" DECEM. 6, 1620, TRIN. COL.

" GEORGE HERBERT."

[p] " My brother George was ſo excellent a ſcholar, that he was made the public orator of the " univerſity in Cambridge, ſome of whoſe Engliſh works are extant; which, though they be " rare in their kind, yet are far ſhort of expreſſing thoſe perfections he had in the Greek and " Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature: His life was moſt holy and exemplary, " inſomuch that about Saliſbury where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little leſs " than ſainted. He was not exempt from paſſion and choler, being infirmities to which all " our race is ſubject, but, that excepted, without reproach in his actions." (*Life of Lord Herbert, p.* 12, 13.)

[q] It has been ſaid of Dr. Richard Neale, that no one was more thoroughly acquainted with the diſtreſſes as well as the conveniences of the clergy, having ſerved the Church as ſchoolmaſter, curate, vicar, rector, Maſter of the Savoy, Dean of Weſtminſter, Clerk of the Cloſet to James I. and Charles I. Biſhop of Rocheſter, Litchfield, Durham, Wincheſter, and Archbiſhop of York. To the Church and churchmen he was very ſerviceable by oppoſing the ſectaries in their purſuits for eccleſiaſtical preferment, which they indefatigably hunted after, and thereby he drew on himſelf their general hatred. Prynne and Burton honoured him with the appellation of " a Popiſh Arminian Prelate," and omitted no opportunity of ſhewing their inveteracy againſt him. " He died," ſays Echard, " full of years as he was full of honours; " a faithful ſubject to his prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to his " chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied upon him."

and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland[r], who was then chief maſter of that ſchool; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit ſhined and became ſo eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he ſeemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that ſchool, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and eſpecially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's ſcholar) he was elected out of that ſchool for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was tranſplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well-knowing that he might eaſily loſe or leſſen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil[s], who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Maſter

[r] He was made Maſter of Weſtminſter School in 1599, and continued ſo to 1610. Hacket, afterward Biſhop of Litchfield, was elected from Weſtminſter School at the ſame time with Mr. George Herbert into Trinity College. When they left ſchool, Mr. Ireland told them, "That "he expected to have credit by them two at the univerſity, or would never hope for it after-"wards while he lived." *(Dr. Plume's Account of the Life and Death of Biſhop Hacket.)*

[s] Thomas Nevil, D. D. eminent for the ſplendour of his birth, his extraordinary piety and learning, was educated at Pembroke Hall in the univerſity of Cambridge. In 1582 he was admitted Maſter of Magdalen College in the ſame univerſity, and in 1593 he ſucceeded Dr. John Still in the Maſterſhip of Trinity College, being then dean of the cathedral church of Peterborough, over which he preſided commendably eight years. "Of the College of the Holy "and undivided Trinity, now not only famous in that univerſity, but in all Europe, which "was decayed and near falling, and through age incoherent and irregular, he was the modera-"tor, the enlarger, and moſt happy reſtorer; by his advice, favour, and liberal gift of money, "the ill-diſpoſed buildings were taken down and rebuilt in a more elegant form, the ways and "ancient areas made regular and enlarged by new and excellent embelliſhments and ornaments, "and brought to the remarkable beauty it now bears." *(From a MS. extant in Trinity College, and called NEVIL.)*——Upon the demiſe of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Nevil, who had been promoted to the deanery of Canterbury in 1597, was ſent by Archbiſhop Whitgift to King James into Scotland, in the names of the biſhops and clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to underſtand his Highneſs's pleaſure for the ordering and guiding of the clergy. The dean brought a moſt gracious anſwer of his Highneſs's purpoſe, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late Queen, as ſhe left it ſettled. Of Dr. Nevil ſee "Todd's Deans of Canterbury," p. 66, 83.

Maſter of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did moſt gladly undertake; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value ſuch a friendſhip.

This was the method of his education, till he was ſettled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his ſtudy, till I have paid my promiſed account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it ſhort.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given ſome ſhort account of them; I ſhall next tell the reader, that her huſband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell that ſhe continued twelve years a widow; that ſhe then married happily to a noble gentleman[t], the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her perſon and the moſt excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, ſhe being deſirous to give Edward, her eldeſt ſon, ſuch advantages of learning and other education as might ſuit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the ſervice of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Caſtle with him, and ſome of her younger ſons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, ſhe commended him to his care; yet ſhe continued there with him, and ſtill kept him in a moderate awe of herſelf, and ſo much under her own eye, as to ſee and converſe with him daily: but ſhe managed this power over him without any ſuch rigid ſourneſs, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with ſuch a ſweetneſs and compliance with the recreations and pleaſures of youth, as did incline him willingly to ſpend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for ſhe would often ſay, "That as our bodies take a nouriſhment ſuitable to "the meat on which we feed; ſo our ſouls do as inſenſibly take in vice by "the example or converſation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often ſay, "That ignorance of vice was the beſt preſervation of vir-"tue; and that the very knowledge of wickedneſs was as tinder to in-"flame and kindle ſin, and to keep it burning." For theſe reaſons ſhe endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years;

[t] Sir John Danvers.

years; in which time her great and harmleſs wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendſhip with moſt of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in or near that univerſity; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentaly to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verſe, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: Of the firſt he ſays,

> No ſpring nor ſummer beauty has ſuch grace
> As I have ſeen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he ſays,

> In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels, or at council fit[u].

The reſt of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and ſhe were then paſt the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their ſouls; but an amity made up of a chain of ſuitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chryſoſtom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias[x]; whom, in his letters, he calls his *Saint*, or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whoſe affection to her was ſuch that

[u] "Here dwells he, [Love] though he ſojourns every where
"In progreſs, yet his ſtanding houſe is here;
"Here, where ſtill evening is, not noon nor night,
"Where no voluptuouſneſs, yet all delight,
"In all her words unto all hearers fit,
"You may at revels, you at councils ſit."

(*Donne's Poems. The* AUTUMNAL, *v.* 20.)

[x] Of the character of Olympias, an accompliſhed woman, and much eſteemed by St Chryſoſtom, who delighted in her converſation, and wrote no leſs than ſeventeen letters to her in the time of his baniſhment, ſee "Cave's Lives of the Fathers," Vol. II. p. 503.

that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph[1]; *wiſhing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her juſt praiſes to poſterity.* And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was ſome years before he entered into ſacred orders); a time when his neceſſities needed a daily ſupply for the ſupport of his wife, ſeven children, and a family: And in this time ſhe proved one of his moſt bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one teſtimony for what I have ſaid of theſe two worthy perſons, from this following letter and ſonnet.

" MADAM,

" YOUR favours to me are every where; I uſe them, and have them. " I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Mi- " cham. Such riddles as theſe become things inexpreſſible; and ſuch is " your goodneſs. I was almoſt ſorry to find your ſervant here this day, " becauſe I was loth to have any witneſs of my not coming home laſt " night, and indeed of my coming this morning: But my not coming was " excuſable, becauſe earneſt buſineſs detained me; and my coming this " day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who roſe early upon " Sunday, to ſeek that which ſhe loved moſt; and ſo did I. And, from " her and myſelf, I return ſuch thanks as are due to one to whom we owe " all the good opinion, that they whom we need moſt have of us. By

 " this

[1] St. Jerom thus begins a long epiſtle, which he addreſſes to Euſtochium, the daughter of Paula, on whoſe life and death he expatiates largely: " Si cuncta corporis mei verba verte- " rentur in linguas et omnes artus humanâ voce reſonarent, nihil dignum ſanctæ ac venerabilis " Paulæ virtutibus dicerem. Nobilis genere, ſed multo nobilior ſanctitate, potens quondam " divitiis, ſed nunc Chriſti paupertate inſignior, Gracchorum ſtirps, ſoboles Scipionum, Pauli " hæres." Much encomium will ſcarce be thought due to the epithet on Paula (for which ſee " Hieronymi Opera," Tom. I. p. 69. and alſo " Sandys's Travels," p. 139, 140.); and it may be a matter of doubt whether the conduct of that lady dividing her effects among her children, abandoning her family, and, under the pretence of devotion, wandering from place to place, can entitle her to any great ſhare of praiſe.

" this meſſenger, and on this good day, I commit the incloſed holy hymns " and ſonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanſhip, have yet eſcaped " the fire), to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them " worthy of it; and I have appointed this incloſed ſonnet to uſher them to " your happy hand.

" Your unworthieſt ſervant,

" Unleſs your accepting him to be ſo

" Have mended him,

MICHAM, JULY 11, 1607.

" JO. DONNE."

TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Her of your name, whoſe fair inheritance
  Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
An active faith ſo highly did advance,
  That ſhe once knew more than the Church did know,
The reſurrection; ſo much good there is
  Deliver'd of her, that ſome fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this;
  But think theſe Magdalens were two or three.
Increaſe their number, Lady, and their fame;
  To their devotion, add your innocence;
Take ſo much of th' example as of the name;
  The latter half; and in ſome recompence
That they did harbour Chriſt himſelf a gueſt,
  Harbour theſe hymns, to his dear name addreſt.

J. D.

Theſe hymns are now loſt to us; but doubtleſs they were ſuch, as they two now ſing in heaven.

There might be more demonſtrations of the friendſhip, and the many ſacred endearments betwixt theſe two excellent perſons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be ſaid of her great prudence and piety; but my deſign was not to write her's, but the Life of her

her Son; and therefore I ſhall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and ſent her, I ſaw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral ſermon, in the pariſh-church of Chelſey, near London; where ſhe now reſts in her quiet grave; and where we muſt now leave her, and return to her ſon George, whom we left in his ſtudy in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be ſuch, that we may conclude, he conſecrated the firſt-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a ſerious ſtudy of learning. And that he did ſo, this following letter and ſonnet, which were in the firſt year of his going to Cambridge ſent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may apppear to be ſome teſtimony.

—— "But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up thoſe ſprings, "by which ſcholars ſay, the muſes uſe to take up their habitations. How-"ever I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of thoſe many love-"poems that are daily writ and conſecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that "ſo few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, "my meaning (dear mother) is in theſe ſonnets, to declare my reſolution "to be, that my poor abilities in poetry ſhall be all and ever conſecrated "to God's glory; and I beg you to receive this as one teſtimony."

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
Wherewith whole ſhoals of martyrs once did burn,
  Beſides their other flames? Doth poetry
Wear Venus livery? only ſerve her turn?
Why are not ſonnets made of thee? and layes
  Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
  Heighten a ſpirit to ſound out thy praiſe
As well as any ſhe? Cannot thy dove
Out-ſtrip their Cupid eaſily in flight?
  Or, ſince thy ways are deep, and ſtill the ſame,
  Will not a verſe run ſmooth that bears thy name!
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
  Each breaſt does feel, no braver ſewel chooſe
  Than that, which one day worms may chance refuſe.

Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
Cover the earth, ſo doth thy majeſty:
Each cloud diſtils thy praiſe, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another uſe.
Roſes and lilies ſpeak thee; and to make
A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuſe.
Why ſhould I women's eyes for cryſtal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
Whoſe fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praiſe and on thee, Lord, ſome ink beſtow.
Open the bones, and you ſhall nothing find
In the beſt face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
The beauty lies, in the diſcovery. G. H.

This was his reſolution at the ſending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, ſo he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; inſomuch, that in this morning of that ſhort day of his life, he ſeem'd to be mark'd out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God ſtill kept his ſoul in ſo holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all poſterity, and eſpecially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a ſtrict ſtudent, becauſe, that he was ſo, there will be many teſtimonies in the future part of his life. I ſhall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615[z]: And that in that year he was alſo made Maſter of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all

[z] It appears from the Burſar's books of Trinity College, that Mr. Herbert was elected a ſcholar of the houſe, May 5, 1609; Minor Fellow, Oct. 3, 1614; and Major Fellow, March 15, 1615. He was matriculated, Dec. 18, 1609, by the name of Georgius Harbert, the firſt among the penſioners of Trinity College; became B. A. in 1612; M. A. in 1616; and on the 21ſt of October, 1619, was ſubſtituted to the office of Orator in the abſence of Sir Francis Netherſole, Knight, then abroad on the king's buſineſs. *(From the Grace Book of the Univerſity of Cambridge.)*

all which time, all, or the greateſt diverſion from his ſtudy, was the practice of muſic, in which he became a great maſter; and of which he would ſay, "That it did relieve his drooping ſpirits, compoſe his diſtracted thoughts, "and raiſed his weary ſoul ſo far above the earth, that it gave him an "earneſt of the joys of heaven before he poſſeſt them." And it may be noted, that from his firſt entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cheriſher of his ſtudies, and ſuch a lover of his perſon, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleneſs; and, if during this time he expreſſed any error, it was that he kept himſelf too much retired, and at too great a diſtance with all his inferiors; and his clothes ſeemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage[a].

This may be ſome account of his diſpoſition and of the employment of his time, till he was Maſter of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was choſen Orator[b] for the Univerſity. His two precedent Orators,

[a] This is a true picture of a young academician, whom vanity incites to affix too great a value on the ſplendour of birth, and the frivolous diſtinctions of hereditary rank. At this time Mr. Herbert's pecuniary reſources were not very plentiful. In a letter dated March 18, 1617, he writes; "I proteſt and vow I even ſtudy thrift, and yet I am ſcarce able, with much "ado, to make one half-year's allowance ſhake the hands with the other."

He ſeems to have been prodigiouſly fond of fine clothes; for his biographer tells us afterward, that "he enjoyed his gentile humour for fine clothes and court-like company." And it appears that he did not change "his ſword and ſilk clothes into a canonical coat," till four years after he was Prebendary of Lincoln. If his taſte in this reſpect had been doubted, he might have anſwered as Autolicus did to the ſimple Shepherd.——

"*Shep.* Are you a courtier, an like you, Sir?

"*Aut.* Whether it like me, or no, I am a courtier. Seeſt thou not the air of a court in "theſe enfoldings? hath not my gaite in it the meaſure of the court?"

Shakeſpear's Winter's Tale, Act IV. Scene XI.

[b] Of the office of Orator, which ſtill continues the moſt honourable academical employment, Mr. Herbert has given the beſt deſcription in a letter to a friend. "The Orator's place, that "you may underſtand what it is, is the fineſt place in the univerſity, though not the gain-"fulleſt, yet that will be about 30l. per annum: But the commodiouſneſs is beyond the "revenue,

Orators were Sir Robert Nanton[c] and Sir Francis Netherſole[d]: The firſt was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after

" revenue, for the Orator writes all the univerſity letters, makes all the orations, be it to the " king, prince, or whatever comes to the univerſity. To requite theſe pains, he takes place " next the Doctors, is at all their aſſemblies and meetings, and ſits above the Proctors; is " Regent or Non-regent at his pleaſure, and ſuch like gayneſſes which will pleaſe a young " man well."

[c] " Robertus Naunton, Diſcipulus, Maii 2, 1582. Soc. Minor, Oct. 2, 1585. Soc. Major, " Mar. 15, 1586." *(Burſar's Books at Trin. Coll.)* Sir Robert Naunton, a native of Suffolk, was deſcended from a very ancient family in that county. He was tranſplanted from Trinity College to Trinity Hall, where he was choſen Fellow. He was the author of " Fragmenta " Regalia, or Obſervations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites," a tract uſually printed along with " Arcana Aulica; or Walſingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims for the Stateſman and Courtier;" the one being a compendium of politics for the ordering of a court life, the other a judicious collection of great examples that have acted in conformity to thoſe precepts, and made themſelves famous to poſterity in their reſpective ſtations. He improved the opportunity of recommending himſelf to James I. at Hinching-brook, where the Univerſity met his Majeſty on his firſt arrival from Scotland. The King was ſo well pleaſed with his eloquence and learning, that he firſt appointed him Secretary of State, and then Maſter of the Wards. Mr. Howell, in one of his letters, relates of him, that while he attended on the Earl of Rutland, as Ambaſſador to Denmark, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration before the King. At the beginning of his ſpeech, when he had pronounced *Sereniſſime Rex*, he was daſhed out of countenance, and ſo gravelled, that he could go no farther.

[d] Franciſcus Netherſole, Diſcipulus, Ap. 12, 1605. Soc. Minor, Sep. 18, 1608. Soc. Major, Mar. 23, 1609. *(Burſar's Books of Trinity College.)* This gentleman, born at Netherſole, in the county of Kent, was preferred to be Ambaſſador to the Princes of the Union, and Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. It is hard to ſay, whether he was more remarkable for his *doings* or *ſufferings* on her behalf. He married Lucy, eldeſt daughter of Sir Henry Goodyear, of Poleſworth in Warwickſhire, by whoſe encouragement, being free of himſelf to any good deſign, he founded and endowed a very fair ſchool at Poleſworth aforeſaid. *(Sir William Dugdale's Hiſt. of Warwickſhire.)*

James I. paid a viſit to the Univerſity of Cambridge, in March 1614-15. When " Hee paſſed into Trinity College, where all the houſe ranked on each ſide the entrance, he was preſented with a ſhort oration by the Orator of the Univerſity, Mr. Francis Netherſole, Fellow of the ſaid college, kneeling all the while on his knees, the which his Majeſty graciouſly accepted

after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or ſince his time. For, " He had acquired great learning, and was " bleſt with a high fancy, a civil and ſharp wit, and with a natural elegance, " both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myſelf to the mention of but three.

And the firſt notable occaſion of ſhewing his fitneſs for this employment of Orator was manifeſted in a letter to King James, upon the occaſion of his ſending that Univerſity his book, called " Baſilicon Doron[e];" and their

accepted." (*From a MS. in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Todd, author of " The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury.*") He was blamed at the time of the royal viſit, " for calling the Prince *Jacobiſſime Carole*; and ſome will add, that he called him *Jacobale* too, which neither pleaſed the king nor any body elſe." To this circumſtance is an alluſion in a ſong written at that time.

> " Moſt Jacob Charles," did Cambridge cry, " you welcome are to us."
> " An Oxford boy," &c.

Yet, notwithſtanding this cenſure, the claſſical reader will be much pleaſed with the peruſal of a funeral oration, ſpoken by Sir Francis Netherſole before the Vice-chancellor and the Univerſity, to the memory of Henry Prince of Wales. It is inſerted in Bates's " Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot Virorum."

[e] Or " His Majeſty's Inſtructions to his deareſt Son Henry the Prince," 1599. It has been conſidered as the beſt of the King's works, and in the opinion of Lord Bacon is excellently written. (*Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p.* 223, 118.) " In this book," ſays Mr. Camden, " is " moſt elegantly pourtrayed and ſet forth the pattern of a moſt excellent, every way accom- " pliſhed, king. Incredible it is how many men's hearts and affections he won unto him by " his correcting of it, and what an expectation of himſelf he raiſed amongſt all men even to " admiration." And Archbiſhop Spotſwood obſerves, that it is ſaid to have contributed more to facilitate the King's acceſſion to the throne of England, than all the diſcourſes publiſhed by other writers in his favour.

The famous *Andrew Melvin*, or rather *Melville*, having obtained a copy of the " Doron Baſilicon" in manuſcript, thought ſome paſſages ſo very exceptionable, that he directed ſeveral copies to be circulated in different parts of Scotland. In conſequence of this, a libel was drawn up

their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter he writ,

> " Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
> " Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, " That he knew him very well, and that he was his " kinsman; but he lov'd him more for his learning and virtue, than for " that he was of his name and family." At which answer, the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, " That he might love him too; for he " took him to be the jewel of that university."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch

up against the work and laid before the Synod of St Andrew's, by a minister of the kirk. To vindicate himself, James caused it to be published in 1599.

It may not be improper here to mention an instance of courtly address noticed by Bishop Hacket in his " Life of Archbishop Williams," p. 175. Having remarked that the King, on opening the Parliament in 1623, feasted the two houses with a *speech, than which nothing could be apter for the subject, or more eloquent for the matter;* he adds, " All the helps of that faculty " were extremely perfect in him, abounding in wit by nature, in art by education, in wisdom " by experience. Mr. George Herbert, being Prælector in the Rhetorique School in Cam- " bridge, anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens " and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed " the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move " the affections, the style *utterly unknown to the ancients*, who could not conceive what kingly " eloquence was; in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hirelings, and triobulary " rhetoricians."

Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Herbert was then a very young man, flushed with hopes of obtaining promotion in a court, where all the blandishments of adulation were practised.—Time, experience, and serious contemplation, effectuated a change in his mind, and totally alienated him from every ambitious pursuit.

Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and conſtant converſe, with a diſcontented part of that clergy which oppoſed Epiſcopacy, became at laſt to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be ſo to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the ſecond year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the biſhops and other learned divines of his church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with ſome diſſenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: Of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one[f]; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to ſatirical poetry, had ſcattered many malicious bitter verſes againſt our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by ſome of that party ſo magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Weſtminſter School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made ſuch anſwers to them, and ſuch reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in ſuch a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a ſtrange confidence, of ſo furious a zeal, and of ſo ungoverned paſſions, that his inſolence to the King, and others at this conference, loſt him both his rectorſhip of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: For his former verſes, and his preſent reproaches there uſed againſt the church and ſtate, cauſed him to be committed priſoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent priſoner there[g]; and he pleaſed himſelf much in ſending the next day

 after

[f] Andrew Melville was not preſent at the celebrated conference held at Hampton Court, in the firſt year of King James I. upon the complaint of the Puritans againſt the ceremonies and the liturgy of the Church of England. He was ſummoned to appear before the King and Council in 1604. In the firſt edition of "Mr. Walton's Life of Mr George Herbert," Melville is deſcribed to be "*Maſter of a great wit; a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit ſharp and "ſatirical; exceeded, I think, by none of that nation, but their Buchanan.*"

[g] This unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lenox, the younger brother of Henry Darnley, the King's father, died in priſon, Sept. 27th, 1615, and was interred at Weſtminſter, without any funeral pomp, in the night, in the ſame vault wherein Mary Queen

after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these—

" Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Ara-
" Bella, tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi."

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so

Queen of Scots and Prince Henry were buried. The following epitaph was written upon her by Bishop Corbet. She is supposed to be the speaker.

" How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy power,
" That I have pass'd the guard and 'scap'd the Tower!
" And now my pardon is my epitaph,
" And a small coffin my poor carcase hath.
" For at thy charge both soul and body were
" Enlarg'd at last, secure from hope and fear.
" That among saints, this among kings is laid,
" And what my birth did claim my death has paid."

Owen the epigrammatist dedicates a Book of Epigrams to this lady, whom he styles " excellentissimam et doctissimam heroinam."

" Regia progenies, genere illustrissima virgo,
" Nec minus ingenio nobilitante genus.
" Ingenii fructus tibi fert effertq; secundos
" Primitias Dominæ qui dedit ante suæ,
" Seq; tibi tanquam *bellâ* virtutis in *Arâ*
" Consecrat, ingenium sacrificatq; suum."

AUDOENI EPIGR. *L. IV. Ep.* 1.

The lines quoted by Mr. Isaac Walton were inscribed by Andrew Melville, not to Lady Arabella Stuart, but to Sir William Seymour, afterward Marquis of Hertford, who was then imprisoned in the Tower, for marrying her without the King's consent. Fuller has transcribed them differently:

" Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, ara
" Regia bella tibi, regia sacra mihi."

Edward Philips, a nephew of Milton, published his " Lives of the Poets" in 1615. He thus quotes this distich:

" Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
" Bella tibi causa est carceris, Ara mihi."

This seems to be the better reading. Melville did not hold the altar to be sacred.

ſo worthy to be preſerved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and cauſed many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cauſe he undertook[h].

And, in order to my third and laſt obſervation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royſton, and was almoſt as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies ſuited to his pleaſant humour[i]; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauſes of an orator, which he always performed ſo

 well,

[h] James Duport, the learned ſon of a learned father, John Duport, Maſter of Jeſus College, Cambridge, was Greek Profeſſor in that univerſity. No one ever filled the chair with more credit to himſelf. He imbibed the very language, the very ſpirit of Homer. His admirable Greek verſions of the book of Job, Eccleſiaſtes, the Song of Solomon, and the Pſalms, will perpetuate and endear his name to the admirers of claſſic elegance. On the promotion of Dr. Edward Rainbow to the ſee of Carliſle, he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and in 1668 was elected Maſter of Magdalen College, Cambridge. He publiſhed a collection of Latin poems of different kinds in 1662, under the title of "Eccleſiaſtes Solomonis, Auctore Joan. Viviano, Canticum Solomonis, necnon Epigrammata ſacra, per Ja. Duportum. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Muſæ reſponſoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam" —— "The Muſæ reſponſoriæ" conſiſt of fifty epigrams, as Mr Herbert himſelf calls them, intended as an anſwer to a poem written by Andrew Melville, in Sapphic meaſure, againſt the diſcipline of the Church of England, containing fifty ſtanzas, and addreſſed to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge. Three of Mr. Herbert's epigrams are inſcribed to King James, one to the Prince of Wales, one to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, one to the people of Scotland, exhorting them to peace, one to thoſe whom he ſuppoſed to be led aſtray by Melville and other writers of his perſuaſion, the laſt to the Deity, and the reſt to Melville himſelf.

In the Preface to this work, Duport thus ſpeaks of Mr. Herbert: "Poſtquam hæc ſcripſe-
"ram, tradita mihi in manus ſunt a venerabili viro Gu. Dillingham, S. T. D. Coll. Eman.
"Præf. Epigrammata quædam pro diſciplinâ eccleſiæ noſtræ apologetica, aliquot abhinc annis
"conſcripta a Geo. Herbert, at quali et quanto viro, et poetâ quam pio, quam ingenioſo!
"De quo præſtat omnino tacere quam pauca dicere; præſertim cum eximiam ejus pieta-
"tem admirabilis ingenii ſale conditam loquetur *Templum*, loquetur tempus, loquetur æterni-
"tas. Hæc igitur carmina polita admodum et elegantia τε πατρος γνησια τεκνα, et autoris genium
"plané redolentia quaſi aureæ coronidis loco prioribus attexere viſum eſt.

[i] "Ignoramus," a Latin comedy, and "Albumazar," an Engliſh comedy, from which Ben Jonſon is accuſed by Mr. Dryden of having taken his "Alchymiſt," were often acted at Cambridge before King James.

well, that he ſtill grew more into the King's favour, inſomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majeſty at Royſton; where, after a diſcourſe with him, his Majeſty declared to his kinſman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the orator's learning and wiſdom much above his "age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progreſs at Cambridge, and to ſtay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great ſecretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon[k] (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, both which did at that time begin a deſired friendſhip with our orator. Upon whom, the firſt put ſuch a value on his judgment, that he uſually deſired his approbation before he would expoſe any of his books to be printed, and thought him ſo worthy of his friendſhip, that having tranſlated many of the prophet David's Pſalms into Engliſh verſe, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication[1] of them to him, as the beſt judge of divine poetry. And for the learned biſhop, it is obſervable, that at that time there fell to be a modeſt debate betwixt them two about predeſtination and ſanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, ſend the biſhop ſome ſafe and uſeful aphoriſms, in a long

[k] Such is the celebrity of the name of Bacon, that to mention it is to ſuggeſt an idea of every thing great and ſuper-eminent in knowledge. He is juſtly ſtyled by Sir Henry Wotton "Scientiarum lumen, facundiæ lex," in the inſcription on his monument, in the church of St. Alban's. This wonderful man, ignorant of geometry, would have been excluded from the ſchool of Plato. But he gained admittance into another ſchool, that of Nature, "who never before had ſo noble nor ſo true an interpreter, or never ſo inward a ſecretary of her cabinet."

[1] "TO HIS VERY GOOD FRIEND, MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

"The pains that it pleaſed you to take about ſome of my writings I cannot forget, which "did put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exerciſe of my ſickneſs. Beſides, it being "my manner for dedications to chooſe thoſe that I hold moſt fit for the argument, I thought "that in reſpect of divinity and poeſy met, whereof the one is the matter, the other the ſtyle "of this little writing, I could not make better choice: ſo with ſignification of my love and "acknowledgment, I ever reſt,

"Your affectionate friend,

"FR. ST. ALBANS."

Mr. Herbert tranſlated into Latin part of "The Advancement of Learning."

a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was ſo remarkable for the language and reaſon of it, that after the reading it, the biſhop put it into his boſom, and did often ſhew it to many ſcholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he firſt lodged it, and continued it ſo near his heart till the laſt day of his life.

To theſe, I might add the long and entire friendſhip betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promiſed to contract myſelf, and ſhall therefore only add one teſtimony to what is alſo mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he cauſed many ſeals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Chriſt crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often ſay, "Crux mihi anchora[m]." Theſe ſeals he gave or ſent to moſt of thoſe friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, theſe verſes were found wrapt up with that ſeal which was by the doctor given to him:

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this ſeal and ſo gave o'er.

When winds and waves riſe higheſt, I am ſure,
This anchor keeps my faith, *that* me ſecure.

At this time of being orator, he had learnt to underſtand the Italian, Spaniſh, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predeceſſors, ſo he might in time attain the place of a ſecretary of ſtate, he being at that time very high in the King's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the moſt eminent and moſt powerful of the court nobility: This, and the love of a court-converſation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be ſomething more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, wherefoever the court was, who then gave him a ſinecure, which fell into his Majeſty's diſpoſal, I think, by the death of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph[n].—It was the ſame, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per

[m] See "Walton's Life of Dr. Donne," p. 81.

[n] Dr. Richard Parry, who died Sept. 26, 1623.

per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorſhip, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and ſeldom looked towards Cambridge, unleſs the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike°, who is now prebendary of Weſtminſter.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often deſigned to leave the univerſity, and decline all ſtudy, which, he thought, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a conſumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increaſed by his ſtudies; for he would often ſay, "He had "too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a ſheath, too "ſharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the univerſity, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means ſatisfy his own deſires at ſo dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful ſon to ſo affectionate a mother; but did always ſubmit to her wiſdom. And what I have now ſaid may partly appear in a copy of verſes in his printed poems; it is one of thoſe that bear the title of "Affliction;"

° Mr. Herbert Thorndike was then fellow of Trinity College. He was ejected from his fellowſhip by the uſurped powers, and admitted to the rectory of Barley in Hertfordſhire, July 2, 1642. On the death of Dr. Samuel Ward, he was elected to the Maſterſhip of Sidney College, but was kept out of it by the oppreſſions of the times. For his ſufferings and great learning he was inſtalled Prebendary of Weſtminſter, Sept. 5, 1660. In the year following he reſigned his living of Barley, and died in 1672. He aſſiſted Dr. Walton in the edition of the Polyglot Bible. Beſides his celebrated work of "Juſt Weights and Meaſures; that is, the preſent State of Religion weighed in the Balance, and meaſured by the Standard of the Sanctuary." 4to. 1662.—He compoſed other tracts relative to the differences which at that time diſturbed the peace of the Church. Some of his works, particularly thoſe which were publiſhed in the latter part of his life, gave great offence. He is accuſed of leaning to the Church of Rome, declaring that church to be a true church, the Pope not Antichriſt, the Papiſts not idolaters, whilſt his averſion to the Preſbyterians and other ſectaries exceeded all bounds. Mr. Baxter has deſcribed him as ſpeaking once at the Savoy conference "a few im-"pertinent paſſionate words, confuting the opinion that had been received of him from his "firſt writings, and confirming that which his ſecond and laſt writings had given of him."—See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 508, 618.

"Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and ſome paſſages of his life, in which he ſays:

Whereas my birth and ſpirit rather took
The way that takes the town:
Thou didſt betray me to a ling'ring book,
And wrap me in a gown:
I was entangled in a world of ſtrife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatened oft the ſiege to raiſe,
Not ſimp'ring all mine age;
Thou often didſt with academic praiſe
Melt and diſſolve my rage:
I took the ſweeten'd pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor perſevere.

Yet leſt perchance I ſhould too happy be
In my unhappineſs,
Turning my purge to food, thou throweſt me
Into more ſickneſſes.
Thus doth thy power croſs-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will ſhew:
I read, and ſigh, and wiſh I were a tree,
For then ſure I ſhould grow
To fruit or ſhade, at leaſt, ſome bird would truſt
Her houſehold with me, and I would be juſt.

Yet though thou troubleſt me, I muſt be meek,
In weakneſs muſt be ſtout:
Well, I will change my ſervice and go ſeek
Some other maſter out:
Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of ſome good occaſion to remove from Cambridge to court, God, in whom there is an unſeen chain

chain of caufes, did, in a fhort time, put an end to the lives of two of his moft obliging and moft powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond[p], and James Marquis of Hamilton[q]; and not long after him, King James died alfo, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court hopes: fo that he prefently betook himfelf to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was fuch a lover of folitarinefs, as was judged to impair his health more than his ftudy had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himfelf, whether he fhould return to the painted pleafures of a court-life, or betake himfelf to a ftudy of divinity, and enter into facred orders[r]? (to which his dear mother had often perfuaded him)—Thefe were fuch conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious defires, and the outward glory of this world, are not eafily laid afide; but, at laft, God inclined him to put on a refolution to ferve at his altar.

He did at his return to London, acquaint a court-friend with his refolution to enter into facred orders, who perfuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly "judged that the domeftic fervants of the King of heaven, fhould be of the "nobleft families on earth: and though the iniquity of the late times have "made

[p] This nobleman, who was alfo Duke of Lenox in Scotland, and Lord Steward of his Majefty's Houfehold, died Feb. 25, 1625, the day on which a new Parliament was to meet. The King, who was his relation, was fo much affected at the news of his fudden death, that "he "would not adorn himfelf that day to ride in his glories to the Parliament, but put it off to "the nineteenth of February following, dedicating fome part of that time to the memory of "his dead fervant." *(Wilfon's Life and Reign of King James I.)*

[q] A diftinguifhed favourite of James I. The death of thefe two noblemen affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him the Marquis was dead, he faid, "*If the branches* "*be thus cut down, the ftock cannot continue long;*" which faying proved too true, for fhortly after he fell into a fever, of which he died at Theobald's, March 27, 1625.

[r] It appears from a letter written by Mr. George Herbert to one of his friends, and dated March 18, 1617, Trin. Coll. that he had devoted himfelf to the ftudy of divinity. "I want "books extremely: you know, Sir, how I am now fetting foot into divinity, to lay the plat-"form of my future life."

G. Cuit Del. I. Roe Sculp.

A South East View of St. MARY's CHURCH at LEIGHTON-BROMESWOLD in HUNTINGDONSHIRE.
BUILT by Mr GEORGE HERBERT.

" made clergymen meanly valued, and the facred name of prieft contempt-
" ible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by confecrating all my learn-
" ing, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave
" them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done fo
" much for me, as to make me a Chriftian. And I will labour to be like
" my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by
" following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jefus."

This was then his refolution, and the God of conftancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made deacon is moft certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclefia[s], in the diocefe of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bifhop of that fee[t]. And now he had a fit occafion to fhew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable anceftors, and the occafion was this.

 This

[s] In "Ecton's Lift of the prebendal Dignities belonging to the Church of Lincoln," it is called "Leighton Bromefwold, Ecclefia P. in Co. Huntingd." In "Bacon's Liber Regis," it is termed "Leighton Bofard, alias Leighton Beaudefert, P. Ecclefiæ Lincoln."

[t] Dr. John Williams, afterward Archbifhop of York, was then Bifhop of Lincoln, the laft ecclefiaftic who was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Of him it was faid, that "He never faw "the book of worth he read not; he never forgot what he read; he never loft the ufe of what "he remembered; every thing he heard or faw was his own, and what was his own he knew "how to ufe to the utmoft." Whatever difcrepancy of opinion there may be, in juftly appreciating the character of this prelate, it muft be owned that he was a munificent patron of learning and learned men. Twelve perfons from one fociety, that of Trinity College in Cambridge, were diftinguifhed by him, and advanced to preferment. Among thefe we obferve Dr. Creighton, Mr. George Herbert, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, Mr. James Duport, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, names dear to literature. When the fee of Exeter was vacant, he feized the opportunity of gratifying two worthy divines, his old friends, "who had been both bred in "the houfe of wifdom with Lord Chancellor Egerton," *Dr. Carew*, who had been his chaplain, and *Dr. Dunn*, who had been his fecretary, "a laureat wit, neither was it poffible "that a vulgar foul fhould dwell in fuch promifing features." Thefe two prevailed by the Lord Keeper's commendation againft all pretenders; the Bifhopric of Exeter was conferred upon *Dr. Carew*, and *Dr. Dunn* fucceeded him in the Deanery of St. Paul's. *(Hacket's Life of Archbifhop Williams.)*——Mr. Herbert did not long continue orator after his promotion to this prebend, Mr. Robert Creighton his fucceffor being appointed in 1627.

This Layton Eccleſia is a village near to Spalden[u], in the county of Huntingdon, and the greateſt part of the pariſh-church was fallen down, and that of it which ſtood was ſo decayed, ſo little, and ſo uſeleſs, that the pariſhioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praiſes; and thus it had been for almoſt 20 years, in which time there had been ſome faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the pariſhioners to rebuild it, but with no ſucceſs, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it ſo much his whole buſineſs, that he became reſtleſs till he ſaw it finiſhed as it now ſtands: being for the workmanſhip a coſtly Moſaic; for the form an exact croſs; and for the decency and beauty, I am aſſured, it is the moſt remarkable pariſh-church that this nation affords. He lived to ſee it ſo wainſcotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little diſtant from each other, and both of an equal height[x]: for

[u] Spalden, or Spalding, is a town in Lincolnſhire. Mr. Walton has miſtaken the name for Spaldwick, or Spaldick, in Huntingdonſhire.

[x] It appears from a recent ſurvey of this church, that the reading-deſk is on the right-hand in the nave, juſt as you enter the chancel, and that its height is ſeven feet four inches; and that the pulpit is on the left-hand, and exactly of the ſame height. They are both pentagonal. The church is at preſent chiefly paved with bricks: the roofs both of the church and chancel are tyled, and not under-drawn or ceiled. There are no communion-rails; but, as you advance to the communion-table, you aſcend three ſteps. The windows are large and handſome, with ſome ſmall remnants of painted glaſs. The ſeats and pews both in the nave, the croſs-aiſle, and the chancel, ſomewhat reſemble the ſtalls in cathedrals, but are very ſimple, with little or no ornament, nearly alike, and formed of oak. It was evidently the intention of Mr. Herbert that in his church there ſhould be no diſtinction between the ſeats of the rich and thoſe of the poor. During divine ſervice the men have from time immemorial been accuſtomed to ſit on the ſouth-ſide of the nave, and the women on the north-ſide. In the croſs-aiſle, the male-ſervants ſit on the ſouth-ſide, and the female-ſervants on the north-ſide.

The ſtrongeſt and beſt part of the church is the tower, which is of moſt durable and excellent ſtone, dug out of the quarries of Barnock in Northamptonſhire. It is conſidered as a fine ſpecimen of good architecture.

Mr. Walton ſeems to have been miſinformed when he writes, that the workmanſhip of the church was a coſtly Moſaic, and that Mr. Herbert lived to ſee it wainſcotted. No traces of either are diſcoverable. The church is now, in 1795, dilapidated in ſeveral parts.

for he would often ſay, "They ſhould neither have a precedency or prio-"rity of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally uſeful, "might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and eſtimation[7]."

Before I proceed farther, I muſt look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himſelf, his relations, and friends, before it could be finiſhed, ſent for him from London to Chelſea (where ſhe then dwelt), and at his coming ſaid, "George, I ſent for you, to perſuade you to commit Simony, by giving "your patron as good a gift as he has given to you; namely, that you "give him back his prebend: For, George, it is not for your weak body "and empty purſe to undertake to build churches." Of which he deſired he might have a day to conſider, and then make her an anſwer: And at his return to her the next day, when he had firſt deſired her bleſſing, and ſhe given it him, his next requeſt was, "That ſhe would at the age of thirty-"three years allow him to become an undutiful ſon; for he had made a vow "to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church:" And then ſhewed her ſuch reaſons for his reſolution, that ſhe preſently ſubſcribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to ſolicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who ſubſcribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and perſuaſive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of ſome of his benefactors, James Duke of

[7] An ill cuſtom prevailed at court after the acceſſion of James I.; whenever the King came to the chapel, divine ſervice was ſuddenly broke off, and an anthem ſung to make immediate way for the ſermon. This cuſtom, as implying a contempt of the liturgy, or at leaſt a preference of preaching to prayer, was ſet aſide by Dr. Laud, while he was Dean of the chapel.

"Reſort to ſermons, but to prayers moſt:
"Praying's the end of preaching."

(*Mr. George Herbert's* CHURCH PORCH.)

"In the church of Little Gidding the pulpit was fixed on the north, the reading-deſk over againſt it on the ſouth-ſide of the church, and both on the ſame level; it being thought improper that a higher place ſhould be appointed for preaching than that which was allotted for prayer." (*Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, p.* 178.)

Lenox[z], and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as alſo, the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer[a], and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a gold-ſmith, in Foſter-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: for the memory of ſuch men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I ſhall hereafter give an account in a more ſeaſonable place; but before I proceed farther I will give this ſhort account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had conſidered overgrown eſtates do often require more care and watchfulneſs to preſerve than get them[b]; and conſidered that there be many diſcontents that riches cure not; and did therefore ſet limits to himſelf as to deſire of wealth: and having attained ſo much as to be able to ſhew ſome mercy to the poor, and preſerve a competence for himſelf, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the ſervice of God; and to be uſeful for his friends: and he proved to be ſo to Mr. Herbert; for, beſide his own bounty, he collected and returned moſt of the money that was paid for the re-building of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to ſtate them, and ſee all the workmen paid. When I have ſaid, that this good man was an uſeful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be ſo to him, till he cloſed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to ſay more, till I have the next fair occaſion to mention the holy friendſhip that was betwixt

[z] He was the ſon of Eſme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and brother to Lodowick the laſt Duke, who was the particular friend of Mr. Herbert. This great and excellent man, as Echard calls him, who had never once deviated from his honour and loyalty, and had ſeen three of his brothers die in the royal cauſe, died in the beginning of 1675, having never had his health nor yet his ſpirits, ſince the deplorable murder of his beloved maſter; for the ſaving of whoſe life he had the honour to offer his own. See "Echard's Hiſt. of England," Vol. II. p. 782.

[a] Or rather Ferrar, from the Latin word *ferrarius*. The arms of this family have three horſe ſhoes on a bend, as appears from a braſs-plate in the chapel of Little Gidding, affixed to the tomb-ſtone of John Ferrar, Eſq. "late lord of this mannour, who departed this life the "28th of September, 1657."

[b] According to an old obſervation,

"Non minor eſt virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri."

betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a ſickneſs, which was not long before that which proved to be her laſt.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER, IN HER SICKNESS.

" MADAM,

" AT my laſt parting from you, I was the better content becauſe I was in " hope I ſhould myſelf carry all ſickneſs out of your family; but ſince I " know I did not, and that your ſhare continues, or rather increaſeth, I " wiſh earneſtly that I were again with you; and, would quickly make " good my wiſh, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now " but a month to our commencement: wherein my abſence by how much " it naturally augmenteth ſuſpicion, by ſo much ſhall it make my prayers " the more conſtant and the more earneſt for you to the God of all conſo- " lation. In the mean time, I beſeech you to be cheerful, and comfort " yourſelf in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any " ſorrow but for ſin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a " moment? or why ſhould our afflictions here have ſo much power or " boldneſs as to oppoſe the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the " earth is but a point in reſpect of the heavens, ſo are earthly troubles com- " pared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or ſickneſs lead you to " thoſe joys, conſider what advantage you have over youth and health, who " are now ſo near thoſe true comforts.——Your laſt letter gave me earthly " preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for yourſelf. But would you di- " vide and chooſe too? our college cuſtoms allow not that; and I ſhould " account myſelf moſt happy if I might change with you: for I have al- " ways obſerved the thread of life to be like other threads or ſkenes of ſilk, " full of ſnarles and incumbrances: Happy is he, whoſe bottom is wound up " and laid ready for work in the new Jeruſalem. For myſelf, dear mother, I " always feared ſickneſs more than death; becauſe ſickneſs hath made me " unable to perform thoſe offices for which I came into the world, and muſt " yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already

" abundantly

" abundanty discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so
" brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discre-
" tion, and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well, the
" fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will
" justify you both to the world and your own conscience: insomuch, that
" whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are
" to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for tem-
" poral afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are
" either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what
" poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches we are commanded
" to give them away? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have
" them. But, perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and
" estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: But, O God!
" how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in
" the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never
" find 'Blessed be the rich,' or 'Blessed be the noble;' but *Blessed be the meek*,
" and *Blessed be the poor*, and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be com-*
" *forted.* And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only
" not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body,
" dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been
" burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very
" mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had
" an end: and yours (which praised be God, are less) are not like to con-
" tinue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your pre-
" sent fear and sorrow; and know that if any of yours should prove a Go-
" liah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God, who delivered me*
" *out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of*
" *this uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: con-
" sider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in,
" and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow
" that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care
" of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the
" Psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee*, Psal. lv.
" To which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for*
" *he*

" *he careth for you*, 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that God " puts his ſhoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us that we " may the more quietly intend his ſervice. To conclude, let me commend " only one place more to you (Philip. iv. 4.); St. Paul ſaith there, *Rejoice in* " *the Lord always: And again I ſay, rejoice.* He doubles it to take away the " ſcruple of thoſe that might ſay, what, ſhall we rejoice in afflictions? yes, " I ſay again, rejoice; ſo that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice; " but whatſoever befals us we muſt always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, " who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verſe: *Let your mo-* " *deration appear to all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.*— " What can be ſaid more comfortably? trouble not yourſelves, God is at " hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, pardon my boldneſs, " and accept the good meaning of

" Your moſt obedient ſon,

" TRIN. COL. MAY 25, 1622.

" GEORGE HERBERT."

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was ſeized with a ſharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Eſſex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his houſe he remained about twelve months, and there became his own phyſician, and cured himſelf of his ague[c], by

[c] The following lines are taken from a poem of Mr. Herbert's, entitled " Affliction."

" At firſt thou gav'ſt me milk and ſweetneſſes;
" I had my wiſh and way:
" My days were ſtrew'd with flow'rs and happineſs;
" There was no month but May.
" But with my years ſorrow did twiſt and grow,
" And made a party unawares for woe:
" My fleſh began unto my ſoul in pain,
" *Sickneſs clave my bones,*
" *Conſuming agues dwell in every vein,*
" And tune my breath to groans.
" Sorrow was all my ſoul; I ſcarce believed,
" Till grief did tell me roundly—that I lived."

by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unleſs they were ſalted; and by ſuch a conſtant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worſe; for he brought upon himſelf a diſpoſition to rheumes and other weakneſſes, and a ſuppoſed conſumption. And it is to be noted, that in the ſharpeſt of his extreme fits he would often ſay, "Lord abate my great affliction, or increaſe my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, becauſe thou doeſt it." By which, and a ſanctified ſubmiſſion to the will of God, he ſhewed he was inclinable to bear the ſweet yoke of Chriſtian diſcipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true teſtimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his conſumption by a change from Woodford into ſuch an air as was moſt proper to that end: And his remove was to Dauntſey in Wiltſhire, a noble houſe, which ſtands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers[d] Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert ſo very much, that he allowed him ſuch an apartment in it as might beſt ſuit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a ſpare diet, declining all perplexing ſtudies, moderate exerciſe, and a cheerful converſation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of ſtrength and cheerfulneſs: And then he declared his reſolution both to marry, and to enter into the ſacred orders of prieſthood. Theſe had long been the deſires of his mother and his other relations; but ſhe lived

[d] Henry Danvers, created Baron of Dauntſey by King James, and Earl of Danby by Charles I. He was Knight of the Bath, and died unmarried, Jan. 20, 1673.

ON LORD DANVERS.

"Sacred marble, ſafely keep
"His duſt, who under thee muſt ſleep,
"Until the years again reſtore
"Their dead, and time ſhall be no more.
"Mean while, if he (which all things wears)
"Does ruin thee, or if thy tears
"Are ſhed for him; diſſolve thy frame,
"Thou art requited: for his fame,
"His virtue, and his worth ſhall be
"Another monument to thee. G. HERBERT."

lived not to ſee either, for ſhe died in the year 1627. And though he was diſobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then preſently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be ſucceeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton[e], and the worthy Biſhop of Wells.

I ſhall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I firſt give the reader a ſhort view of his perſon, and then an account of his wife, and of ſome circumſtances concerning both.

He was for his perſon of a ſtature inclining towards talneſs; his body was very ſtraight; and ſo far from being cumbered with too much fleſh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aſpect was cheerful, and his ſpeech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all ſo meek and obliging, that they purchaſed love and reſpect from all that knew him.

Theſe, and his other viſible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman, of a noble fortune, and a near kinſman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Eſq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did ſo much affect him, that he often, and publicly declared a deſire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had ſo many); but

 rather

[e] "Robert Cretone, or Creitton, was elected Scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge, May 6, 1614; Minor Fellow, Oct. 1, 1619; Major Fellow, March 16, 1620." *(From the Burſar's Books of Trinity College.)*

He was a native of Scotland, educated at Weſtminſter School, and from thence elected to Trinity College. He was afterward Greek Profeſſor, and Orator of the Univerſity. In 1632 he was made Treaſurer of Wells, and in 1637 Dean of St. Burien in Cornwall. In the beginning of the Rebellion, as well as in its progreſs, he ſuffered ſeverely for the royal cauſe, and was an exile with Charles II. who, on his Reſtoration, gave him the Deancry of Wells. During his abſence from England he was the editor of "The Hiſtory of the Council of Florence," written originally in Greek, and tranſlated by him into Latin, from an authentic MS. copy. "Vera Hiſtoria unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos: ſive Concilii Florentini exactiſſima narratio Græcè ſcripta," &c. Hagæ Comitis, 1660, fol. paginis, 351.

Being chaplain to the King, he reproved the vices of the times with boldneſs, whenever he preached at court; "which," ſays Wood, "was well taken by ſome, though ſneered at by "others." However, in 1670 he was advanced to the ſee of Bath and Wells, and dying in 1672 was buried in that cathedral. See "Wood's Faſti," Vol. I. p. 243. And "Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy."

rather his daughter Jane than any other, becauſe Jane was his beloved daughter: And he had often ſaid the ſame to Mr. Herbert himſelf; and that if he could like her for a wife, and ſhe him for a huſband, Jane ſhould have a double bleſſing; and Mr. Danvers had ſo often ſaid the like to Jane, and ſo much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became ſo much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unſeen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntſey; yet ſome friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a ſurpriſed city, and love having got ſuch poſſeſſion governed, and made there ſuch laws and reſolutions as neither party was able to reſiſt; inſomuch that ſhe changed her name into Herbert the third day after this firſt interview.

This haſte might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worſe; but it was not, for they had wooed ſo like princes, as to have ſelect proxies; ſuch as were true friends to both parties; ſuch as well underſtood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and alſo their eſtates, ſo well before this interview, that the ſuddenneſs was juſtifiable by the ſtricteſt rules of prudence; and the more, becauſe it proved ſo happy to both parties: For the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed ſo happy, that there never was any oppoſition betwixt them, unleſs it were a conteſt which ſhould moſt incline to a compliance with the other's deſires. And though this begot, and continued in them, ſuch a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by ſuch daily obligingneſs to each other, as ſtill added ſuch new affluences to the former fulneſs of theſe divine ſouls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle[f], who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltſhire, was made Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and not long

[f] Walter Curle, D. D. was born at Hatfield, in Hertfordſhire, a ſeat of the Earls of Saliſbury. His father was a ſervant to William Cecil Earl of Saliſbury, and as his agent in the affair of the Queen of Scots, and ſteward of his eſtates ſo faithful and helpful, that the Earl not only preferred

long after tranſlated to Wincheſter, and by that means the preſentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reaſon of Dr. Curle's advancement: But Philip, then Earl of Pembroke (for William[g] was lately dead),

 requeſted

preferred him to be Auditor of the Court of Wards, but advanced this his ſon to be Fellow of Peter Houſe in Cambridge, and preſented him to a good living, in which he diſcharged the duties of a paſtor ſo well, in preventing law-ſuits, and compoſing differences among his pariſhioners, ſuppreſſing houſes of debauchery, and regulating many other diſorders, gaining many Diſſenters to the church by his wife and meek diſcourſes, and leaving others who were obſtinate in error, inexcuſable by his holy converſation and charitable hoſpitality, that the Earl recommended him to King James I. as a fit perſon for his chaplain; in which ſtation he ſoon became the object of his Majeſty's favour, which he found by being made Dean of Litchfield in 1621. King Charles I. in 1628 appointed him Biſhop of Rocheſter, where he continued not much longer than a year before he was removed to Bath and Wells, and then to Wincheſter, in which he ſat, when the late grand Rebellion began, wherein he was a great ſufferer. He left no other demonſtration of his learning, than a Sermon preached at Whitehall, on *Heb.* xii. 14. April 28, 1622. *(Magna Britannia, Vol. IV. p.* 857.*)*

[g] William, third Earl of Pembroke died April 10, 1630. He was the ſon of Henry ſecond Earl of Pembroke, by his third wife Mary, the accompliſhed ſiſter of Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the muſes and the graces ſeemed to meet, and to whoſe memory the well-known beautiful lines were written:

"Underneath this marble hearſe
"Lies the ſubject of all verſe,
"Sidney's ſiſter, Pembroke's mother:
"Death, erſt thou haſt ſlain another,
"Wife and fair and good as ſhe,
"Time ſhall throw a dart at thee."

Sir Philip Sidney dedicated to her his celebrated Romance called, from this circumſtance, "The Counteſs of Pembroke's Arcadia."

The character of this William Earl of Pembroke is not only one of the moſt amiable in Lord Clarendon's hiſtory, but is one of the beſt drawn. *(Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. p.* 192.) "He was," ſays Wood, "not only a great favourer of learned and ingenious men, but was himſelf learned and endowed to admiration with a poetical geny." His poems were publiſhed with this title, "Poems written by William Earl of Pembroke, &c. many of which are anſwered by way of Repartee, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, with other Poems written by them occaſionally and apart." London, 1660.

requeſted the King to beſtow it upon his kinſman George Herbert; and the King ſaid, "Moſt willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance:" And the Earl as willingly and ſuddenly ſent it him without ſeeking: But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a reſolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this preſentation, the apprehenſion of the laſt great account, that he was to make for the cure of ſo many ſouls, made him faſt and pray often, and conſider for not leſs than a month; in which time he had ſome reſolutions to decline both the prieſthood and that living. And in this time of conſidering, "He endured," as he would often ſay, "ſuch ſpiritual conflicts as none can think, but only thoſe that have endured "them."

In the midſt of theſe conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to ſalute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witneſs of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together ſome few days, they took a journey to Wilton, the famous ſeat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl[h], and the whole Court were there, or at Saliſbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert preſented

[h] Philip fourth Earl of Pembroke, and firſt Earl of Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſehold to King Charles I. and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, of whom ſee "The Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. II. p. 191." By Suſan his firſt wife, daughter of Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, he had iſſue ſeven ſons and three daughters. To his ſecond wife he married June 13, 1630, Ann, ſole daughter and heir to George Earl of Cumberland, widow of Richard Earl of Dorſet, but by her had no iſſue at his death, Jan. 23, 1649-50, leaving his lady ſurviving, who is juſtly celebrated for her life and manners, extenſive charity and beneficence. Dying March 22, 1675, ſhe was buried at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, where her funeral ſermon was preached by Edward Rainbow, Biſhop of Carliſle, April 14, 1676, with ſome remarks on the life of that eminent lady, from *Prov.* xiv. 1. He obſerves of her, that ſhe had early gained a knowledge as of the beſt things; ſo an ability to diſcourſe in all commendable arts and ſciences, as well as in thoſe things which belong to perſons of her birth and ſex to know: For ſhe could diſcourſe with virtuoſos, travellers, ſcholars, merchants, divines, ſtateſmen, and with good houſewives in any kind, inſomuch that a prime and elegant wit, Dr. Donne, well ſeen in all human learning, and afterward devoted to the ſtudy of divinity, is reported to have ſaid of this lady in her younger years to this effect, "That ſhe knew well how to diſcourſe of all things, from predeſtination to flea-ſilk."

prefented his thanks to the Earl, for his prefentation to Bemerton, but had not yet refolved to accept it, and told him the reafon why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bifhop of London, and after Archbifhop of Canterbury, with his kinfman's irrefolution. And the Bifhop did the next day fo convince Mr. Herbert, *that the refufal of it was a fin*, that a tailor was fent for to come fpeedily from Salifbury to Wilton, to take meafure, and make him canonical clothes[i] againft next day; which the tailor did: And Mr. Herbert being fo habited, went with his prefentation to the learned Dr. Davenant[k], who was then Bifhop of Salifbury, and he gave him inftitution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon fome years before); and he was alfo the fame day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleafant than healthful, parfonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salifbury.

I have now brought him to the parfonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-fixth of his age, and muft ftop here, and befpeak the reader to prepare for an almoft incredible ftory of the great fanctity of the fhort remainder of his holy life; a life fo full of charity, humility, and all Chriftian virtues, that it deferves the eloquence of St. Chryfoftom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need

[i] It appears from this paffage that a diftinction of drefs was not ftrictly obferved by thofe who were admitted only into deacon's orders. Though Mr. Herbert was ordained deacon about the year 1626, he ftill continued to wear his fword and filk clothes.

[k] Dr. John Davenant, elected in 1609 Lady Margaret's Profeffor of Divinity at Cambridge, and in 1614 Prefident of Queen's College, was promoted to the Bifhopric of Salifbury in 1621. A zealous and fteady oppofer of Arminianifm. He was appointed by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort. He is defcribed by Echard as a perfon of found learning, deep divinity, and unblemifhed life. His eagernefs to eftablifh peace and a brotherly union between the different reformed churches may be inferred from the animated language with which he has expreffed himfelf on the fubject: "I had rather a millftone were hanged about my neck, and I caft "into the fea, than that I fhould hinder a work fo acceptable to God, or fhould not with my "whole mind and ftrength fupport it." In a prayer uttered a fhort time before his death, "he thanked God for his fatherly correction, becaufe in all his life-time he never had one "heavy affliction; which made him often much fufpect with himfelf, whether he was a true "child of God or no, until this his laft ficknefs. 'Then he fweetly,' continues Fuller, 'fell 'afleep; and fo we foftly draw the curtain about him.'

need for this age to look back into times paſt for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confeſs I am not; and am not pleaſed with myſelf that I muſt; and profeſs myſelf amazed when I conſider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live ſo unlike him now: But it becomes not me to cenſure: My deſign is rather to aſſure the reader, that I have uſed very great diligence to inform myſelf, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with ſincerity.

When at his induction he was ſhut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he ſtaid ſo much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to thoſe friends that ſtaid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and ſaw him lie proſtrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he ſet ſome rules to himſelf, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the ſame night that he had his induction, he ſaid to Mr. Woodnot; "I now look back upon my aſpiring thoughts, and think myſelf more "happy than if I had attained what then I ſo ambitiouſly thirſted for: And "I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and ſee plainly that it "is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other ſuch empty, "imaginary, painted pleaſures: Pleaſures that are ſo empty, as not to ſa-"tisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his ſervice is a fulneſs of "all joy and pleaſure, and no ſatiety. And I will now uſe all my endea-"vours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on "him, who never fails thoſe that truſt him. But above all, I will be ſure "to live well, becauſe the virtuous life of a clergyman is the moſt power-"ful eloquence to perſuade all that ſee it to reverence and love, and at leaſt "to deſire to live like him. And this I will do, becauſe I know we live in "an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts[1]. And I "beſeech that God, who hath honoured me ſo much as to call me to ſerve "him at his altar, that as by his ſpecial grace he hath put into my heart theſe "good

[1] "Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla." *(Seneca.)*

" good defires, and refolutions; fo he will, by his affifting grace, give me " ghoftly ftrength to bring the fame to good effect. And I befeech him that " my humble and charitable life may fo win upon others, as to bring glory " to my Jefus, whom I have this day taken to be my mafter[m] and governor: " and I am fo proud of his fervice, that I will always obferve, and obey, " and do his will; and always call him Jefus my mafter, and I will always " contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, " when I fhall compare them with my title of being a prieft, and ferving at " the altar of Jefus my mafter."

And that he did fo may appear in many parts of his " Book of Sacred Poems;" efpecially in that which he calls " The Odour[n]." In which he feems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, *Jefus*, and fay, that the adding thefe words, *my mafter*, to it, and the often repetition of them feemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to ferve at God's altar, he feems in another place of his poems (" The Pearl[o]," *Matt.* xiii.) to rejoice and fay,—" He knew " the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what, " when it is forced by fire: Knew the ways of honour, and when glory " inclines the foul to noble expreffions: Knew the court: Knew the ways " of pleafure, of love, of wit, of mufic, and upon what terms he declined " all thefe for the fervice of his mafter Jefus;" and then concludes, faying,

" That through thefe labyrinths, not my groveling wit:
" But thy filk-twift let down from heav'n to me
" Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
" To climb to thee.

The

[m] See "Duport's Verfes on the Life of Mr. George Herbert."——In thefe his pious refolutions, Mr. Herbert feems almoft to adopt the triumphant affertions of St. Paul: " *Yea, I count* " *all things but loft for the excellency of the knowledge of Chrift Jefus,*" *Phil.* iii. 8. May thefe fentiments engage the ferious attention of the younger clergy! Nothing furely can be more difgraceful than for a minifter of the gofpel to affume the appearance of difclaiming his function, by imitating the habit and deportment of fecular perfons, when he affects the gentleman fo much that he forgets the clergyman. (*See Scougal's Works, p.* 246.)

[n] Mr. George Herbert's " Temple," p. 169. Edit. of 1709.

[o] Ibid. p. 81.

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, "and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a prece-"dence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's "wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases "by her obliging humility; and I am sure places so purchased do best be-"come them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to as-"sure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoken some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak "to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve "your necessities too, if I be able; and this I will do willingly; and there-"fore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire."—— After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her "he "would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care:" and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a

poor

poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Chriſtian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counſel; but becauſe that coſt him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and ſo ſent her home with a cheerful heart, praiſing God and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's bleſſed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the paſſages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which ſhe was ſo affected that ſhe went next day to Saliſbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and ſent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a meſſage, "that ſhe would ſee and be acquainted with her when "her houſe was built at Bemerton."

There be many ſuch paſſages both of him and his wife, of which ſome few will be related; but I ſhall firſt tell that he haſted to get the pariſh-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which ſtands near his houſe), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greateſt part of the parſonage-houſe, which he did alſo very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he cauſed theſe verſes to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new houſe to thy mind,
And built without thy coſt:
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee ſtore,
And then my labour's not loſt.

We will now, by the reader's favour, ſuppoſe him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have ſeen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I ſhall proceed to give an account of the reſt of his behaviour both to his pariſhioners, and thoſe many others that knew and converſed with him.

Doubtleſs, Mr. Herbert had conſidered and given rules to himſelf for his Chriſtian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders.

And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a deacon[p], and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman[q], now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand on "Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within less than three years, lent his shoul-"der[r] to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe; and that time might not

[p] Admission to a cure of souls did not then require the person admitted to be in priest's orders. In the times preceding the reformation, even those who were under age, and in the lowest degree of orders, obtained presentations to benefices. Thus *Colet*, Dean of St Paul's, was instituted to a rectory, when he was only nineteen years of age, and an *Acolyte*. But by 13 Eliz. c. 12. no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a *deacon*. And by 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4. no person whatsoever shall thenceforth be capable to be admitted to any parsonage, &c. unless he have formerly been made priest, by Episcopal ordination.

[q] Dr. Humphrey Henchman was at that time prebendary of the church of Salisbury. Being much esteemed by Charles II. whose escape, after the battle of Worcester, he was very instrumental in promoting, he was preferred to the see of Salisbury in 1660, and in 1663 was removed to London, and made Lord Almoner. When the declaration for liberty of conscience was published in 1671-2, this prelate firmly adhered to his duty, and was not afraid to incur the King's displeasure, by strictly enjoining his clergy to preach against Popery.

[r] When the good Dr. Hammond was buried without ostentation or pomp, several of the gentry and clergy of the country, and affectionate multitudes of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves *to bear him on their shoulders*, which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive. (*Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond, p.* 276.)—See "The Life of Mr. Joseph Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxxiii.——In the earlier ages of the church, this custom, derived from the Jews, was religiously observed.—Persons designed for the office of bearing the dead upon their shoulders were called κοπιαται. But sometimes the friends of the deceased parties would carry the body themselves. Thus St. Basil was carried by the hands of holy men—χερσιν αγιων ὑψωμενος. And St. Jerom tells us, that Paula was borne to the grave by bishops—*cervicem feretro subjicientibus.*

not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson[t];" in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's knowledge.	The Parson arguing.
The Parson on Sundays.	The Parson condescending.
The Parson praying.	The Parson in his journey.
The Parson preaching.	The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson's charity.	The Parson with his churchwardens.
The Parson comforting the sick.	The Parson blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy rules set down in that useful book[t]. A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare 12d. and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley[u], who published it with a most conscientious and excellent pre-

 face;

[t] The late Dr. John Burton, fellow of Eton College, whilst he gives a just character of Mr. Herbert, seems to have considered this work as a poetical composition. "Georgius Herbert, "Domini Baronis de Cherbury frater, aliquando in Acad. Cantab. Orator publicus, deinde "Rector de Bemerton in agro Wilts. pietate insignis et ingenio poema scripsit, cui titulus "'Sacerdos præcialis rusticus,' ipse tituli quem libello præscripsit fidem moribus suis adim-"plens, et officia sacerdotalia, quæ descripsit, exemplo suo illustrans."

[t] From his observance of these rules, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, who knew him, had great reason to pronounce him "A peer to the primitive saints, and more than a pattern to his own age."

[u] Barnabas Oley, a private clergyman of singular piety, learning, and charity, was born at Warmfield, a village in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where his father was vicar. Having received his education in the free grammar-school of Wakefield, under Mr. Jeremy Gibson, he was admitted of Clare Hall, in the university of Cambridge. He was elected probationary fellow of the old foundation of Lady Clare, Nov. 28, 1623; and in 1627 he became a senior fellow, that is, a fellow of Lady Clare's foundation. Having for some time discharged the office

face; from which I have had ſome of thoſe truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his firſt ſermon was taken out of Solomon's

office of tutor in his college with great credit, he ſucceeded to the vicarage of Great Grandſden, in Huntingdonſhire. In 1635, he was one of the proctors of the univerſity. In 1644 he was ejected from his fellowſhip by Edward Earl of Mancheſter, major-general of the Parliament's forces, for not reſiding at Cambridge, nor repairing thither upon being ſummoned. But theſe were not the true cauſe of this ſeverity. Mr. Oley, at the imminent hazard of his life, led the party which conveyed the plate and money, collected in that univerſity for the ſupport of the royal cauſe, to his Majeſty King Charles, at Nottingham.—" Barcicus autem aliiq; ſelecti aca-" demici, quorum arcano ſtudio tantæ difficultatis opus mandabatur, conſilii Cromwelliani " compotes facti, ſubſidium regium per loca devia exiguâ equitum manu ſtipatum ablegant, " eâ ipsâ nocte quâ Cromwellus cum ſuo pedite viam ſolitam obſtruebat, certo certius luce " proximâ ab hoſte corripiendum. Hujus itineris ducem conſultiſſimum virum BARNABAM " OLÆUM locorum quibus deviandum erat peritum conſtituunt. Is erat Aulæ Clarenſis Præ-" ſes, pietatis certe Cantabrigienſis in optimum regem et chariſſimam patriam aptiſſimus nun-" cius et interpres. *Hoc enim viro neſcio an Academia Cantabrigienſis unquam quicquam habuit aut* " *modeſtius aut ſanctius.* Ille autem ſub divinis auſpiciis hoc qualecunque academiæ fidei pig-" nus et teſtimonium ad regios pedes Nottinghamiæ ſubmiſit. *(Vita Johannis Berwick, S. T. P. p.* 16, 17.)——He was at this time plundered of all his property, and ſo much haraſſed and menaced by the rebels, as to be under the neceſſity of leaving his vicarage. To avoid diſcovery he frequently changed his habit. For ſeven years he wandered about, having ſcarce wherewith to ſupport himſelf. He fled for ſafety to the town of Wakefield; and we find him at one time in Pontefract caſtle with ſome other loyal and worthy clergymen, preaching to the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and encouraging them to defend the place againſt the King's enemies.

In 1659 he returned to Grandſden, when he had not, to uſe his own words, where to lay his head. In 1660 he was reſtored to his fellowſhip. A prebend in the church of Worceſter, and the archdeaconry of Ely were conferred upon him. The latter he reſigned, the former he kept with his vicarage to the time of his death, Feb. 20, 1685-6.

He was the editor of the learned Dr. Thomas Jackſon's Works, and of Mr. Geo. Herbert's "Prieſt to the Temple." His prefaces to both thoſe publications are truly excellent, and will always be read with equal pleaſure and edification. His letters, ſome of which were in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Bigg, the late vicar of Great Grandſden, breathe the ſpirit of primitive piety and apoſtolical ſimplicity. I cannot diſmiſs this article without obſerving that Mr. Oley was a generous benefactor to his college, which becoming ruinous was taken down and re-edified. Fuller ſays, "that he may be truly termed *Maſter of the Fabric*, ſo induſtrious " and judicious was he in overſeeing the ſame. Nor was he like the fooliſh builder that " could not, but the unhappy, that might not finiſh his work; being outed the college on " the account of the covenant." *(Fuller's Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p.* 38.)

mon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which firſt ſermon he gave his pariſhioners many neceſſary, holy, ſafe rules for the diſcharge of a good conſcience both to God and man. And delivered his ſermon after a moſt florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the cloſe of this ſermon, told them, "That ſhould not be "his conſtant way of preaching; for ſince Almighty God does not intend "to lead men to heaven by hard queſtions, he would not therefore fill their "heads with unneceſſary notions; but that for their ſakes, his language and "his expreſſions ſhould be more plain and practical in his future ſermons[x]. And he then made it his humble requeſt, "that they would be conſtant to "the afternoon's ſervice and catechiſing;" and ſhewed them convincing reaſons why he deſired it; and his obliging example and perſuaſions brought them to a willing conformity to his deſires.

The texts for all his future ſermons (which God knows were not many) were conſtantly taken out of the goſpel for the day; and he did as conſtantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read[y]; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday[z] does refer

[x] The famous painter, Albrecht Durer, uſed to ſay, he took no delight in thoſe pictures which were painted with many colours, but in thoſe that were made moſt plain: "Even ſo," ſaid Luther, "I take delight in thoſe ſermons that enter fine and ſimply, ſo that they may well "be underſtood and comprehended of the common man." (*Luther's Table Talk, p.* 510.)

[y] Mr. Herbert's chief delight was in the holy Scripture; one leaf whereof he profeſſed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world in exchange. That was his wiſdom, his comfort, his joy: Out of that he took his motto: "*Leſſe than the leaſt of all God's mer-* "*cies.*" In that he found the ſubſtance, Chriſt; and, in Chriſt, remiſſion of ſins; yea, in his blood, he placed the goodneſs of his good works. "It is a good work" (ſaid he, of building "a church), if it be ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt." (*Mr. Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.*)

[z] The excellency of ſome of the collects in our liturgy is truly admirable; ſuch, indeed, as no other church can boaſt. But it will be difficult to conceive how Mr. Herbert could diſcover and ſhew the reference that the collect for every Sunday has to the goſpel or epiſtle of that day. The relation which many of them bear to the reſpective goſpels and epiſtles is very ſtriking and obvious; as in thoſe uſed on the two firſt Sundays in Advent, on the ſixth Sunday

refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession "of our-"selves to be vile miserable sinners;" and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, "to open our lips, that our mouths may shew "forth his praise:" for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, "Glory be to the Father, "and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for "with such sacrifices God is "honoured and well-pleased." This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and

day after the Epiphany, and some others: but it must be owned, that in several of them, the connexion is sought for in vain. When commissioners were appointed in 1680 to revise the liturgy, &c. among other amendments proposed, new collects were drawn up agreeable to the epistles and gospels.

and then to ſay with the bleſſed Virgin, that their "ſouls do magnify the Lord, "and that their ſpirits do alſo rejoice in God their ſaviour." And that it was their duty alſo to rejoice with Simeon in his ſong, and ſay with him, that their "eyes have" alſo "ſeen their ſalvation;" for they have ſeen that ſalvation which was but propheſied till his time: And he then broke out into thoſe expreſſions of joy that he did ſee it; but they lived to ſee it daily in the hiſtory of it, and, therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their ſacrifices of praiſe to their God for that particular mercy. A ſervice which is now the conſtant employment of that bleſſed Virgin and Simeon, and all thoſe bleſſed ſaints that are poſſeſſed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and conſtantly ſinging, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God, "glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable ſervice to God; becauſe the prophet David ſays, in his Pſalms, "He that praiſeth the Lord honoureth him."

He made them to underſtand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our fore-fathers groaned under; namely, from the legal ſacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumciſion, and from the ſtrict obſervation of the Jewiſh Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received ſo many and ſo great bleſſings, by being born ſince the days of our Saviour, it muſt be an acceptable ſacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge thoſe bleſſings daily, and ſtand up and worſhip, and ſay as Zacharias did, "Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, for he hath (in our days) viſited and "redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and ſhewed "that mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promiſed to our "forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made "with them." And he made them to underſtand that we live to ſee and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his paſſion, his reſurrection, and aſcenſion into heaven, where he now ſits ſenſible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this preſent time making interceſſion for us, to his, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to expreſs their public gratulations, and ſay daily with Zacharias, "Bleſſed be the Lord "God of Iſrael, that hath thus viſited, and thus redeemed his people."—— Theſe were ſome of the reaſons by which Mr. Herbert inſtructed his congregation

gregation for the uſe of the pſalms and the hymns appointed to be daily ſung or ſaid in the church-ſervice.

He informed them alſo, when the prieſt did pray only for the congregation and not for himſelf; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the prieſt is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, ſaying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, ſaying, "And with thy ſpirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he aſſured them, that when there is ſuch mutual love, and ſuch joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels[a] look down from heaven, and are ready to carry ſuch charitable deſires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Chriſtian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble poſture, look as beautifully as Jeruſalem, that is at peace with itſelf.

He inſtructed them alſo why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full ſervice of the church; namely, at the concluſion of the ſeveral parts of that ſervice; and prayed then, not only becauſe it was compoſed and commanded by our Jeſus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our leſs perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fitteſt to ſum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He inſtructed them alſo that as by the ſecond commandment we are required not to bow down or worſhip an idol or falſe god; ſo, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or ſtand up[b] and worſhip the true

[a] How comfortable is the doctrine, that the good angels condeſcend to notice the prayers of good men upon earth! to report, to commemorate, to preſent them before God in heaven! It is a part of the angelical miniſtry to offer our prayers unto God daily. To offer them—how? not as mediators and interceſſors, adding virtue to our prayers from their merits, for this belongs to our Saviour Chriſt alone, the only meritorious mediator between God and man; but as meſſengers relating and reporting our prayers before God; "bringing the remembrance of "them before the Holy One." The practical application of this doctrine to the purpoſes of devotion is too obvious to be here inſiſted on. See "Bull's Sermon's," Vol. II. p. 517, 520. "Joſeph Mede's Works," p. 343, 347.

[b] It is well known that the nobility and gentry of Poland were accuſtomed, when they repeated the creed, to ſtand up, holding their drawn ſwords in their hands, intimating thereby their readineſs to defend it with their lives.

true God. And he inſtructed them why the Church required the congregation to ſtand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, becauſe they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an aſſent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that ſhorter creed or doxology ſo often repeated daily, they alſo ſtood up to teſtify their belief to be, that "the God that they truſted in was one God "and three perſons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to whom they "and the prieſt gave glory." And becauſe there had been hereticks that had denied ſome of thoſe three perſons to be God; therefore the congregation ſtood up and honoured him, by confeſſing and ſaying, "It was ſo in the "beginning, is now ſo, and ſhall ever be ſo world without end." And all gave their aſſent to this belief, by ſtanding up and ſaying, *Amen.*

He inſtructed them alſo what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent uſe of them; namely, that they were ſet apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker ſays) "to be "the land-marks to diſtinguiſh times:" for by them we are taught to take notice how time paſſes by us, and that we ought not to let the years paſs without a celebration of praiſe for thoſe mercies which thoſe days give us occaſion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the bleſſed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "ſhe "ſhould conceive and bear a ſon, that ſhould be the Redeemer of mankind." And ſhe did ſo forty weeks after this joyful ſalutation; namely, at our Chriſtmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praiſe: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumciſion; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifeſtation of the unſearchable riches of Jeſus to the Gentiles: And that that day we alſo celebrate the memory of his goodneſs in ſending a ſtar to guide the three Wiſe Men from the Eaſt to Bethlehem, that they might there worſhip, and preſent him with their oblations of gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) inſtructed them, that Jeſus was forty days after his birth preſented by his bleſſed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call,

"The Purification of the bleſſed Virgin Saint Mary." And he inſtructed them, that by the Lent-faſt we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in faſting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion; and at Eaſter, commemorate his glorious Reſurrection. And he taught them, that after Jeſus had manifeſted himſelf to his diſciples to be "That Chriſt that was crucified, dead and buried;" and by his appearing and converſing with his diſciples for the ſpace of forty days after his Reſurrection, he then, and not till then, aſcended into heaven in the ſight of thoſe diſciples; namely, on that day which we call the Aſcenſion, or Holy Thurſday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promiſe which he made to his diſciples at or before his aſcenſion; namely, "That though he left them, yet he would ſend them the Holy "Ghoſt to be their Comforter;" and that he did ſo on that day which the Church calls Whitſunday. Thus the Church keeps an hiſtorical and circular commemoration of times as they paſs by us; of ſuch times as ought to incline us to occaſional praiſes for the particular bleſſings which we do, or might receive by thoſe holy commemorations[c].

He made them know alſo why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reaſon why the Commandments, and the Epiſtles and Goſpels were to be read at the Altar or Communion Table; why the prieſt was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray ſome collects ſtanding; and he gave them many other obſervations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I muſt ſet limits to my pen, and not make that a treatiſe which I intended to be a much ſhorter account than I

[c] Thoſe that pretend to ſo much ſpirituality as to caſt out all obſervation of days, I wiſh it may not be a ſyſtem of infidelity in them, and of a ſecret quarrel they have to the truth of Chriſtianity itſelf. For thoſe that are moſt perfect in divine accompliſhments, cannot enjoy the actual enraviſhments that may ariſe from this perfection, without vacancy from ſecular employments, for which theſe holydays are moſt fit; and thoſe that are leſs perfect, by their vacation from worldly drudgery, have the opportunity of ſearching more cloſely into the ſtate and condition of their ſouls, and of more ſerious meditations and reſolutions of compoſing their life to the moſt perfect patterns of truth and ſanctity. (*Dr. Henry More's Theological Works, p.* 381.)

I have made it:—But I have done when I have told the reader that he was conſtant in catechiſing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechiſing was after his ſecond leſſon, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always ſo happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I muſt add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his ſermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine ſervice; and of thoſe miniſters that huddled up the church-prayers without a viſible reverence and affection; namely, *ſuch as ſeemed to ſay the Lord's Prayer or a collect in a breath:* But for himſelf, his cuſtom was to ſtop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to conſider what they had prayed, and to force their deſires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his pariſhioners underſtand what they prayed, and why they praiſed and adored their Creator, I hope I ſhall the more eaſily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear conſtantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceaſed ſiſter) and his whole family twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almoſt join to his parſonage-houſe. And for the time of his appearing, it was ſtrictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midſt of the congregation. And he would joy to have ſpent that time in that place where the honour of his *Maſter Jeſus* dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he teſtified conſtantly by an humble behaviour and viſible adoration, he, like Joſhua brought not only "His own houſehold thus to ſerve the Lord," but brought moſt of his pariſhioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, conſtantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: And ſome of the meaner ſort of his pariſh did ſo love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough reſt when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might alſo offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his moſt holy life was ſuch, that it begot ſuch reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themſelves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's bleſſing

back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reaſon and example, to perſuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his conſtant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor thoſe prayers that he thought himſelf bound to perform with his family, which always were a ſet form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's ſanctity a ſtep towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefeſt recreation was muſic, in which heavenly art he was a moſt excellent maſter, and did himſelf compoſe many divine hymns and anthems, which he ſet and ſung to his lute or viol: And though he was a lover of retiredneſs, yet his love to muſic was ſuch, that he went uſually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Saliſbury; and at his return would ſay, "That his time ſpent in prayer, and cathedral muſic[d], "elevated

[d] Mr. Herbert ſpoke with the ſame divine feeling as Milton did afterward:

"There let the pealing organ blow.
"To the full-voic'd choir below;
"In ſervice high and anthem clear,
"As may with ſweetneſs through mine ear
"Diſſolve me into ecſtaſies,
"And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

CHURCH-MUSIC.

"Sweeteſt of ſweets, I thank you: when diſpleaſure
"Did through my body wound my mind,
"You took me thence, and in your houſe of pleaſure
"A dainty lodging me aſſign'd.
"Now I in you without a body move,
"Riſing and falling with your wings;
"We both together ſweetly live and love,
"Yet ſay ſometimes, *God help poor kings.*
"Comfort, I'll die; for if you poſt from me,
"Sure I ſhall do ſo, and much more:
"But if I travel in your companie,
"You know the way to heaven's door." (*Herbert's Divine Poems.*

See likewiſe "The Life of Dr. Donne," p. 78, and "Luther's Table Talk," p. 500.

It muſt not, however, be inferred that thoſe, who hear the ſtrains of church muſic without that ecſtaſy and rapture which others experience, are therefore ſtrangers to the genuine pleaſure

" elevated his ſoul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would uſually ſing and play his part at an appointed private muſic-meeting; and, to juſtify this practice, he would often ſay, " Religion does not baniſh mirth, but only moderates and ſets " rules to it."

And as his deſire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Saliſbury, ſo his walks thither were the occaſion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention ſome few.

In one of his walks to Saliſbury, he overtook a gentleman that is ſtill living in that city; and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occaſion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excuſed if he aſked him ſome account of his faith; and ſaid, " I do this, the rather becauſe though " you are not of my pariſh, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your " tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, becauſe I know there be ſome " ſermon-hearers that be like thoſe fiſhes that always live in ſalt water, and " yet are always freſh." After which expreſſion Mr. Herbert aſked him ſome needful queſtions, and having received his anſwer, gave him ſuch rules for the trial of his ſincerity, and for a practical piety, and in ſo loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did ſo fall in love with him and his diſcourſe, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Saliſbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and ſtill mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and ſtill praiſeth God for the occaſion of knowing him.

In another of his Saliſbury walks, he met with a neighbour miniſter, and after ſome friendly diſcourſe betwixt them, and ſome condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occaſion to ſay, " One cure for theſe diſtempers, would be for the clergy " themſelves

ſures of devotion: Nor are we to conclude, that thoſe are always truly devout, who are delighted with this ſublime ſpecies of muſical compoſition. It is related of a good and pious prelate, who had determined, with Nazianzen, " to give wings to his ſoul, to reſcue it wholly " from the world, and dedicate it to God," that he did not love the pomp of a choir, which, he thought, filled the ear with too much pleaſure, and carried away the mind from the ſerious attention to the matter; which is indeed the ſinging with grace in the heart, and the inward melody, with which God is chiefly pleaſed.

" themſelves to keep the Ember-weeks ſtrictly, and beg of their pariſhioners " to join with them in faſting and prayers for a more religious clergy."

" And another cure would be for themſelves to reſtore the great and " neglected duty of catechiſing, on which the ſalvation of ſo many of the " poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally, that the clergy " themſelves would be ſure to live unblamably; and that the dignified clergy " eſpecially, which preach temperance, would avoid ſurfeiting, and take all " occaſions to expreſs a viſible humility[e] and charity in their lives: For this " would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all " that knew them to be ſuch." (And for proof of this, we need no other teſtimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake[f], late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells.) " This," ſaid Mr. Herbert, " would be a cure for the wicked- " neſs and growing atheiſm of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be " done by us, and done in earneſt, let no man expect a reformation of the " manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that muſt " do it; and till then the fault muſt lie at our doors."

In

[e] In that enumeration of the ſeveral virtues, which the elegant philoſopher of Rome has introduced in his much-admired " Treatiſe on the Duties of Life," no mention is made of *humility*. It is indeed of too heavenly a nature to have a place in a ſyſtem of Pagan ſuperſtition. But our divine Lawgiver has profeſſedly made it the foundation of his religion, " Learn of me, for I " am meek and lowly in heart." In the ſchools of this world, elaborate lectures are delivered on natural philoſophy, on law, on medicine; but, in the ſchool of Chriſt, the great leſſon which is inculcated is the leſſon of humility. Where this quality is wanting, where pride poſſeſſes the heart, a man may be deemed learned, ingenious, eloquent; but he has no title to the denomination of a Chriſtian.

[f] Dr. Arthur Lake, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, died in 1626. He obtained his preferment, " not ſo much," ſays Fuller, " by the power of his brother, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary to King James, as by his own deſert, as one whoſe piety may be juſtly exemplary to all of his order. In all the places of honour and employment which he enjoyed, he carried himſelf the ſame in mind and perſon, ſhewing by his conſtancy, that his virtues were virtues indeed; in all kinds of which, whether natural moral, theological, perſonal, or paternal, he was eminent, and indeed one of the examples of his time. He always lived as a ſingle man, exemplary in his life and converſation, and very hoſpitable. He was alſo well read in the fathers and ſchoolmen, and had a command of the Scripture, which made him one of the beſt preachers, that few went beyond him in his time." (*Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p.* 501.)

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse: The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "that if he loved himself, he should be merciful to "his beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: And when one of the company told him "he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment;" his answer was, "that the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at "midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made "discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: For if "I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, "so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do "not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not "willingly pass one day of my life, without comforting a sad soul, or shew-"ing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us tune our "instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which he met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her steward-

ship,

ſhip, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for ſhe rejoiced in the employment: And this was uſually laid out by her in blankets and ſhoes for ſome ſuch poor people, as ſhe knew to ſtand in moſt need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he ſet no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he ſaw in want, but would relieve them, eſpecially his poor neighbours; to the meaneſt of whoſe houſes he would go and inform himſelf of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in diſtreſs; and would always praiſe God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was adviſed by a friend to be more frugal, becauſe he might have children, his anſwer was, "he would not ſee the "danger of want ſo far off; but being the Scripture does ſo commend "charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of Chriſtian virtues, the co-"vering of ſins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity "hath a promiſe of the bleſſings of this life, and of a reward in that life "which is to come; being theſe and more excellent things are in Scripture "ſpoken of thee, O Charity! and that being all my tithes and church-dues "are a *deodate* from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, ſo far to truſt "thy promiſe, as to return them back to thee! and by thy grace I will do "ſo, in diſtributing them to any of thy poor members that are in diſtreſs, "or do but bear the image of Jeſus my Maſter. Sir," ſaid he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance ſecured her after my death, and "therefore as this is my prayer, ſo this my reſolution ſhall, by God's grace, "be unalterable."

This may be ſome account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a conſumption ſo weakened him, as to confine him to his houſe, or to the chapel, which does almoſt join to it; in which he continued to read prayers conſtantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife obſerved him to read in pain, and told him ſo, and that it waſted his ſpirits, and weakened him; and he confeſſed it did, but ſaid, "his life could not be "better ſpent, than in the ſervice of his Maſter Jeſus, who had done and "ſuffered ſo much for him: But," ſaid he, "I will not be wilful; for "though my ſpirit be willing, yet I find my fleſh is weak; and therefore "Mr. Boſtock ſhall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I

"will

" will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal ſhall put on immor-
" tality." And Mr. Boſtock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Boſtock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulſton, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of eaſe. And this Mr. Boſtock did alſo conſtantly ſupply the church-ſervice for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the muſic meeting at Saliſbury cauſed his abſence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar[g] (for an account of whom I am by promiſe indebted to the reader, and intend to make him ſudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's ſickneſs, ſent Mr. Edmund Duncon[h] (who is now Rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middleſex) from his houſe of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to ſee Mr. Herbert, and to aſſure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at

 that

g "The friendſhip of good men may be maintained in vigour and height, without the cere-
" monies of viſits and compliments, yea, without any trade of ſecular courteſies, merely in or-
" der to ſpiritual edification of one another in love. Mr. Ferrar and Mr. George Herbert
" loved each other moſt intimately, and drove a large ſtock of Chriſtian charity long before
" their deaths, and yet they ſaw not each other in many years; I think, ſcarce ever, but as
" members of one univerſity, in their whole lives." *(Barnabas Oley's Life of Mr. George Herbert.)*——Mr. George Herbert was very deſirous of reſigning his prebend in the church of Lincoln to this his dear friend, who declined the acceptance of it, and diverted or directed the charity of Mr. Herbert to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps of the prebend lay.

Of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a recluſe almoſt to monachiſm, yet a rational and devout Chriſtian, Biſhop Turner ſays very properly, that ſome things in his life were rather to be admired than imitated: yet ſurely he and his ſociety are not deſerving of that cenſure with which they have been treated by the author of " Britiſh Topography."

h He was brother to Dr. Eleazer Duncon, Prebendary of Durham, and to Mr. John Duncon, " two very worthy and learned perſons, and great ſufferers, who died before the miracle
" of our happy reſtauration, and were happy in that they lived not to ſee ſuch oſtentation of
" ſin and ingratitude, as ſome ſince have made, as if they had been delivered from ſlaverie un-
" der the tyrant, that they might with more libertie yield themſelves ſervants to ſin under the
" tyrannie of Satan." *(Barnabas Oley's Preface, &c.)*

that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his ſeeing Mr. Duncon, he raiſed himſelf vigorouſly, ſaluted him, and with ſome earneſtneſs inquired the health of his brother Ferrar; of which Mr. Duncon ſatisfied him; and after ſome diſcourſe of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his conſtant ſerving God, he ſaid to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I ſee by your habit "that you are a prieſt, and I deſire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon aſked him "What prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's anſwer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; "no other prayers are equal to them! but at this time, I beg of you to "pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did ſo. After which, and ſome other diſcourſe of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain ſupper and a clean lodging, and he betook himſelf to reſt.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that at his firſt view of Mr. Herbert he ſaw majeſty and humility ſo reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his perſon; and ſays, "his "diſcourſe was ſo pious, and his motion ſo genteel and meek, that after al-"moſt forty years yet they remain ſtill freſh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himſelf to a journey to Bath, but with a promiſe to return back to him within five days, and he did ſo; but before I ſhall ſay any thing of what diſcourſe then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promiſed account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of ſix years) was born in London, and doubtleſs had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26th[1] year of his age he betook himſelf to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages ſpoken in the weſtern parts of our Chriſtian world, and underſtood well the principles of their religion, and of their

[1] Rather in the 21ſt year of his age. Mr. Ferrar was born Nov 22, 1592, and went abroad in the retinue of the Princeſs Elizabeth in 1613. He was uſually called "the Proteſtant Saint Nicholas, and the pious Mr. Herbert's brother." By the advice of Dr Butler, an eminent phyſician at Cambridge, his fellow collegian, he travelled for his health; his conſtitution, naturally delicate, having been much impaired by his inceſſant application to ſtudy.

their manner, and the reaſons of their worſhip. In this his travel he met with many perſuaſions to come into a communion with that church which calls itſelf Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his abſence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an eſtate left him, that enabled him to purchaſe land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a-year, the greateſt part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or ſix miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he choſe for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the pariſh-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having ſeen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert ſays, "a nothing between two diſhes," did ſo contemn it, that he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: And his life was ſpent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did moſt of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks ſtrictly, both in faſting and uſing all thoſe mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then uſed: and he and they did the like conſtantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be faſted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abſtinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the reſt.

This family, which I have ſaid to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the reſt choſen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their diſpoſitions ſerviceable and quiet, and humble and free from ſcandal. Having thus fitted himſelf for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himſelf to a conſtant and methodical ſervice of God, and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with moſt of his family, did himſelf uſe to read the common-prayers (for he was a deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the pariſh-church, which was very near his houſe, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reaſon of a de-

population of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor: And he did alſo conſtantly read the matins every morning at the hour of ſix, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own houſe; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they ſpent ſome hours in ſinging hymns or anthems, ſometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they ſometimes betook themſelves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Teſtament to themſelves, or to continue their praying or reading the Pſalms; and, in caſe the Pſalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themſelves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Pſalms that had not been read in the day; and when theſe, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, ſometimes before and ſometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family roſe, and maintained the watch, ſometimes by praying or ſinging lauds to God or reading the Pſalms: and when after ſome hours they alſo grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were alſo relieved by ſome of the former, or by a new part of the ſociety, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued ſerving of God, the Pſalter or whole Book of Pſalms, was in every four and twenty hours ſung or read over, from the firſt to the laſt verſe; and this was done as conſtantly as the ſun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the ſame inſtant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family ſerve God day and night:—Thus did they always behave themſelves, as in his preſence. And they did always eat and drink by the ſtricteſt rules of temperance; eat and drink ſo as to be ready to riſe at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needleſs diſputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themſelves a part of that happy ſociety, and ſtay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar, and the family in theſe devotions, and aſſiſt and eaſe him or them in their watch by night. And theſe various devotions had never

never lefs than two of the domeftic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unlefs in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour[k] was fitted for that purpofe. And this courfe of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639[l].

Mr.

[k] In this parlour was a tablet of brafs, placed by the advice of Mr. Herbert, with this infcription approved by him:

I. H. S.

HE, WHO (BY REPROOF OF OUR ERRORS, AND REMONSTRANCE OF THAT WHICH IS MORE PERFECT) SEEKS TO MAKE US BETTER, IS WELCOME AS AN ANGEL OF GOD. AND HE, WHO (BY A CHEERFUL PARTICIPATION OF THAT WHICH IS GOOD) CONFIRMS US IN THE SAME, IS WELCOME AS A CHRISTIAN FRIEND.

BUT

HE, WHO ANY WAYS GOES ABOUT TO DISTURB US IN THAT WHICH IS AND OUGHT TO BE AMONGST CHRISTIANS (THO' IT BE NOT USUAL IN THE WORLD), IS A BURDEN WHILST HE STAYS, AND SHALL BEAR HIS JUDGMENT, WHOSOEVER HE BE. AND HE, WHO FAULTS US IN ABSENCE FOR THAT WHICH IN PRESENCE HE MADE SHEW TO APPROVE OF, DOTH BY A DOUBLE GUILT OF FLATTERY AND SLANDER VIOLATE THE BANDS BOTH OF FRIENDSHIP AND CHARITY.

MARY FERRAR, WIDOW,
MOTHER OF THIS FAMILY,
AGED FOURSCORE YEARS,
(WHO BIDS ADIEU TO ALL FEARS AND HOPES OF THIS WORLD,
AND ONLY DESIRES TO SERVE GOD)
SET UP THIS TABLE.

[l] Mr. Ferrar died Dec. 2, 1637. *(Dr. Peckard's Memoirs, &c.)*——That happy fociety, of which he was the founder, is thus noticed in a well-known ludicrous poem:

"To

Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both ſo noted, that the general report of their ſanctity gave them occaſion to renew that ſlight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendſhip was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one teſtimony of their friendſhip and pious deſigns may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Conſiderations of John Valdeſſo[m]" (a book which he had met with in

"To th' new-founded College came I
"Commended to the care of many;
"Bounteous are they, kind and loving,
"Doing whatſoe'er's behoving.
"Theſe hold and walk together wholly,
"And ſtate their lands on uſes holy.
"Whether pure theſe are or are not,
"As I know not, ſo I care not:
"But if they be diſſembling brothers,
"Their life ſurpaſſeth many others:
"See but their cell, ſchool, and their temple,
"You'll ſay, the ſtars were their example."

Of this congregation of ſaints, ſee "Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams," p. 50—53. During the civil commotions, their religion and loyalty expoſed them to danger. The whole family "fled away and diſperſed, and *took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods*." *Heb.* x. 34.——All that they had reſtored to the church, all that they had beſtowed upon ſacred comelineſs, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, were ſeized upon as lawful prey, taken from ſuperſtitious perſons.

[m] The verſion of this celebrated work of John Valdeſſo is printed in octavo, and contains 311 pages. It is entitled, "The Hundred and Ten Conſiderations of Signior JOHN VALDESSO, treating of thoſe Things which are moſt profitable, moſt neceſſary, and moſt perfect in our Chriſtian Profeſſion. Written in Spaniſh, brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and firſt ſet forth in Italian at Baſil, by Cælius Secundus Curio, Anno 1550: afterward tranſlated into French, and printed at Lyons, 1563, and again at Paris, 1565, and now tranſlated out of the Italian Copy into Engliſh, with Notes: Whereunto is added an Epiſtle of the Author's, or a Preface to his divine Commentary upon the Romans. 1 *Cor.* ii. 'Howbeit we ſpeak Wiſdom amongſt 'them that are perfect, yet not the Wiſdom of this World.' Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the Univerſity. Ann. Dom. 1638."

Of the nature of this work we may form an idea from the Addreſs of the Editor, the learned Dr. Jackſon, to the Reader:

"Theſe

in his travels, and tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh) to be examined and cenſured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book

" Theſe truly divine meditations or conſiderations of Signior John Valdeſſo, a nobleman of " Spain (who died almoſt an hundred years agoe), having been ſo acceptable to pious Vige- " rius, to learned Cælius Secundus Curio, and to many others both french and italian pro- " teſtants, that they have been tranſlated out of the original ſpaniſh copy, and printed three " or four times in thoſe languages; it ſeemeth to me a reaſonable and charitable deſign to " print them now in Engliſh, without any alteration at all from the Italian copy, the Spaniſh " being either not at all extant, or not eaſy to be found. It is certain that the book containeth " many worthy diſcourſes of experimental and practical divinity, well expreſſed, and elegantly " illuſtrated, eſpecially concerning the doctrines of juſtification and mortification: and yet, " notwithſtanding, there be ſome few expreſſions and ſimilitudes in it, at which not only the " weak reader may ſtumble, and the envious quarrel; but alſo the wiſe and charitable reader " may juſtly blame. To have removed theſe few ſtumbling-blocks, or offenſive paſſages by " leaving them out, or by altering them, had not been the work of a tranſlator, but of an au- " thor; beſides the ill example of altering ancient authors, which is one of the greateſt cauſes " of the corruption of truth and learning. Therefore, it hath been thought fit to print the " book according to the author's own copy, but withall to give particular notice of ſome ſuſ- " picious places, and of ſome manifeſt errors which follow, particularly expreſſed in the en- " ſuing pages; referring the reſt, if any there be, to the judgment of the reader. He lived " where the ſcriptures were in no reputation; and, therefore, no marvel that he ſhould ſpeak " ſo ſlightly of them; but rather, on the contrary, it may ſeem a marvellous thing in our " ages to have a ſtateſman in thoſe parts at that time ſo far illuminated and taught of God " as he was.—May it pleaſe the divine Goodneſs, that every reader may reap the like com- " fort and profit to his ſoul, as the tranſlator and publiſher humbly and thankfully acknow- " ledge that they have done, and they have their main ſcope and aim in publiſhing it!"

Prefixed to " The Conſiderations" is alſo an Addreſs from Cælius Secundus Curio to the Reader, in which we have the following account of Valdeſſo: " Theſe Conſiderations, as " many well know, were firſt written by the author in the ſpaniſh language; but afterward, " by a certain pious and worthy perſon, tranſlated into Italian. Yet have they not been able " altogether to quit thoſe forms of ſpeech which are proper to Spain.—John Valdeſſo was by " nation a Spaniard, of noble kindred, of an honourable degree, and a reſplendent Chevalier " of the Emperor, but a much more honourable and reſplendent Chevalier of Chriſt. True " it is, he did not much follow the court after that Chriſt had revealed himſelf to him; but " abode in Italy, ſpending the greateſt part of his life at Naples, where with the ſweetneſſe of " his doctrine, and the ſanctity of his life, he gained many diſciples unto Chriſt; and eſpe- " cially among the gentlemen and cavaliers, and ſome ladies, he was very eminent and praiſe-

worthy

book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdeſſo was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V. whom Valdeſſo had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdeſſo grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his reſolution was to decline his Majeſty's ſervice, and betake himſelf to a quiet and contemplative life, becauſe there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himſelf for the ſame, or other like reaſons, put on the ſame reſolution: But God and himſelf did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore deſire Valdeſſo to conſider well of what he had ſaid, and to keep his purpoſe within his own breaſt, till they two might have

" worthy in all kinds of praiſe. It ſeemed that he was appointed by God for a teacher and " paſtor of noble and illuſtrious perſonages: although he was of ſuch benignity and cha- " rity, that he accounted himſelf debtor of his talents to every rude and mean perſon, and " became all things to all men, that he might gaine all to Chriſt: and not this alone, but he " gave light to ſome of the moſt famous preachers of Italy, which I very well know, having " converſed with them themſelves.

" He never had wife, but lived moſt continently; nor did he attend to ought elſe, as " much as he could, than unto mortification, in which death overtaking him, he became per- " fectly mortified, ſo as to be perfectly quickened in the reſurrection of the juſt, and to enjoy " our Lord Chriſt. He died in Naples about the year 1540. He hath left behind alſo cer- " taine other good and pious compoſitions, which, as I hope, ſhall by Vergerius his meanes " be communicated unto you."

Subjoined to "The Conſiderations" is an Epiſtle written by Valdeſſo "to Lady Dona Julia de Gonzaga," to whom he dedicates "A Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Romans." It appears, that along with this Commentary he ſent to her all St. Paul's Epiſtles, tranſlated from the Greek into the *ordinary Caſtilian language*. He ſays, that he had before tranſlated the Pſalms of David from the original Hebrew, for her uſe; and he promiſes to furniſh her with "*The Hiſtory of Chriſt*," in the ſame language, "at ſuch time and manner as it ſhall pleaſe the " Divine Majeſty."

Mr. Iſaac Walton in his "Complete Angler," p. 26, introduces a remark of Valdeſſo, whom he calls an ingenious Spaniard, "that rivers, and the inhabitants of the watery element, were made for wiſe men to contemplate, and fools to paſs by without conſideration."

have a ſecond opportunity of a friendly diſcourſe; which Valdeſſo promiſed to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdeſſo to meet again, and after a pious and free diſcourſe, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the bleſſed ſacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a ſermon of contempt of the world, and of the happineſs and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did moſt affectionately. After which ſermon, the Emperor took occaſion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a reſolution "to lay down his dignities, and to forſake the world, and betake himſelf "to a monaſtical life[n]." And he pretended he had perſuaded John Valdeſſo to do the like; but this is moſt certain, that after the Emperor had called his ſon Philip out of England, and reſigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdeſſo did perform their reſolutions.

This account of John Valdeſſo I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdeſſo wrote his "Hundred and Ten Conſiderations," and many other treatiſes of worth, which want a ſecond Mr. Ferrar to procure and tranſlate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdeſſo, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promiſe, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their diſcourſe could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert ſpoke to this purpoſe: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition "of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for "me: And let him know, that I have conſidered, *that God only is what he*

[n] Charles V. was deſirous of expiating the many diſorders of a life ſpent in continued wars, by devoting his laſt years to the ſervice of God. He retired to the monaſtery of Saint Juſt, ſituated near Placentia, on the frontiers of Caſtile and Portugal. Is it not to be regretted that after his retirement he often expreſſed his ſorrow for having obſerved *the ſafe conduct*, that he had formerly given to Luther, lamenting that he did not ſeize that reformer, to whom he had ſolemnly promiſed ſecurity? That bigotry muſt have been great indeed, which impelled a Chriſtian Prince to lament that he had not violated the moſt ſacred engagement.

" *would be*; and that I am, by his grace, become now ſo like him, as to be " pleaſed with what pleaſeth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but " am pleaſed with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on " that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be " there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience."— Having ſaid this, he did, with ſo ſweet a humility as ſeemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, ſay to him, " Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and " tell him, he ſhall find in it a picture of the many ſpiritual conflicts that " have paſſed betwixt God and my ſoul, before I could ſubject mine to the " will of Jeſus my Maſter; in whoſe ſervice I have now found perfect free- " dom; deſire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the " advantage of any dejected poor ſoul, let it be made public; if not, let " him burn it; for I and it are leſs than the leaſt of God's mercies[o]."—— Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of " The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;" of which Mr. Ferrar would ſay, " There was in it the picture of " a divine ſoul in every page; and that the whole book was ſuch a har- " mony of holy paſſions, as would enrich the world with pleaſure and " piety." And it appears to have done ſo; for there have been more than twenty thouſand of them ſold ſince the firſt impreſſion.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar ſent this book to Cambridge to be licenſed for the preſs, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two ſo much noted verſes[p]——

> Religion ſtands a tip-toe in our land,
> Ready to paſs to the American ſtrand,

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed

[o] In " Peckard's Memoirs," &c. is inſerted a prayer drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, on the particular occaſion of the dangerous illneſs of his dear friend, Mr. George Herbert.

[p] " Religion ſtands on tiptoe on our land,
" Ready to paſs to the American ſtrand.
" When height of malice, and prodigious luſts,
" Impudent ſinning, witchcrafts, and diſtruſts,
" The marks of future bane, ſhall fill our cup
" Unto the brim, and make our meaſure up;

" When

printed and want them; but after ſome time, and ſome arguments for and againſt their being made public, the Vice Chancellor ſaid, " I knew Mr. " Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly ſpeculations, and was " a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inſpired " prophet, and therefore I licenſe the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a ſyllable, ſince it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, ſave only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death), his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had ſeen him draw his laſt breath, and cloſed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often viſited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, eſpecially by his friends the Biſhop and Prebendaries of the cathedral church in Saliſbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the ſad witneſſes of his daily decay; to whom he would often ſpeak to this purpoſe: " I now look back upon the pleaſures of my life paſt, and ſee the content " I have taken in beauty, in wit, and muſic, and pleaſant converſation, are " now all paſt by me like a dream or as a ſhadow that returns not, and are " now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I ſee that as my father and " generation hath done before me, ſo I alſo ſhall now ſuddenly (with Job) " *make my bed alſo in the dark;* and I praiſe God I am prepared for it; and

 " I praiſe

" When Sein ſhall ſwallow Tiber; and the Thames,
" By letting in them both, pollutes her ſtreams;
" When Italy of us ſhall have her will,
" And all her calendars of ſins fulfil,
" Whereby one may foretell what ſins, next year,
" Shall both in France and England domineer;
" Then ſhall Religion to America flee:
" They have their times of goſpel ev'n as we."

(*Mr. Herbert's* CHURCH MILITANT.)

It is unneceſſary to remark the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, that the productions of a prophet are contained in theſe lines of Mr. George Herbert.

"I praiſe him, that I am not to learn patience, now I ſtand in ſuch need "of it; and that I have practiſed mortification, and endeavoured to die "daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I ſhall ſhortly "leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which "will be a more happy condition, I ſhall be free from ſin, and all the "temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being paſt, I ſhall dwell "in the New Jeruſalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where "theſe eyes ſhall ſee my Maſter and Saviour Jeſus; and with him ſee my "dear mother, and all my relations and friends:—But I muſt die, or not "come to that happy place: And this is my content, that I am going daily "towards it; and that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of "my appointed time from me; and that I ſhall live the leſs time, for "having lived this and the day paſt."——Theſe, and the like expreſſions, which he uttered often, may be ſaid to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he roſe ſuddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his inſtruments, took it into his hand, and ſaid,

My God, my God,
My muſic ſhall find thee,
And ev'ry ſtring
Shall have his attribute to ſing.

And having tuned it, he played and ſung:

The Sundays of man's life,
Threadded together on time's ſtring,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On Sundays heaven's door ſtands ope;
Bleſſings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope[a].

Thus he ſung on earth ſuch hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now ſing in heaven.

Thus

[a] See the whole hymn entitled "Sunday," in Mr. Herbert's "Temple."

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day ſaid to Mr. Woodnot, " My dear friend, I am " ſorry I have nothing to preſent to my merciful God but ſin and miſery; " but the firſt is pardoned; and a few hours will now put a period to the " latter; for I ſhall ſuddenly go hence and be no more ſeen." Upon which expreſſion, Mr. Woodnot took occaſion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy; to which he made anſwer, ſaying, " They be good works, if they be ſprinkled with the blood of " Chriſt, and not otherwiſe." After this diſcourſe he became more reſtleſs, and his ſoul ſeemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneaſineſs became ſo viſible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, ſtood conſtantly about his bed, beholding him with ſorrow, and an unwillingneſs to loſe the ſight of him whom they could not hope to ſee much longer. As they ſtood thus beholding him, his wife obſerved him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and obſerved him to fall into a ſudden agony, which ſo ſurpriſed her, that ſhe fell into a ſudden paſſion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his anſwer was," that he had " paſſed a conflict with his laſt enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits " of his Maſter Jeſus." After which anſwer he looked up, and ſaw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, " if they loved him, " to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; " for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which requeſt their ſighs and tears would not ſuffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a ſad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock. Immediately after they had left him, he ſaid to Mr. Boſtock, " Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in " which you may eaſily find my laſt-will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and ſaid, " My old friend, I here deliver you my laſt will, in which you " will find that I have made you my ſole executor for the good of my wife " and nieces; and I deſire you to ſhew kindneſs to them, as they ſhall " need it: I do not deſire you to be juſt, for I know you will be ſo for " your own ſake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendſhip, " to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promiſe

to

to be ſo, he ſaid, "I am now ready to die." After which words he ſaid, "Lord, forſake me not, now my ſtrength faileth me; but grant me mercy "for the merits of my Jeſus. And now Lord—Lord, now receive my ſoul." And with thoſe words he breathed forth his divine ſoul, without any apparent diſturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock attending his laſt breath, and cloſing his eyes[r].

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a ſaint, unſpotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed obſervation:

——All muſt to their cold graves;
But the religious actions of the juſt
Smell ſweet in death, and bloſſom in the duſt[s].

Mr. George Herbert's have done ſo to this, and will doubtleſs do ſo to ſucceeding generations. I have but this to ſay more of him, that if Andrew Melvin

[r] Thus died Mr. George Herbert:——

"He taught us how to live; and ah, too high
"A price for knowledge! taught us how to die."

[s] I am obliged to the ingenious author of "The Lives of the Deans of Canterbury," for pointing out the little poem entitled "Death's final Conqueſt," from which theſe lines were probably quoted. It was originally intended for a ſolemn dirge, in a play compoſed by James Shirley, a dramatic writer, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. and who died in 1666. It was a favourite ſong with Charles II.; and Oliver Cromwell is ſaid, on the recital of it, to have been ſeized with great terror and agitation of mind. The following is the third and concluding ſtanza:

"The garlands wither on your brow;
"Then boaſt no more your mighty deeds:
"Upon Death's purple altar now
"See where the victor victim bleeds.
"All heads muſt come
"To the cold tomb:
"Only the actions of the juſt
"Smell ſweet, and bloſſom in the duſt."

Melvin died before him[t], then George Herbert died without an enemy[u]. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

IZ. WA.

THERE is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his "sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will la-"bour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) "O that I had "died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight: And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention

[t] "Mr. George Herbert, Esq. Parson of Fugleston and Bemerton, was buried 3d day of "March, 1632." *(Parish Register of Bemerton.)*——It does not appear whether he was buried in the parish church or in the chapel. His letter to Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the translator of Valdesso, is dated from his parsonage at Bemerton, near Salisbury, Sep. 29, 1632. It must be remembered, that the beginning of the year, at that time, was computed from the 25th of March. In this year also, he wrote the short Address to the Reader, which is prefixed to his "Priest to the Temple," which was not published till after his death.

[u] We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr. Herbert; whose letters have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed.

mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and ſay, " that name muſt live in " her memory, till ſhe put off mortality."——By Sir Robert, ſhe had only one child, a daughter, whoſe parts and plentiful eſtate make her happy in this world, and her well uſing of them gives a fair teſtimony that ſhe will be ſo in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time ſhe took a pleaſure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-ſtone without any inſcription.

This Lady Cook had preſerved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which ſhe intended to make public, but they and Highnam Houſe were burnt together, by the late rebels, and ſo loſt to poſterity.

I. W.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.—No. I.

THE WORKS OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I. " ORATIO quâ auſpicatiſſimum ſereniſſimi Principis CAROLI reditum ex Hiſpaniis " celebravit GEORGIUS HERBERT, Academiæ Cantabrigienſis Orator. 1623."

A ſhort extract from this oration may not be unacceptable to the claſſic reader.

" Scio Belli nomen ſplendidum eſſe et glorioſum. Dum animus grandis ſuique impos tri- " umphos et victorias quaſi fræna ferox ſpumantia mandit; juvat micare gladio, et mucronem " intueri.

" Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
" Stringuntur aures; jam litui ſtrepunt;
" Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
" Terret equos, equitumque vultus.

" Cum tamen ſplendida plerumque vitrea ſint, claritatem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de " privato agamus bono, ſed publico; certé ſatendum eſt anteferendam bello pacem, ſine quâ " omnis vita procella, et mundus ſolitudo. Pace, filii ſepeliunt patres; bello, patres filios: " Pace, ægri ſanantur; bello, etiam ſani intereunt: Pace, ſecuritas in agris eſt; bello, neque " intra muros: Pace, avium cantus expergefacit; bello, tubæ ac tympana: Pax novum orbem " aperuit, bellum deſtruit veterem.

" Ειρηνη γεωργον κἀν πετραις τρεφει καλως,
" Πολεμος δε κἀν πεδιῳ κακος εφυ.

II. " A TRANSLATION of LEWIS CORNARO'S TREATISE on TEMPERANCE." Printed at Cambridge in 1634, along with Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's Tranſlation of " The " Hygiaſticon, or the right Courſe of preſerving Health, by Leonard Leſſius." To Mr. Herbert's Tranſlation is annexed " A Paradox, tranſlated out of Italian, *That a more ſpare diet is better than a ſplendid or ſumptuous.*"

III. " HERBERT's REMAINS; or, Sundry Pieces of that ſweet Singer of the Temple, Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, ſometime Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge, now expoſed to public Light." *London* 1652.

This volume conſiſts of—1. " A Prieſt to the Temple, or the Country Parſon his Character and Rule of Holy Life; with a Prefatory View of the Life and Virtues of the Authour and Excellencies of this Book, by Barnabas Oley." In the ſecond and ſubſequent impreſſions of

this

this volume is added, " A Preface to the Chriſtian Reader," conſiſting of ſix paragraphs, by Mr. Oley. 2. " Jacula Prudentum; or Outlandiſh Proverbs, Sentences, &c. ſelected by Mr. George Herbert."

IV. " THE TEMPLE: SACRED POEMS and PRIVATE EJACULATIONS, by Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, late Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge. *In his Temple doth every Man ſpeak of his Honour*, Pſal. xxix. Cambridge 1633." To Mr. Herbert's " Temple" has been uſually annexed, a Collection of Poems, entitled " The Synagogue, or Shadow of the Temple." The author of " The Synagogue" is unknown. That he was a clergyman of the Church of England, appears from Mr. Iſaac Walton's verſes to him. Mr. Granger has aſcribed it to Craſhaw, whom Cowley has praiſed, and Pope has imitated; but whoſe compoſitions are infinitely ſuperior to any thing in this work. He has probably been led into this error from one part of Craſhaw's volume of poems, bearing the title of " Steps to the Temple." That it was not written by Craſhaw, is evident from this circumſtance: After his converſion to Popery, he led a moſt miſerable life abroad, and going to Italy was at length appointed a Canon or Chaplain of Loretto, where he died in 1650.

" The Synagogue" was not publiſhed till after that period: And Walton expreſsly tells us, that he " loved the author for his ſacred poetry before he perſonally knew him; and that now, ſince his perſonal knowledge of him, he loves him more.

" I lov'd you for your Synagogue before
" I knew your perſon; but now love you more,
" Becauſe I find
" It is ſo true a picture of your mind."

That it was actually written by Mr. Chriſtopher Hervey, I have attempted to prove in another place.

It has been already noticed, that his Epigrams on Andrew Melville, entitled " Muſæ Reſponſoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam Ex officinâ Joh. Field, Cantab. 1662," 12m°, are inſerted in the " Eccleſiaſtes Solomonis," &c. publiſhed by Dr. James Duport.

During his reſidence at Cambridge, he compoſed Latin poems on the death of Henry Prince of Wales; and of Anne, Queen to James I. See " Epicedium Cantabrigienſe in obitum immaturum ſemperque deflendum Henrici illuſtriſſimi Principis Walliæ. Cantab. 1612." And " Lachrymæ Cantabrigienſes in obitum ſereniſſimæ Reginæ Annæ, Conjugis dilectiſſimæ Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis. Cantab. 1619."

The following letters, written by Mr. Herbert, when he was Public Orator, are in the Orator's Book at Cambridge:

1. " To Sir Robert Naunton, with thanks for ſome acts of kindneſs procured by him from government to the univerſity."

2. " To Fulk Greville, on the ſame account."

3. " To George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, on his being created a Marquis."

4. " To

4. " To Sir Francis Bacon, with thanks for his *Novum Organum*."

5. " To Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney-General,"

6. " To Montagu, Lord Treasurer," and

7. " To Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor-General, congratulating them on their several promotions."

8. " To King James, with thanks for a present of his *Doron Basilicon*."

9. " To the same, with thanks for the preservation of the river."

10. " To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."

11. " To Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the London Printers monopolizing foreign books."

12. " To Sir Francis Bacon, on the same subject."

13. " To Leigh, Chief Justice, on his promotion."

14. " To Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, on the same occasion."

NO apology is deemed necessary for the insertion of the annexed Letters. The intimacy which subsisted between Sir Francis Bacon and Mr. Herbert is well known: And the subject which gave occasion to the epistle addressed to James I. is mentioned in Walton's Life of Mr. Herbert, p. 336.

" GRATIÆ DE INSTAURATIONIS LIBRO ACADEMIÆ DONATO, 4TO. NOV 1620.

" ILLUSTRISSIME DOMINE,

" PROLEM tuam suavissimam nuper in lucem publicam nostramque præsertim editam, non " gremio solum (quod innuis) sed et ambabus ulnis osculisque ei ætati debitis excipientes " protinus tanquam nobilem Filium (more nostro) Magistrum Artium renunciavimus. " Optimè enim hoc convenit partui tuo, qui novas scientiarum regiones terrasque veteribus " incognitas primus demonstrat, ex quo illustrius affecutus es nomen, quam repertores Novi " Orbis compararunt. Illi terram invenerunt, crassissimum elementum; Tu subtilitates " Artium infinitas. Illi barbara omnia, Tu non nisi cultissima, elegantiasque ipsas exhibes. " Illi magneticâ acu freti sunt; Tu penetrantiori intellectûs acumine; cujus nisi incredibilis " fuisset vis, nunquam in tantis negotiis, quibus meritissime districtus es, ea, quæ fugerunt " tot Philosophos umbrâ et otio diffluentes, eruisses. Quare multiplex est lætitia nostra; " primo, gratulamur optimo Regi nostro; qui prospicit, ut, cum ipse eruditionis princeps sit, illi " etiam honores qui finitimi sunt et quasi accolæ Majestatis, literaturæ suæ et vicinitati

 " respondeant;

" respondeant; dein, honori tuo gratulamur; qui Filio auctus es tali ingenio predito: Tum, " Academiæ nostræ; quæ per tuum partum ex Matre nunc Avia facta est: Denique, huic " ætati; quæ talem virum protulit cum quinque millibus annorum de Palmâ certantem. Id " unum dolemus, Bibliothecam nostram rudiorem esse implexioremque quam ut tantum " hospitem excipiat: Utcunque cum olim ab Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, summo Angliæ " Cancellario extructa fuerit, illum nunc denuo ex Ædibus Eboracensibus ab altero Cancel- " lario INSTAURARI, inter arcana Providentiæ planè reponimus. Faxit Deus, ut, quos pro- " fectus feceris in Sphærâ Naturæ, facias etiam in Gratiæ; utque maturè absolvas quæ " complexus es animo ad ejus gloriam, reipublicæ emolumentum, æternitatem nominis tui, " subsidiumque

" Magnificentiæ tuæ deditissimorum

" Procancellarii, Reliq. Senat. Acad."

SERENISSIME DOMINE NOSTER JACOBE INVICTISSIME,

" ECQUID inter tantas mundi trepidationes nobis et musis vacas? Oh! prudentiam incom- " parabilem, quæ eodem vultu et moderatur mundum, et nos respicit. Circumspice, si placet, " terrarum Reges, mutus est mundus universus; vestra solùm dextra (quamvis a scriptione " terrestribusque istis sublimitate solii asserta) vitâ et actione orbem vegetat.

" Angustior erat Scotia quam ut pennas nido plenè explicare posses: Quid Tu inde? " Britannicas insulas omnes occupasti. Hoc etiam imperium tenuius est quam pro amplitu- " dine virtutum vestrarum: Nunc itaque Liber hic vester dilatat pomæria, summovet " oceanum ambientem: Adeo ut qui non subjiciuntur ditioni, eruditioni vestræ obtemperent. " Per hunc imperas orbi universo, victoriæque gloriam absque crudelitate effusi sanguinis " delibas. Hæc vestra spolia, actosque ex orbe triumphos communicas cum Almâ Matre; " utrumque splendorem cum beneficio nostro conjungis. Sanè gestabaris antea in cordibus " nostris; sed Tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotâque Majestate, chartâ conspiciendum Te " præbes, quo familiariùs inter nos verseris. O mirificam clementiam! Ædificarunt olim " nobis Serenissimi Reges collegia, eaque fundarunt amplissimis prædiis, immunitatibus: " Etiam libros dederunt, sed non suos; aut si suos, quia dederunt; non à se compositos, " scriptos, editosque: Quum tamen Tu invaseris eorum gloriam, conservando nobis quæ illi " dederunt, atque etiam augendo; vestrâ interim hâc scribendi laude intactâ manente atque " illibatâ. Cujus favoris magnitudo ita involvit nos, ut etiam rependendi vias omnes præclu- " dat. Quæ enim alia spes reliqua erat, quam ut pro infinitis vestris in nos beneficiis, " Majestatem vestram æternitati in scriptis nostris certissimè traderemus? Nunc vero Ipse " scribendo irrupisti in compensationes nostras, et abstulisti. Adeone es prædo omnis gloriæ, " ut ne gratitudinis laudem nobis reliqueris? Quid agimus? Hoc saltem solatio est. Nos " nunc consperfi atramento Regis, nihil non sublime et excelsum cogitabimus, perrumpemus

" controversias

" controverſias omnes, ſuperabimus quoſcunque. Jam dari nobis vellemus Jeſuitam aliquem, " ut ex affrictu Libri Veſtri, hominem illicò contundamus. Quare complectimur, fovemus, " exoſculamur hunc Fœtum Veſtrum, hunc alterum Carolum, hunc faſciculum pru- " dentiæ, poſitum extra mortalitatis aleam, et quo magis Tuum agnoſcas, in ipſo partu, " Librorum Regem creatum. Diruuntur ædificia, corrumpuntur ſtatuæ; hæc imago " atque character tempore melior, injurias ſeculi, ſcriptaque hâc illâc pereuntia, ſecurius " præterit. Si enim in Regno Veſtro Hibernico lignum naſcitur permanens contra " omnia venena validum; quanto magis virtutes iſtæ in Dominum Agri transferendæ ſunt, " ut ſic Scripta Veſtra omni dente tum edacis temporis, tum venenatorum Hæreticorum, " inſitâ vi ſuâ liberentur. Quod ſupereſt, precamur S. S. Trinitatem, ut Veſtræ Coronæ " civili et literariæ, tertiam cœleſtem ſerò adjungat.

" Humillimi Servi
" Subditique Veſtri,
" Procancellarius,
" Reliquuſque Senatus
" Cantabrigienſis.

" Datæ freq. Senatu,
" XIII°. Cal. Jun. A. D.
" MDCXX.

" Peregrinis Academiam noſtram inviſentibus.

" Quid Vaticanam, Bodleiumque objicis, Hoſpes?
" Unicus eſt nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

APPENDIX.—No. II.

ANDREW MELVIN, OR RATHER MELVILLE[a],

BORN on the firſt day of Auguſt, 1545, was the youngeſt of nine ſons of Richard Melville, of Baldowie, in North Britain: Theſe ſons were all alive, when their father fell in the vanguard of the battle of Pinkie, on the tenth of September, 1547. Andrew was "a "ſicklie tender boy, andtook pleaſure in nothing ſa meikle as his book." Having been inſtructed in the Greek language by Petrus Marſiliers, a Frenchman and teacher of the Greek grammar, and by "that notable inſtrument in the kirk, John Erſkine, of Don, of moſt honourable "and happy memory, he profited ſa, that entering thereafter in the courſe of philoſophie "within the univerſitie of St. Andrew's, all that was teached of Ariſtotle he learned, and "ſtudied it out of the Greek text, whilk his maſters underſtood not." He paſt his courſe in the new college, "tenderly beloved be Mr. John Douglas, provoſt of that college, and ,, rector of the univerſitie, who would often take him between his legs at the fire in winter, "and warm his hands and cheeks, and bleſſing him, ſay, '*My ſillie fatherleſs and motherleſs* "'*child, it's ill to wit what God may make of thee yet.*' Sa ending his courſe of philoſophie he "left the univerſitie of St. Andrew's with the commendation of the beſt philoſopher, poet, "and Grecian of any young maſter of the land, and with all poſſible diligence made his "preparation, and paſſed over to France." He reſided two years in the univerſity of Paris, hearing the lights of the moſt ſhining age, and particularly Peter Ramus, in philoſophy and eloquence. He became ſo expert in Greek, that he declaimed and taught leſſons, "uttering "never a word but Greek with ſic readineſs and plenty, as was marvellous to the hearers." From Paris he went to Poictiers, where he regented in the college of St. Marcian three years, hearing the beſt lawyers, yet always making theology his principal ſtudy, to which he was dedicated from his earlieſt youth.

From Poictiers he went to Geneva, carrying nothing with him but a little Hebrew bible at his belt. He travelled on foot, as he had done before, from Dieppe to Paris, and thence to Poictiers; for he was ſmall and light of body, but full of ſpirits, vigorous, and courageous. Theodore Beza, to whom he was ſtrongly recommended by letters, ſoon diſcovered him to be a ſcholar, and appointed him Profeſſor of Humanity in the college of Geneva. Mr. Melville continued at this place five years, attending the daily leſſons and preachings of Beza. He improved the opportunity of perfecting himſelf in Hebrew literature. He often diſputed with

[a] Many particulars are inſerted in this memoir, on the authority of Mr. James Melville's Diary in MS. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

with the Greek professor, a native of Greece, on the right pronunciation of the Greek language[b]. The professor pronounced it after the common form, observing the accents, "the "whilk Mr. Andro controlled be precepts and reason, till the Greek would grow angry, and "cry out, '*Vos Scoti, vos barbari docebitis nos Græcos pronuntiationem linguæ nostræ scilicet !*"

When he was invited to return home, Beza, in a letter addressed to the general kirk of Scotland, declared, that, as the greatest token of affection the members of the kirk of Geneva could shew to that of Scotland, they had suffered themselves to be spoiled of Mr. Andrew Melville.

In 1574, he was elected the principal master of the university of Glasgow, where he taught the best Greek and Latin authors, natural philosophy, chronology, chirography[c], besides his ordinary profession, the holy tongue and theology.

In the same year he was directed, at the General Assembly, to deliver his opinion upon the jurisdiction and policy of the kirk, before the next Assembly, along with others appointed for that purpose. During a period of five or six years this matter cost him great pains "in "mind, body, and gear;" while it exposed him to the resentment of the regent and the episcopal party, which he bore with singular patience, until he fully accomplished his plan for the establishment of presbyteries.

In 1578, in the assembly held in Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, in the month of April, he was chosen Moderator. It was there concluded, that the bishops should be called by their own names, and that lordly authority should be banished from the kirk "whilk has but an "Lord, Christ Jesus."

Being accused of "oversea dreams" and Geneva discipline, and of disturbing the peace of the kirk, by the regent, who said, "There never will be quietness or peace in the country, "till half a dozen of you be hanged." "Tush! Sir," says Mr. Andrew, "*purpuratis tuis* "*ista minitare: mihi idem est homine, an sublimi putrescam. Domini est terra: patria est ubicun-* "*que est bona.* I have been ready to give my life, where it was not half so well wared, at the "pleasure of my God. I lived out o' your country ten years, as well as in it: let God be "glorified; it will not lie in your power to hang or exile his truth."

In 1580, he was accompanied by several of his friends to Lundey, and with the Laird thereof to St. Andrew's, where he was entered Principal of the college, and was kindly welcomed by his friend Mr. Patrick Adamson, the bishop, for whom he often officiated in the kirk.

[b] Sir Thomas Smith and his friend Mr. Cheke, introduced at Cambridge the new mode of pronouncing the Greek language. While the former was once at Paris, he made a visit to a learned Greek, a courteous and affable man. His chief business was to be satisfied from him what sounds the Grecians themselves did use in Greece. And when Smith began to speak of the new way, the Greek grew angry, and called Erasmus *Badin*, that he, being a Dutchman, had brought into Greece, whence he was sprung, such *vast* sounds, as he expressed himself, and absonous diphthongs. (*Strype's Life of Sir John Smith, p.* 23.)

[c] In this art he excelled. He has addressed a Latin epigram to Mrs. Esther Inglis, who was noted for her beautiful hand-writing, and who surpassed Ascham, Davies, and others eminent for that extraordinary talent.

kirk. His zeal for introducing a new mode of academical education met with much opposition, all which he vanquished; so that the regents in philosophy came over to his opinions, and acknowledged their wonderful transportation from darkness to light. He sustained every attack upon him with undaunted fortitude; and the punishments, with which he was menaced, not unfrequently fell upon his adversaries.

In 1581, he attended the General Assembly at Glasgow, where the book of policy, after a labour of many years, was ratified, and ordered to be recorded.

In 1583, he appeared before the king, at Edinburgh, to answer an accusation of uttering treasonable and seditious speeches from the pulpit. He was accompanied on this occasion, with some of his scholars and friends. As no criminal charge was brought against him, he declined the judicature of the king and council. He plainly told them, that they had no power to control the ambassadors and messengers of a king and council greater than they were. "And that," says he, "you may see your weakness, oversight, and rashness, in taking upon "you that which ye neither ought nor can do," (loosing a little Hebrew bible from his belt, and throwing it down on the board) "there is my instructions and warrant: let's see whilk "of you can judge thereon, or controlle me therein, that I have past my injunctions." The chancellor, opening the book, finds it to be Hebrew, and puts it into the king's right hand, saying, "Sir, he scorns your Majesty and council." "Nay," says Mr. Andrew, "I scorn "not, but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ, and "the kirk." He was at length ordered to be put in ward in the Castle of Edinburgh, during the king's will. And when it was known that the place of his confinement was changed to Blackness, he followed the advice of his friends, and fled to Berwick, and afterwards took refuge in England.

Upon this occasion, "the pulpits of Scotland," as Dr. Robertson informs us, "resounded "with complaints, that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and "deprived the church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline.

In 1587, we find him resident in the university of St. Andrew's; for in that year the celebrated Sieur du Bartas came into Scotland to attend his lectures.

In 1591, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Travers, the great defenders of Puritanism in England, were invited to be Divinity Professors in his university. It must be owned, that in the elegant letter addressed to them, on this occasion, which was probably penned by Mr. Melville himself, there is an acrimony of language perfectly inexcusable[d]. His inveterate opposition to the discipline of the church of England has betrayed the writer into the use of the most opprobrious terms.

In 1599, the king published the "Doron Basilicon," addressed to his son, Prince Henry. Sir James Semple, one of his Majesty's servants, having transcribed that treatise, shewed it to Andrew Melville, his intimate friend, who reading it, was offended with some passages that regarded

[d] This letter is inserted in "Fuller's Ch. History," B. ix. Sect. vii. p. 52.

regarded the miniſtry and diſcipline of the kirk. Melville took copies of the book, and diſperſed them among the miniſters, ſome of whom preferred a libel to the Synod of St. Andrew's, wherein the exceptionable paſſages being ſet down, it was aſked, "*What cenſure ſhould "be inflicted on him, that had given ſuch inſtructions to the Prince, and if he could be thought well-"affected to religion, that had delivered ſuch precepts of government?*"

To vindicate himſelf, on this occaſion, the King determined to publiſh the work, "which "being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be ſaid how well the ſame was ac-"cepted, and what an admiration it raiſed in all men's hearts of him, and of his piety and "wiſdom."

I omit ſeveral circumſtances of his life, which are mentioned in "Calderwood's Hiſtory of Scotland." Mr. Melville was preſent at a conference at Hampton Court, in 1606. As he was eſteemed one of the moſt learned men of his time, the King principally dreaded his influence, in reſiſting his favourite plan for the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy. He had been confined ſome years before, by a royal warrant, within his own houſe, at St. Andrews; and in 1606 was invited to the Engliſh court, along with ſome other miniſters, under the pretence of holding an amicable conference. It has been conjectured, that the only motive for this invitation was to relieve the Scotch biſhops from the oppoſition, which they had reaſon to expect from Melville's perſonal zeal and ſplendid abilities.

The behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England[e]. Another expedient ſucceeded. Melville and his companions were invited to attend the royal chapel on the Lord's day, when the King and Queen received the ſacrament, according to the uſage of the Church of England. It was natural to ſuppoſe that a view of thoſe rites and ceremonies, againſt which Andrew Melville had always warmly contended, would have produced a conſiderable effect upon his temper. But he allowed nothing to eſcape him in public which could give the leaſt offence. On his return from his lodgings, he amuſed himſelf with writing ſome Latin verſes on the decorations of the altar[f]. They were ſhewn to

[e] James appointed four divines of the Church of England to attend during this conference; and to preach, by turns, on the ſubjects propoſed to them. Dr. William Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, endeavoured, from *Acts* xx. 28, to prove out of the Scripture and Fathers the ſupremacy of biſhops above preſbyters, and to ſhew the inconveniences of parity in the church. Dr. Buckridge, then Preſident of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterward Biſhop of Rocheſter, took for his text the precept of the apoſtle, "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers," *Rom.* xiii. 11.; "where," ſays Spotſwood, "falling to ſpeak of the King's ſupremacy, in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, he "did handle that point both ſoundly and learnedly, to the ſatisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the Scots "miniſters to hear the Pope and Preſbyterie ſo often equalled in their oppoſition to ſovereign princes." Dr. Andrews, Biſhop of Chicheſter, followed, who, from the firſt verſes of *Numbers* x. confirmed the power of kings in convocating ſynods and councils. The fourth was Dr. King, then Dean of Chriſt-church, and afterward Biſhop of London, who, diſcourſing on the 11th verſe of the eighth chapter of *Canticles*, did prove lay-elders to have no place, nor office in the Church. See "Spotſwood's Hiſtory," &c. B. VII.

[f] Fuller in his "Church Hiſtory of Britain," B. X. Sect. iv. 41, has preſerved a copy of theſe verſes, which Archbiſhop Spotſwood calls "ſcornful and bitter:"——

"Quod

James Melville, his uncle, and perhaps to ſome other miniſters. The King obtained a copy, and Mr. Andrew Melville was brought before the King's council, along with Mr. James Melville, and Mr. Wallace, another of the miniſters, to anſwer for the verſes, which the council affirmed to be "a Paſquill, tending to the diſhonour of God, and ſcandal of the Church of "England." He acknowledged himſelf to be the author; though as they had never been given out of his hand, he could not diſcover how they came into the poſſeſſion of the council. His two companions were diſmiſſed, while he was taken into cuſtody, and delivered over to the Dean of St. Paul's, in whoſe houſe he remained as a priſoner, till the 9th of March 1607[g], when he was ordered to be ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's. This order however was not executed, and he was permitted to live in his own lodgings. On the 6th of April following he appeared again before the council, and after a long examination was ſent by water to the Tower, where he was confined upwards of four years. When the other miniſters were allowed to return to their own country, no perſuaſion whatever could prevail upon the King to releaſe Andrew Melville. His office of Principal, or Provoſt, of the New College of St. Andrew's, was declared vacant by Gladſtones, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who convened the univerſity, and told them that it was his Majeſty's pleaſure, "that Mr. Robert Lourie ſhould "be placed Provoſt in that College, Mr. Andrew Melville being, *for treaſonable words*, put in "the Tower of London." The univerſity in vain proteſted againſt this proceeding.

He had been two years in the Tower, when Biſhop Coupar and Archbiſhop Spotſwood were ſent to perſuade him to make an acknowledgment to the King, which they gave him reaſon to hope would procure his liberty. He delivered to them a written apology in Latin, in

"Quod duo ſtent libri clauſi Anglis regiâ in ARA,
"Lumina cæca duo, pollubra ſicca duo:
"An clauſum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum
"Lumine cæca ſuo, ſorde ſepulta ſuâ?
"Romano et ritu, dum regalem inſtruit ARAM,
"Purpuream pingit luxurioſa lupam?

g "Whereas, one Andrew Melville, a miniſter of Scotland, hath by his Majeſty's commandment been called "before us, at the council-board, where he hath confeſſed himſelf to be the author of ſome certain verſes, or rather "a Paſquill, tending to the diſhonour of God, and ſcandal of the Church of England, for which his great offence "he has been cenſured to be reſtrained of his liberty, until ſuch further proceeding ſhall be taken with him, as "ſhall ſeem good unto us, in ſuch a caſe as this is, and by impunity may prove to be.——You ſhall hereby un-"derſtand, that his Majeſty hath made choice of you for the preſent to receive him in your cuſtody. Wherefore, "in his Majeſty's name and authority, we require you forthwith to receive him accordingly to remain at your "houſe at Paul's, not ſuffering any to have acceſs to him, until his Majeſty's further pleaſure herein to you be "ſignified.——It is alſo thought convenient, that yourſelf do at all convenient times confer with him on ſuch "points as you ſhall find him differing from the Church eſtabliſhed, for his better ſatisfaction and conformity, "wherein by your good endeavours you may deſerve well of his Majeſty, and us," &c. &c.

The above warrant, dated Nov. 30, 1606, is addreſſed to the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. John Overhal, afterward Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry.

in which he affirmed, that the verſes were taken from him without his knowledge, and that they were afterward mutilated. He aſked pardon for any expreſſions that might have eſcaped him during his examination, which could be thought diſreſpectful to his Majeſty, to the council, or to the ſtate of England, and in general made as ample an acknowledgment as could be made without renouncing the principles which he held. The two prelates appeared to be ſatisfied therewith, while the King remained inexorable. He continued two years more in the Tower, and employed himſelf in writing ſeveral tracts, chiefly on the controverſies of the times, and many Latin Poems, which have been ſince printed in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." Amſt. 2 vol. 12mo, 1637.

In ſhort, after much perſecution, when it was well known that he could never obtain leave to return into Scotland, the Duke of Bouillon, who was at the head of the Proteſtants in France, and who ſtill poſſeſſed the principality of Sedan, obtained the King's permiſſion for him to go to Sedan, and to ſettle there, as Profeſſor of Divinity. He left England at the end of the year 1611, or at the beginning of 1612. He taught divinity at Sedan, for nine years, with very ſingular reputation; and acquired much reſpect and celebrity among the foreign divines. He died there in 1621.

It is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great ſeverity thus exerciſed againſt Andrew Melville. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the uſage of the Kirk of Scotland to their King was ſo cruel and tyrannical, that it was not very eaſy for him, when once emancipated from their power, to forget that uſage.

The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners, and the ſanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly ſuited to the times in which he lived. The diſcipline of the Church of Scotland was in a great meaſure framed by him; and to him the Scots are very conſiderably indebted for their preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. Archbiſhop Spotſwood is unfriendly to his memory. Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that though Spotſwood relates with truth the oppoſition, and even the rude treatment which the King received from aſſemblies, and from particular perſons, he generally ſuppreſſes the provocations which were given, and the circumſtances which would have explained, and, perhaps, in ſome degree, have extenuated their conduct. "He was," ſays Dr. Robertſon (*Hiſt. of Scotland, B. VI.*), "a man diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon erudi-"tion, by the ſeverity of his manners, and the intrepidity of his mind. But, bred up in the "retirement of a college, he was unacquainted with the arts of life, and being more attentive "to the ends which he purſued, than to the means which he employed for promoting them, "he often defeated laudable deſigns by the impetuoſity and imprudence with which he car-"ried them on." He ſeems to have been treated by his adverſaries with much aſperity.—Others beſides Mr. George Herbert exerciſed their talents againſt him. Anthony Wood names Mr. Thomas Atkinſon, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, as having written "Andrei Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria," and "Melvinus delirans in Iambis." Indeed, our Engliſh writers ſeldom ſpeak of him favourably. The following lines, alluſive to his name, are ſaid to have been written by Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln:

Cor tibi felle nigrum eſt, et aceto lingua redundat;
Ex MELLE et VINO quam malè nomen habes!

And the learned James Duport has not diſdained to make the ſame alluſion:

In Andream Melvinum, Scotum, de ſuâ Anti-Tami-
Cami-Categoriâ, Sapphico verſu conſcriptâ.
Quam Smectymnuo es affinis, vox ſeſquipedalis,
O Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria.
Utraque ſic tibi, Scote, Anglorum Academia ſordet?
Nec CAMUS purâ aut TAMUS abundat aquâ?
Utraque ſchiſmatis hoſtis atrox, et malleus ingens,
Cui tu patronum te clypeumque geris.
Quâ nec ſub ſole eſt eccleſia clarior ulla,
Caſtior in terris Sponſa nec ulla Dei,
Hanc tu, Scote dicax, ſatyrâ proſcindis amarâ;
Acribus et ſannis, ſconmatibuſque petis?
At pius HERBERTUS iua plumbea tela retorſit.
Nil addo: tantum hæc noſtra coronis erit.
Liræ ſunt apinæque, lyrâ quas fundis, inanes:
Laſcivum et prodit Sapphica muſa caput.
Qui non MEL ſed FEL, non VINUM das, ſed ACETUM,
Quam malè tam belli nominis omen habes!

Let it not, however, be inferred from theſe verſes, that Andrew Melville always ſought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the ſeverity of ſatire and invective. He occaſionally diverted his muſe to the ſubject of juſt panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to poſterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the claſſic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muſes[h]. His Latin paraphraſe of the Song of Moſes is truly excellent. It is inſcribed to James VI. whom he ſtyles a boy:

Sancte

[h] George Buchanan is celebrated by Julius Cæſar Scaliger, by Joſeph Scaliger, by Turnebus, by Beza, and other foreigners, as a prodigy of learning:—"*Buchananum omnibus antepono—Haddonum nemini poſtpono,*" were the expreſſions of Queen Elizabeth. His works are fraught with all the beauty and elegance of claſſic antiquity. He finiſhed the greateſt part of his incomparable verſion of the Pſalms when in a ſtate of confinement, at a monaſtery in Portugal, under the care of certain monks, who were directed to inſtruct him in the principles of religion, and whom he characteriſes as men of great humanity, and goodneſs; but totally ignorant of divinity—*Omnis religionis ignari*. Prefixed to his Poems is a ſhort "Hiſtory of his Life," written by himſelf. The following anecdote is extracted from the Diary of Mr. James Melville:

"*Sept.* 1582.—During the vacance my uncle, Mr. Andrew, Principal of the New College, Mr. Thomas Bu-
"chanan, Provoſt of Kilkaldie, and I, hearing that Maiſter George Buchanan was weakly, and his Hiſtory in
"the

Sancte Puer, cape sacra meæ primordia Musæ,
Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi:
Parva quidem tanto fateor munuscula regi;
Parva, sed immensi munere magna Dei.

Of the exordium, and, indeed, of the whole poem, it may be pronounced, that they perfectly correspond to the character which Isaac Walton gives of his poetic genius:

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
Palentasque polo flammæ[1], vosque humida regna,
Aeriique super tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquar), aures
Arrigite, et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.

The following lines are exquisitely beautiful:—See *Deut.* xxxii. 10, 11.——

——————————ceu pupula, cornu
Quam vitreo murus cingit chrystallinus; et quam,
Non secus ac vallo, teneri munimen ocelli
Sepsit utrinque pilis, celsâque crepidine surgunt
Hinc atque hinc geminæ, duo propugnacula, moles,
Ut bene tuta cavos condantur lumina in orbes[k].

Ac veluti alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
Sollicitâ refovet curâ, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus: mox ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevêre, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansâ invitat plumâ, dorsoque morantes
Excipit attollitque humeris, plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,
Remigium lentans alarum, incurvaque pinnis

Vela

" the press, passed over to Edenbrugh anes eirand to visit him, and to see the wark. Whan we cam to his chalm-
" ber we found him sitting in his chaire, teaching his young man, that served him in his chalmber, to spell AB,
" EB, IB, &c.—After salutation, Mr. Andrew says, 'I see, Sir, you are not idle.' 'Better this (quoth hee)
" 'than stealing sheipe, or sitting idle, whilk is als ill.' "

[1] " And ye five other *wand'ring fires* that move
" In mystic dance, not without song——— MILT. PAR. LOST, B. V. 177.

[k] This description of the eye seems to be taken from " Cicero de Natura Deorum." L. II. 57.

" Munitæ sunt palpebræ tanquam vallo pilorum."

Vela legens, humiles tranat ſub nubibus oras.
Hinc ſenſim ſupera alta petit; jam jamque ſub aſtra
Erigitur curſuſque leves citus urget in auras.
Omnia pervolitans laté loca et agmine fœtus
Fertque refertque ſuos vario, moremque volandi
Addocet: illi autem, longâ aſſuetudine docti,
Paulatim incipiunt pennis ſe credere cœlo
Impavidi: tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

THE

ERRATA.

Page 324, *line* 17,—Catala, *read* Cabala.
—— 335, —— 14,—Jacobale, *read* Jacobule.
—— 387, —— 34,—productions, *read* predictions.
—— 391, —— 28,—letters, *read* verſes.
—— 405, —— 8,—Palentaſque, *read* Palanteſque.

THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Dr. ROBERT SANDERSON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, PRELATE OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY's PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IF I ſhould undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordſhip, I ſhould enter upon an employment that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend, Dr. Sanderſon: But though I will not venture to do that, yet I do remember with pleaſure, and remonſtrate with gratitude, that your Lordſhip made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth[a], and Dr. Hammond; men whoſe merits ought never to be forgotten.

[a] Mr. Iſaac Walton was honoured with the friendſhip of Mr. Chillingworth, the glory of his age and nation. This memorable man, who, with Lord Falkland, was proverbially celebrated at Oxford for his clear and acute reaſoning, found himſelf ſo bewildered in the mazes of controverſy, that he became a convert to Popery. From the errors of "An Infallible Church," the ſound argumentation of Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, happily reſtored him. Of the effect which the peruſal of his immortal work, "The Religion of Proteſtants a Safe Way to Salvation," wrought upon the mind of Dr. Tillotſon, ſee Birch's Life of that prelate, p. 5.——Of the death of Mr. Chillingworth, ſee "Kennet's Hiſt. of England," Vol. III. p. 144.

My friendſhip with the firſt was begun almoſt forty years paſt, when I was as far from a thought, as a deſire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his Life: But the wiſe Diſpoſer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the firſt, and now permitted the laſt; which is here dedicated to your Lordſhip (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a deſire that it may remain as a public teſtimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,

Your moſt affectionate old friend,

And moſt humble ſervant,

IZAAK WALTON.

THE

THE PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor aſſure the Reader, that I have committed no miſtakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderſon; but am ſure, there is none that are either wilful or very material. I confeſs, it was worthy the employment of ſome perſon of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been ſo grateful to him and poſterity as to undertake it: For as it may be noted, that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindneſs to him, her name ſhould never be forgotten: So I conceive the great ſatisfaction many ſcholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear, and uſeful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchleſs meekneſs, his calm fortitude, and the innocence of his whole life, doth juſtly challenge the like from this preſent age, that poſterity may not be ignorant of them: And it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But in ſaying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuſe myſelf, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premiſed, I deſire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been ſo bold, as to paraphraſe and ſay, what I think he (whom I had the happineſs to know well) would have ſaid upon the ſame occaſions; and if I have been too bold in doing ſo, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me, yet I do of my reader, from whom I deſire the ſame favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of eaſe, and that ſecured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with ſuch perſuaſions to undertake it, and ſo many willing informers ſince, and from them and others, ſuch helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myſelf faint, and weary of the burden with which I had loaden myſelf, and ſometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new ſtrength hath at laſt brought it to be what it now is, and here preſented to the reader, and with it, this deſire, that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderſon did in his will or laſt ſickneſs advertiſe, that after his death nothing of his might be printed; becauſe that might be ſaid to be his, which indeed was not; and

alſo, for that he might have changed his opinion ſince he firſt wrote it, as it is thought he has ſince he wrote his "Pax Eccleſiæ." And though theſe reaſons ought to be regarded, yet regarded ſo, as he reſolves in his "Caſe of Conſcience concerning raſh Vows," that there may appear very good ſecond reaſons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his ſaid reaſons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal ſcripture; to explain, but not oblige us to ſo firm a belief of what is here preſented as his.

And I have this to ſay more; that as in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderſon's Life, I met with theſe little tracts annexed[b]; ſo in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; I met with a ſermon, which I alſo believe was really his, and here preſented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reaſon to believe it) that there be ſome artiſts, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn: And if ſo, then I hope it may be as ſafely affirmed, that what is here preſented for theirs, is ſo like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occaſions upon which they were writ, that all readers may ſafely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderſon.

And laſtly, the trouble being now paſt, I look back and am glad that I have collected theſe memoirs of this humble man, which lay ſcattered, and contracted them into a narrow compaſs; and, if I have, by the pleaſant toil of ſo doing, either pleaſed or profited any man, I have attained what I deſigned when I firſt undertook it: But I ſeriouſly wiſh, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderſon's ſake, that poſterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by ſuch a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

[b] In the firſt edition of Mr. Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon, printed in octavo, 1678, were added the following tracts. 1. "Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment concerning Submiſſion to Uſurpers. 2. "Pax Eccleſiæ." 3. "Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment in one view for the Settlement of the Church." 4. "Reaſons of the Preſent Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenants," &c. And alſo a Sermon of Richard Hooker, upon Prayer, from *Matt.* vii. 7. found in the ſtudy of Biſhop Andrews.

THE LIFE OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth, and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September, in the year of our redemption 1587: The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York[c], a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotherham[d], sometime Archbishop of that

[c] It appeared from the Register of the Parish of Sheffield in Yorkshire, that he was baptized in the church of Sheffield, Sept. 20, 1587. *(Dr. Brown Willis.)*

[d] Thomas Scot, Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, was afterward Master of Pembroke Hall, and in 1483 and 1484, Chancellor of the University. He obtained great ecclesiastical preferment, being successively Provost of Beverley, Bishop of Rochester and of Lincoln, and lastly Archbishop of York. Nor was he less adorned with civil honours, having been appointed, first, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then Lord Chancellor of England.

During the reign of Edward IV. were founded the collegiate churches of Middleham and Rotherham, in the county of York. The latter originally consisted of one master, three fellows and six scholars, and was founded and most liberally endowed by Thomas Archbishop of York, from 1480 to 1501. He has assigned the reason that induced him to adopt that number, "ut ubi offendi Deum in decem præceptis suis, isti decem orarent pro me." To this college were annexed three schools for instructing boys in writing, grammar, and music. "These "schools," says Mr. Camden, "are now suppressed by the wicked avarice of the age." This Prelate changed his family name of *Scot*, for that of *Rotherham*, the supposed place of his birth. It was usual for the clergy to add the names of the places of their nativity to their Christian names, and such an addition affords the best evidence of the places where they were born. And it is remarked, that this Thomas Scot is the last clergyman who is known to have observed this custom. He afterward augmented the college of Rotherham with five priests. His munificence is amply displayed both at Oxford and Cambridge. In the latter university he built the library, and a considerable part of the schools: and while he was Bishop of Lincoln, he completed the buildings of Lincoln College in Oxford, and furnished the society with a body of statutes, subscribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. He died of the plague, at his palace of Cawood, in 1501.

that ſee, was born in it: a man whoſe great wiſdom, and bounty, and ſanctity of life gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable, as indeed it ought alſo to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderſon. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great ſanctity, his uſeful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of Robert Sanderſon, of Gilthwaite-hall[e], in the ſaid pariſh and county, Eſq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butterthwaite-hall, in the pariſh of Eccleſfield, in the ſaid county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderſon the father was deſcended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the ſearch of which truth I refer my reader that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoriton's "Hiſtory of the Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire[f]," and other records; not thinking it neceſſary here to engage him into a ſearch for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but ſhew us who of our anceſtors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their deſcendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if thoſe titles deſcend to perſons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they deſtroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbiſh of their degenerouſneſs ought to fall heavy on ſuch diſhonourable heads; ought to fall ſo heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blaſt their memories with reproach and ſhame.

But this Robert Sanderſon lived worthy of his name and family; of which one teſtimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious Earl of Shrewſbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; to whoſe

[e] Gill Thwait, or Gill-fort, near Rotherham, is named in "Short's Hiſtory of Mineral Waters," P. I. p. 269, as having a ſpring famous for reſtoring the uſe of their limbs to ſuch as have loſt it by working in metals.

[f] In this Hiſtory, p. 474, a pedigree of the family of Sanderſon is inſerted.

whoſe merits and memory poſterity (the clergy eſpecially) ought to pay a reverence[g].

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the ſon, who (like Joſia that good King) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; ſeeming even then to dedicate himſelf and all his ſtudies to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodneſs, with which the wiſe Diſpoſer of all hearts had endowed his: ſo this calm, this quiet, and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averſe to oppoſitions) made the whole courſe of his life eaſy and grateful both to himſelf and others; and this bleſſed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example, as alſo by his frequent converſing with him, and ſcattering ſhort and virtuous apothegms with little pleaſant ſtories[h], and making uſeful

[g] Dr. Sheldon, Archbiſhop of York, was born July 19, 1598. His father, Roger Sheldon, though of no obſcure parentage, was a menial ſervant to Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury, who died May 18, 1616, and was buried at Sheffield, July 17, in the ſame year. That nobleman was ſeized of many valuable poſſeſſions at or near Sheffield; and among others of the manor and Rectory of Rotherham. See in "Collins's Peerage," p. 19, 20, an enumeration of the titles which he aſſumed when he went ambaſſador to France, in the 39th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[h] We may almoſt imagine, that Mr. Robert Sanderſon had propoſed to himſelf the example, which is recorded with ſo much filial tenderneſs in the following lines:

"———Conſuevit pater optimus hoc me,
"Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando,
"Cum me hortaretur parcè, frugaliter, atque
"Viverem uti contentus eo quod mî ipſe paràſſet:
"Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
"Barus inops?" HORAT. SERM. *Lib.* I. 4—105.

"———Purus et inſons
"(Ut me collaudem) ſi vivo, et carus amicis,
"Cauſa fuit pater his." *Ib.* vi. 69.

In the ſame manner Demea inſtructs his ſon in Terence———

"Nihil prætermitto, conſuefacio; denique
"Inſpicere tanquam in ſpeculum in vitas omnium
"Jubeo, atq; ex aliis ſumere exemplum ſibi,
"Hoc facito, et hoc fugito." ADELPH. *Act III. Sc. III.*

A ſimilar

ful applications of them, by which his ſon was in his infancy taught to abhor Vanity and Vice as monſters, and to diſcern the lovelineſs of Wiſdom and Virtue: and by theſe means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was ſo augmented, and his native goodneſs ſo confirmed, that all became ſo habitual, as it was not eaſy to determine whether Nature or Education were his teachers[i].

And here let me tell the reader, that theſe early beginnings of virtue were by God's aſſiſting grace bleſſed with what St. Paul ſeemed to beg for his Philippians, namely, "That he that had begun a good work in them, would "finiſh it." And Almighty God did: For his whole life was ſo regular and innocent, that he might have ſaid at his death, and with truth and comfort, what the ſame St. Paul ſaid after to the ſame Philippians, when he adviſed them "to walk as they had him for an example."

And this goodneſs, of which I have ſpoken, ſeemed to increaſe as his years did; and with his goodneſs his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-ſchool of Rotherham—(that being one of thoſe three that were founded and liberally endowed by the ſaid great and good biſhop of that name.)—And in this time of his being a ſcholar there, he was obſerved to uſe an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a ſerioufneſs beyond his age, and with it a more than common modeſty; and to be of ſo calm and obliging behaviour, that the maſter and whole number of ſcholars loved him as one man[k].

And

A ſimilar felicity attended the celebrated Grotius, who, like Horace, has commemorated in grateful verſe, the faithful attention of a father to his ſon's improvement in the moral duties of life.

[i] "————Alterius ſic
"Altera poſcit opem res, et conjurat amicé." HOR. *A. P.* 410.

[k] "He was educated in a ſevere and exact grammar-ſchool, where by unwearied diligence, "a ſilent ſedentary and aſtoniſhed way of following his book, a ſerioufneſs beyond his years— "(oh, how would he ſteal away from his companions' follies to his ſeverer taſks and priva- "cies!)—he made his way thorow all things on which he could fix, to an exactneſs in Greek "and Latin, which he retained to his dying day. And he would obſerve, that an exactneſs "in ſchool-learning was a great advantage to our higher ſtudies, as the miſcarriages of ſchool "are not eaſily recovered in the univerſity." (*Reaſon and Judgment, or Special Remarks of the Life of the renowned Dr. Sanderſon, p.* 5.)

And in this love and amity he continued at that ſchool, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father deſigned to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted ſchools of Eton or Weſtminſter; and after a year's ſtay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a miniſter of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many queſtions with his ſon, received ſuch anſwers from him, that he aſſured his father, his ſon was ſo perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon, and therefore adviſed him to ſhorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did ſo.

His father left him there to the ſole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie[l], who was then Rector of Lincoln College; And he, after ſome time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and not long after to matriculate him in the univerſity, which he did the firſt of July, 1603; but he was not choſen Fellow till the third of May, 1606, at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the rector, that his "pupil Sanderſon had a "metaphyſical brain, and a matchleſs memory; and that he thought he "had improved, or made the laſt ſo by an art of his own invention[m]." And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not miſtaken.

 I muſt

[l] Dr. Richard Kilbie is commemorated as a benefactor to his college. He reſtored the library which had long been neglected, made eight new repoſitories for books, and gave divers good books thereunto. Upon the promotion of Dr. John Underhill to the ſee of Oxford, he was elected rector of Lincoln College, Dec. 10, 1590; and in 1610 he was appointed the King's Hebrew Profeſſor. He died in 1620.

[m] While he was in the univerſity, he generally ſpent eleven hours a day in ſtudy: which induſtry of his deſpatched the whole courſe of philoſophy, and picked out in a manner all that was uſeful in claſſic authors that are extant; drawing indexes for his private uſe, either in his own paper-book, or at the beginning and end of each book. This aſſiduity continued to his dying day. He diſpoſed of himſelf and time to perpetual induſtry and diligence, not only avoiding but perfectly hating idleneſs, and hardly recommending any thing more than this: "'*Be always furniſhed with ſomewhat to do, as the beſt way to innocence and pleaſure.*' There "was not a minute of the day he left vacant from buſineſs of neceſſity, civility, or ſtudy." (*Reaſon and Judgment, &c. p.* 11.)

I muſt here ſtop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of ſo great learning and wiſdom, and ſo excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made profeſſor of it in this univerſity; and was alſo ſo perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the tranſlators of the Bible; and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderſon had frequent diſcourſes, and loved as father and ſon. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyſhire, and took Mr. Sanderſon to bear him company; and they reſting on a Sunday with the doctor's friend, and going together to that pariſh church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more diſcretion, than to waſte a great part of the hour allotted for his ſermon in exceptions againſt the late tranſlation of ſeveral words (not expecting ſuch a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and ſhewed three reaſons why a particular word ſhould have been otherwiſe tranſlated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's houſe, where after ſome other conference the doctor told him, he "might "have preached more uſeful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears "with needleſs exceptions againſt the late tranſlation; and for that word "for which he offered to that poor congregation three reaſons why it ought "to have been tranſlated as he ſaid, he and others had conſidered all them, "and found thirteen more conſiderable reaſons why it was tranſlated as "now printed[n]:" and told him "if his friend" (then attending him) "ſhould prove guilty of ſuch indiſcretion, he ſhould forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderſon ſaid, "he hoped he ſhould not." And the preacher was ſo ingenuous as to ſay, "he would not juſtify himſelf." And ſo I return to Oxford.

In

[n] From this ſhort narrative we learn with what accuracy the tranſlation of James I. was conducted. Dr. Geddes, in his "Proſpectus," has very juſtly obſerved, that every ſentence, every word, every ſyllable, every letter and point, ſeem to have been weighed with the niceſt exactitude, and expreſſed either in the text or margin with the greateſt preciſion. Yet the propriety not ſo much of a new tranſlation, as of a careful reviſal or correction of our preſent tranſlation, is incontrovertible. The very injudicious diviſion of the text into chapters and verſes has been long a matter of complaint. But this ſubject is fully diſcuſſed by the preſent Primate of Ireland in "An Hiſtorical View of the Engliſh Biblical Tranſlations: the Expediency of reviſing by Authority our preſent Tranſlations; and the Means of executing ſuch a Reviſion." Dublin, 1792.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th) Mr. Sanderſon was completed Maſter of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining theſe dignities, the time was ſhorter than was then or is now required; but either his birth or the well performance of ſome extraordinary exerciſe, or ſome other merit, made him ſo: and the reader is requeſted to believe that it was the laſt; and requeſted to believe alſo, that, if I be miſtaken in the time, the college records have miſ-informed me; but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his college choſen reader of logic in the houſe; which he performed ſo well, that he was choſen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was choſen Sub-rector of the College, and the like for the year 1614, and choſen again to the ſame dignity and truſt for the year 1616[o].

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were ſuch, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole ſociety; there being no exception againſt him for any faults, but a ſorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and baſhful; both which were, God knows, ſo co-natural, as they never left him: and I know not whether his lovers ought to wiſh they had; for they proved ſo like the radical moiſture in man's body, that they preſerved the life of virtue in his ſoul, which, by God's aſſiſting grace, never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be ſo called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he ſtood to be elected one of the Proctors for the univerſity. And it was not to ſatisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the deſire of the Rector and whole ſociety, of which he was a member, who had not had a Proctor choſen out of their college for the ſpace of ſixty years, namely, not from the year 1554[p] unto his ſtanding: and they

 perſuaded

[o] During his reſidence in college he undertook the office of tutor, which he executed with much credit to himſelf. He was wont to ſay, "I learn much from my maſter, more "from my equals, and moſt of all from my diſciples." (*Reaſon and Judgment, p.* 10.)

[p] THOMAS COVENEY, of Magdalen-College, Pr.
CHRISTOPHER HARGRAVE, of Lincoln College, Pr.
In 1537 both the proctors were of Lincoln College. (*Le Neve.*)

At this time the proctors were choſen out of the whole body of the univerſity, and none uſually offered themſelves candidates for the office, but perſons of great eminence for their

perſuaded him, that if he would but ſtand for Proctor, his merits were ſo generally known, and he ſo well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it againſt any oppoſers; and told him, "That he "would by that means recover a right or reputation that was ſeemingly "dead to his college."——By theſe, and other like perſuaſions, he yielded up his own reaſon to theirs, and appeared to ſtand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by ſo ſudden and ſecret, and by ſo powerful a faction that he miſſed it. Which when he underſtood, he profeſſed ſeriouſly to his friends, "that if he were troubled at the diſappointment, it was for "theirs, and not for his own ſake: For he was far from any deſire of ſuch "an employment, as muſt be managed with charge and trouble, and was "too uſually rewarded with hard cenſures or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earneſtly perſuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others to renew the logic lectures which he had read ſome years paſt in his college; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the eaſe and public good of poſterity.

And though he had an averſeneſs to appear publicly in print, yet after many ſerious ſolicitations, and ſome ſecond thoughts of his own, he laid aſide his modeſty, and promiſed he would; and he did ſo in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends ſeemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general uſe, whether we reſpect the art or the author. For logic may be ſaid to be an *art of right reaſoning:* an art that undeceives men who take falſehood for truth; and enables men to paſs a true judgment, and detect thoſe fallacies which in ſome men's underſtandings uſurp the place of right reaſon. And how great a maſter our author was in this art may eaſily appear from that clearneſs of method, argument, and demonſtration, which is ſo conſpicuous in all his other writings. And he, who had attained to ſo great a dexterity in the uſe of reaſon himſelf, was beſt qualified to preſcribe rules and directions for the inſtructions of others. And I am the more

their learning. Dr. Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton College, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry, and alſo Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham College, formed the Caroline Cycle, ſo called from Charles the Firſt's approbation of it, beginning in 1629, and ending in 1720. Since the introduction of this cycle, the appointment is limited to particular colleges in a regular ſucceſſion, and the office has, of courſe, been leſs an object of ambition.

more ſatisfied of the excellency and uſefulneſs of this his firſt public undertaking, by hearing that moſt tutors in both univerſities teach Dr. Sanderſon's logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future ſtudies in philoſophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that ſince this his Book of Logic was firſt printed, there has not been leſs than ten thouſand ſold: And that it is like to continue both to diſcover truth, and to clear and confirm the reaſon of the unborn world.

It will eaſily be believed that his former ſtanding for a proctor's place, and being diſappointed, muſt prove much diſpleaſing to a man of his great wiſdom and modeſty, and create in him an averſeneſs to run a ſecond hazard of his credit and content; and yet he was aſſured by Dr. Kilbie and the fellows of his own college, and moſt of thoſe that had oppoſed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchaſed for him ſuch a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him ſo great and ſo general a love, that all his former oppoſers repented what they had done; and therefore perſuaded him to venture to ſtand a ſecond time. And, upon theſe and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingneſs) yield up his own reaſon to theirs, and promiſed to ſtand. And he did ſo; and was the 10th of April 1616 choſen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke of Chriſt-church being then choſen the Junior[q].

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot[r], Maſter of Baliol

[q] Mr. Charles Crooke, a younger ſon of Sir John Crooke, of Chilton, in Bucks, one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench. In 1625, he proceeded D. D. being then Rector of Amerſham, and a Fellow of Eton College. He was the author of "A Sad Memorial of Henry Curwen, Eſq. only child of Sir Patr. Curwen, of Warkington in Cumberland, Baronet, who died 21ſt Aug. 1638, aged 14, and was buried in the Church of Amerſham in Bucks. Sermon on *Job* xiv. 2. Oxon. 1638." 4to.—at which time he was chaplain to Charles I. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*)

[r] Brother of George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He obtained his promotion to the ſee of Saliſbury, as a reward for his lectures in defence of the King's ſupreme power, againſt Suarez and Bellarmine. They were printed after his death. In his way to Sarum he made

Baliol College, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity (who being elected or conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum ſome months before) was ſolemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his dioceſe, by the heads of all houſes, and the other chiefs of all the univerſity. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux[s] ſucceeded him in the profeſſorſhip, in which he continued till the year 1642 (being

made a farewel oration to the univerſity with great applauſe. His brethren, the heads of houſes, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his dioceſe with tears of grief, and the gentry of Sarum received him with tears of joy. (*Life of Robert Abbot, Biſhop of Saliſbury. Guildford*, 1777. *p.* 152.)———James I. was ſo much pleaſed with Dr. Abbot's book "De Antichriſto," that he ordered his own "Commentary upon Part of the Apocalypſe" to be printed with it, when the ſecond edition appeared in 1608. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Saliſbury, Dec. 3, 1615; "herein," ſays his biographer, "equalizing the felicity of "Seffridus ſome time Biſhop of Chicheſter, who, being a biſhop himſelf, ſaw his brother at "the ſame time Archbiſhop of Canterbury."

[s] Dr. John Prideaux, Biſhop of Worceſter, died July 29, 1650, aged 72 years. He filled the high ſtation of the King's Profeſſor in Divinity, with great honour and reputation, for twenty-ſeven years. While he was Rector of Exeter College, he acquired ſo much fame in the government of it, that many foreigners, ſome of whom were afterward perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in the republic of letters, placed themſelves under his care. It is remarked of him, that his anſwers in the divinity chair were quick, while thoſe of Dr. Sanderſon, his ſucceſſor, were ſlow and certain. Such was the opinion entertained of his abilities, that he was ſtyled "Columna Fidei orthodoxæ, Malleus Hæreſeôn, Patrum Pater, et ingens Scholæ et Academiæ Oraculum."

When Mr. Joſeph Mede was upon a viſit at Oxford, it chanced at dinner one day that the theme of their diſcourſe was diſpleaſing to that good man: for by the liberty which was taken ſome were criticiſing upon and ſpeaking, as he thought, but unduly, or, at leaſt, not up to the worth of their learned and worthy profeſſor, Dr. Prideaux. Mr. Mede could not hold, but, as ſome then preſent made the report, brake out into theſe, or the like words: "Gentlemen, "I beſeech you, deſiſt; the man of whom you now ſpeak deſerves far better words. It was "his infirmity, let it be admitted, in this to be overſeen. But he hath virtues and great ac-"compliſhments far more than enough to make up this defect. That he is both learned and "pious it may not be queſtioned; and one infirmity, amidſt ſo many perfections, is not to be "regarded, nor ever made mention of by one Chriſtian towards another. Let me, there-"fore, take the boldneſs to crave this at your hands, that you would deſiſt from this diſ-"courſe, and fall upon ſome other more profitable argument." A noble example, and moſt worthy of imitation! See "The Life of Mr. Mede," prefixed to his Works, p. xxi.

(being then elected Bishop of Worcester), at which time our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year, Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then, as usually, preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them, though never so poor, to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his humility and charity, and all other Christian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ and printed before his excellent Sermons.

And in this year, also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England, and then of Oxford[t], resigning up the last, the right honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late King Charles I. (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the university, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained

[t] This great and good man was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford Nov. 3, 1610, and installed the 10th of the same month. Upon his resignation, January 24, 1616, William Earl of Pembroke, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, was elected Jan. 29, in the same year.

tertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits[u].

And in this year King James sent letters to the university for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines: Advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the fathers and councils, and the more primitive learning[x]. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet

[u] On this occasion Prince Charles was pleased, with his own hand writing, to matriculate himself of the University, Aug. 28, with this cymbol or sentence: "*Si vis omnia subjicere,* "*subjice te rationi.*" Carolus P.

[x] At this time Puritanism and Calvinism increased daily at Oxford. Not only the lecturers in each college, but other preachers in and about the university, positively maintained such points of doctrine as were not maintained or allowed by the Church of England. The King, by the advice of such bishops and others of the clergy as were then about him, despatched upon the 18th of January, 1616, these directions following to the Vice-chancellor, certain heads of houses, the two Professors of Divinity, and the two Proctors of the University, to be carefully and speedily put in execution:——

" JAMES REX.

1. " His Majesty signified his pleasure that he would have all that take any degree in schooles " to subscribe to the xxxix Articles.

2. " That no preacher be allowed to preach in the town, but such as are every way con- " formable, both by subscription and every other way.

3. " That all students do resort to the sermons at St. Mary's, and be restrained from going " to any other church in the time of St. Mary's sermons; and that provision be made that the " sermons in St. Mary's be diligently made and performed, both forenoon and afternoon.

4. " That the ordinary divinity act be constantly kept with three replyers.

5. " That there be a great restraint for scholars haunting of town-houses, especially in the " night.

6. " That all scholars, both at chappel and at the schooles keep their scholastical habits.

7. " That young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable " in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, excited to bestow their time in the fa- " thers and counsels, schoolmen, histories and controversies, and not to insist too long upon " compendiums and abbreviators, making them their grounds of their study in divinity.

8. " That no man, either in pulpit or in schooles, be suffered to maintain dogmatically any " point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England.

9. " That

indiſcreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predeſtination, univerſal redemption, the irreſiſtibility of God's grace, and of ſome other knotty points depending upon theſe: points which many think were not, but by interpreters, forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falſehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occaſion of the King's letter.

It may be obſerved, that the various accidents of this year did afford our proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and diſcourſe upon: And that though his office ſeemed, according to ſtatute and cuſtom, to require him to do ſo at his leaving it; yet he choſe rather to paſs them over with ſome very ſhort obſervations, and preſent the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up diſcipline and order in the univerſity; which at that time was either by defective ſtatutes, or want of the due execution of thoſe that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year alſo, the magiſterial part of the proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reaſon of a multiplicity of new ſtatutes, which begot much confuſion; ſome of which ſtatutes were then, and not till then, and others ſuddenly after, put into an uſeful execution. And though theſe ſtatutes were not then made ſo perfectly uſeful as they were deſigned till Archbiſhop Laud's time (who aſſiſted in the forming and promoting them), yet our preſent proctor made them as effectual as diſcretion and diligence could do: Of which one example may ſeem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular ſcholars ab-

 ſent

9. "That Mr. Vice-Chancellour and the two Profeſſors, or two of the Heads of Houſes, do "every Michaelmas term, when his Majeſty reſorts into thoſe parts, wayte upon his Majeſty, "and give his Majeſty a juſt accompt how theſe his Majeſty's inſtructions are obſerved."

It will not be deemed neceſſary to notice any other of the decrees propoſed by the delegates, than that which regards the ſeventh direction: "In prælectionibus catechiſticis, quæ in "ſingulis collegiis aulisve haberi ſolitæ ſunt, Chriſtianæ fidei et religionis articuli xxxix in "Synodo Londinenſi, anno CIODLXII decreti leguntor, explicantorque per ſacrarum Scriptu-"rarum axiomata, patrum antiquorum conciliorum teſtimonia ſolidè confirmantor." See "Wood's Annals," &c. B. I. p. 323, 324, 327, 328.

ſent from their colleges at univerſity hours, or diſordered by drink, or in ſcandalous company, he did not uſe his power of puniſhing to an extremity; but did uſually take their names, and a promiſe to appear before him, unſent for, next morning; and when they did, convinced them with ſuch obligingneſs, and reaſon added to it, that they parted from him with ſuch reſolutions as the man after God's own heart was poſſeſſed with, when he ſaid to God, "There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be "feared." And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was ſo happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his proctor's ſpeech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulneſs, and ſpake to him to this purpoſe:—"I look back upon my "late employment with ſome content to myſelf, and a great thankfulneſs to "Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke "the meaneſt of mankind, but rather to paſs by infirmities, if noted; and "in this employment I have had (God knows) many occaſions to do both. "And when I conſider how many of a contrary temper are by ſudden and "ſmall occaſions tranſported, and hurried by anger to commit ſuch errors, "as they in that paſſion could not foreſee, and will in their more calm and "deliberate thoughts upbraid and require repentance. And conſider, that "though repentance ſecures us from the puniſhment of any ſin, yet how "much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon: And "conſider, that errors againſt men, though pardoned both by God and them, "do yet leave ſuch anxious and upbraiding impreſſions in the memory as "abates of the offender's content. When I conſider all this, and that God hath "of his goodneſs given me a temper that hath prevented me from running "into ſuch enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulneſs. "And though I cannot ſay with David (I wiſh I could), that therefore 'his "'praiſe ſhall always be in my mouth;' yet I hope that, by his grace, and "that grace ſeconded by my endeavours, it ſhall never be blotted out of "my memory; and I now beſeech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I muſt look back, and mention one paſſage more in his proctorſhip, which is, that Gilbert Shelden, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury,

bury, was this year[y] ſent to Trinity College in that univerſity; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was ſent after him from his godfather (the father of our proctor) to let his ſon know it, and commend his godſon to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleaſing injunction to our proctor, who was ſo gladly obedient to his father's deſire, that he ſome few days after ſent his ſervitor to intreat Mr. Shelden to his chamber next morning. But it ſeems Mr. Shelden, having (like a young man as he was) run into ſome ſuch irregularity as made him conſcious he had tranſgreſſed his ſtatutes, did therefore apprehend the proctor's invitation as an introduction to puniſhment; the fear of which made his bed reſtleſs that night; but at their meeting the next morning that fear vaniſhed immediately by the proctor's cheerful countenance, and the freedom of their diſcourſe of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this firſt meeting proved the beginning of as ſpiritual a friendſhip as human nature is capable of; of a friendſhip free from all ſelf-ends: and it continued to be ſo till death forced a ſeparation of it on earth; but it is now re-united in heaven[z].

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the conſiderable accidents in his proctorſhip, I proceed to tell my reader, that this buſy employment being ended, he preached his ſermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that univerſity ſince that day. And having well performed his other exerciſes for that degree, he took it the 29th of May following, having been ordained deacon and prieſt in the year 1611, by John King, then Biſhop of London, who had not long before been Dean of

 Chriſt-church,

[y] He was admitted into Trinity College in the latter end of 1613. He took the degree of B. A. Nov. 27, 1617, and that of M. A. May 28, 1620. *(Wood's Ath. Ox.)*

[z] " ——————— Is aught ſo fair
" In all the dewy landſcapes of the ſpring,
" In the bright eye of Heſper and the morn,
" As virtuous friendſhip?

(AKENSIDE'S PLEASURES OF THE IMAGINATION.)

[a] Dr. John King had this dignity conferred on him Aug. 4, 1605; and in 1611 he was made Biſhop of London.

Chrift-church[a], and then knew him fo well, that he owned it at his ordination, and became his more affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the univerfity a licence to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderfon, Lord Vifcount Caftleton[b], prefented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Bofton in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in fo low and wet a part of that country, as was inconfiftent with his health. And health being (next to a good confcience) the greateft of God's bleffings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preferve it, and he, apprehending a danger of lofing it, if he continued at Wibberton[c] a fecond winter, did therefore refign it back into the hands of his worthy kinfman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his refignation he was prefented to the rectory of Boothby Pannell[d] in the fame county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and muft continue to be famous, becaufe Dr. Sanderfon, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderfon, was more than forty years parfon of Boothby Pannell, and from thence dated all or moft of his matchlefs writings.

To this living (which was of lefs value, but a purer air than Wibberton,) he was prefented by Thomas Harrington of the fame county and parifh, Efq. a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great ufe and efteem in his

[b] Sir Nicholas Sanderfon of Saxby and of Filingham in Lincolnfhire, Knight, was created a Baronet in 1612, 10 James I. and afterward Vifcount Caftleton in Ireland. Sir James Sanderfon, lineally defcended from him, was in 1715 made Baron Sanderfon of Saxby, in the county of Lincoln; in 1716, Vifcount Caftleton of Sandbeck in the county of York; and in 1720, Earl of Caftleton in the county of York.

[c] Wibberton R. St. Leodegar, in the deanery of Holland, and archdeaconry of Lincoln.

[d] Bothby, alias Boothby Pannell R. St. Andrew's, in the deanery of Grantham, and archdeaconry of Lincoln. He was inducted into this rectory Sept. 7, 1619, and was fucceeded by Humphrey Babbington, who was inducted Nov. 1, 1661. "On this place", faith Bifhop Gibfon, "Dr. Robert Sanderfon, who was for fome years rector here, has entailed a lafting "name and honour."

his country during his whole life[e]. And in this Boothby Pannell the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderſon and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendſhip, till the death of the laſt put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parſon of Boothby Pannell, he reſigned his fellowſhip of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his reſignation is recorded in theſe words[f]:

Ego Robertus Sanderſon per, &c.

I Robert Sanderſon, Fellow of the College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln College in the Univerſity of Oxford, do freely and willingly reſign into the hands of the Rector and Fellows, all the right and title that I have in the ſaid College, wiſhing to them and their ſucceſſors, all peace, and piety, and happineſs, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

May 6, 1619.

ROBERT SANDERSON.

And

[e] To this gentleman, his very kind neighbour and patron, he has dedicated three ſermons, printed in 1637. "Living ſo long under my charge, as I doe alſo under your patronage, "you never yet gave me the leaſt cauſe to thinke myſelf either deſpiſed in the work, or de-"frauded in the wages of my miniſtery. Which as it is a gracious evidence of a pious and "ſincere heart in you, ſo it is a circumſtance wherein I am happy beyond the condition of "moſt of my brethren in the ſame calling." *(Epiſtle Dedicatory, &c.)*

[f] The name of Robert Sanderſon firſt appears in the Regiſter of Lincoln College, ſubſcribed to the order of the college chapter of the 6th of May, 1606; and it appears that he was a reſident fellow till the time of his reſignation, which is inſerted in the Regiſter with his own hand, in the college chapter of the 6th of May, 1619, in the following affectionate and ſolemn form:———

6 Maii, 1619.

Ego Robertus Sanderſon, perpetuus ſocius Collegii B. Mariae et omnium ſanctorum Lincoln in Univerſitate Oxon. totum meum jus quod habeo in dicta Societate in manus Domini Rectoris et ſociorum ibidem ſponte et libere reſigno, exoptans illis univerſis et ſingulis et ſucceſſoribus eorum pacem, pietatem, et omnimodam felicitatem, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Teſtor, ROBERTUS SANDERSON.

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York[g], (or the King, *Sede vacante,)* made prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that see[h].

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannell, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, because they occasioned his rejoicing in them. And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so, as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: He, having considered all this; the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife that made his life happy, by being always content when he was cheerful; that was always cheerful when he was content; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she out-lived him.

And

[g] Dr Tobias Matthew was then Archbishop of York. He died March 29, 1628, in the 83d year of his age.

[h] Dr. George Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated to London, July 20, 1621. It is probable, that Dr. John Williams, his immediate successor in the see of Lincoln, was the patron of Dr. Sanderson.

And in this Boothby Pannell he either found or made his parifhioners peaceable and complying with him in the conftant, decent, and regular fervice of God. And thus his parifh, his patron, and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietnefs; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and ufelefs notions, but fuch, and only fuch plain truths as were neceffary to be known, believed, and practifed in order to the honour of God and their own falvation. And their affent to what he taught was teftified by fuch a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often fay, " That without the laft, the moft evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not (or are at leaft the lefs) effectual; and ufually rather harden, than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think his duty difcharged by only reading the church-prayers, catechifing, preaching, and adminiftring the facraments feafonably; but thought (if the law or the canons may feem to enjoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the confcience of all good Chriftians, and inclines thofe whom he loves to perform. He, confidering this, did therefore become a law to himfelf, practifing not only what the law enjoins, but what his confcience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-fuits, both in his parifh and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often vifiting fick and difconfolate families, perfuading them to patience, and raifing them from dejection by his advice and cheerful difcourfe, and by adding his own alms, if there were any fo poor as to need it; confidering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advifed by St. Paul, " Help to bear one another's burden", either of forrow or want: And what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts fhall call us to a ftrict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted; to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or diftreffed family.

And that his practice was to do good, the following narrative may be one example. " He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he " had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9l. a year; and when the hay " was made ready to be carried into his barn, feveral days conftant rain had

"ſo raiſed the water, that a ſudden flood carried all away, and his rich "landlord would bate him no rent; and that unleſs he had half abated, "he and ſeven children were utterly undone." It may be noted, that in this age there are a ſort of people ſo unlike the God of mercy, ſo void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themſelves and children; love them ſo, as not to be concerned, whether the reſt of mankind waſte their days in ſorrow or ſhame; people that are curſed with riches, and a miſtake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not ſo with Dr. Sanderſon, for he was concerned, and ſpoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home and pray, and not load himſelf with ſorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he deſired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor preſented to him the ſad condition of his poor dejected tenant, telling him how much God is pleaſed "when men compaſſionate the poor:" And told him, that "though God loves ſacrifice, yet he loves mercy ſo much better, "that he is beſt pleaſed when he is called *the God of Mercy:*" And told him, "the riches he was poſſeſſed of were given him by that *God of Mercy*, who "would not be pleaſed if he that had ſo much given, yea, and forgiven him "too, ſhould prove like the rich Steward in the Goſpel, *that took his fellow "ſervant by the throat to make him pay the utmoſt farthing.*" This he told him: And told him, that "the law of this nation (by which law he claims "his rent) does not undertake to make men honeſt or merciful: That was "too nice an undertaking; but does what it can to reſtrain men from being "diſhoneſt or unmerciful, and yet that our law was defective in both; and "that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God ſuffered him "not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do ſo, yet if he did ſo, he was "too like that rich Steward which he had mentioned to him:" And told him, that "riches ſo gotten, and added to his great eſtate, would, as Job ſays[i], *prove like gravel in his teeth;* would in time ſo corrode his conſcience, or become ſo nauſeous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then "labour

[i] Mr. Walton generally quotes from memory. "Bread of Deceit is ſweet to a man; but "afterwards his mouth ſhall be filled with gravel." *Prov.* xx. 17.

"labour to vomit it up, and not be able: And therefore advised him (being "very rich) to make friends of his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil "day come upon him: But however, neither for his own sake, nor for "God's sake, to take any rent of his poor dejected sad tenant, for that were "to gain a temporal and lose his eternal happiness." These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent[k].

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, that "he had seen none perish "for want of clothing; and that he had often made the heart of the widow "to rejoice." And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related[l].

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety, were much noted and valued by the bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach

 many

[k] It is related of Dr. Hammond, that having set the tithe of a large meadow, and received part of the money at the beginning of the year, it happening that the product was afterward spoiled by a flood, he returned all the money to the poor tenant, saying, "God forbid I should "take the tenth, where you have not the nine parts."

[l] Is it possible to read the above description without great pleasure? May every clergyman of the Church of England seriously contemplate this excellent portrait! Not merely content with the transitory gaze of admiration, may he faithfully copy, and accurately express the transcript of it in his own life and manners!—Dr. Featley tells us, that "there were few gentlemen of his acquaintance whom Dr. Sanderson had not directed to some noble and charitable work for men's improvement or relief: he, their great casuist, having their hearts and purses at his devoir, and using his happy power, always to their honour, comfort, and infinite satisfaction." (*Reason and Judgment, &c, p.* 29.)

many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes[m]. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them, yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it), yet he was punished with such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure (which was in the year 1632), "that the best sermons that were ever read were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and pious Archbishop Laud[n], who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there), told the King (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles I.[o]) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that

[m] In the collection of his Sermons, we find five preached *ad Clerum*, at the visitations held at Boston or Grantham; one preached *ad Magistratum*, at a public sessions at Grantham; four at the assizes at Lincoln, and one at the assizes at Nottingham.

[n] Whom the author of "The Confessional" hath distinguished with the harsh epithet of *malicious*. The noble historian has delineated the character of this great prelate with his usual ability and candour: "He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, al-"layed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (be-"sides a hasty sharp way of expressing himself) that he believed innocence of heart and in-"tegrity of manners was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through "this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was "to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was always "maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very "powerful; and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do "not love, 'Papist;' and under this senseless appellation, they created him many troubles and "vexations." (*History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p.* 90.)——Archbishop Laud's excellent book against Fisher the Jesuit, and his success in recovering Mr. Chillingworth from Popery, afford incontestible proofs of his learning, and his sincere attachment to the Church of England. Not to mention other instances of his liberality; how nobly did he bestow his patronage, unexpected and undesired, upon Mr. John Hales of Eton, who esteemed him so much, that he mourned for his death in a most remarkable manner, and wished he had died in his stead!

[o] A Prince! whom the noble historian justly describes as "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced."

that was of ſuch ſincerity, and ſo excellent in all caſuiſtical learning, that he deſired his Majeſty would take ſo much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The King granted it moſt willingly, and gave the biſhop charge to haſten it; for he longed to diſcourſe with a man that had dedicated his ſtudies to that uſeful part of learning. The biſhop forgot not the King's deſire, and Mr. Sanderſon was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following (1631). And when the King and he became better known to each other, then, as it is ſaid, that after many hard queſtions put to the prophet Daniel, King Darius found "an excellent ſpirit in him[p];" ſo it was with Mr. Sanderſon and our excellent King; who having put many caſes of conſcience to him, received from Mr. Sanderſon ſuch deliberate, ſafe, and clear ſolutions, as gave him ſo great content in converſing with him (which he did ſeveral times in private) that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him "he ſhould long for the next November; for he re-"ſolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him when that month "and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never abſent from his ſermons, and would uſually ſay, "I carry "my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conſcience to hear Mr. "Sanderſon, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from poſterity, that the King thought what he ſpake: For he took him to be his adviſer in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in thoſe days of his affliction, when he was under ſuch a reſtraint as he apprehended himſelf to be in danger of death or depoſing. Of which more hereafter.

In the firſt Parliament of this good King (which was 1625), he was choſen to be a clerk of the convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln[q], which I here mention, becauſe about that time did ariſe many diſputes about predeſtination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwo-

 woven

[p] Mr. Walton, generally quoting from memory, is not always accurate: Compare *Dan.* i. 19, 20. and vi. 3.

[q] Dr. Sanderſon, being a prebendary of Southwell, ſerved as one of the clerks of the convocation for the archdeaconry of Nottingham, in the former part of the Long Parliament.—(*Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p.* 475.)

ven in it; occaſioned, as was ſaid, by a diſquiſition of new principles of Mr. Calvin, though others ſay they were long before his time. But of theſe Dr. Sanderſon then drew up for his own ſatisfaction ſuch a ſcheme (he called it "Pax Eccleſiæ") as then gave himſelf, and hath ſince given others, ſuch ſatisfaction, that it ſtill remains to be of great eſtimation. He was alſo choſen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign: which I here tell my reader, becauſe I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention that convocation in 1640, that unhappy Long Parliament, and ſome debates of the predeſtinarian points, as they have been ſince charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond[r], and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend

[r] On a portrait of Dr. Henry Hammond, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, afterward Canon of Chriſt-church, Public Orator of the univerſity, one of King Charles the Firſt's chaplains, and a conſtant attendant on his Majeſty during his laſt troubles, are inſcribed the following lines:——

"En gentis lumen columen culmenque togatæ
"HAMMONDUS! Secli Lexque decuſque ſui."

(GUTCH's WOOD's HISTORY, &c. p. 328.)

This good man, who has already been mentioned in this volume, was born at Chertſey in Surrey, Aug. 18, 1605, being the youngeſt ſon of Dr. John Hammond, phyſician to Prince Henry. Educated at Eton School, he was ſent to Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1630, he was preferred by the Earl of Leiceſter to the rectory of Penſhurſt.—In 1639, he proceeded D. D. was member of convocation in 1640, and afterward named to be of the aſſembly of divines. In 1643, he was perſecuted and forced to retire, the Parliament viſitors ejecting him from his canonry of Chriſt-church and his office of public orator. Having ſpent his life in great retiredneſs, lucubration, and devotion, he ſurrendered up his moſt pious ſoul to God, in the houſe of Sir John Packington, April 25, 1660, aged 55 years: Whereupon his body was, upon the morrow, in the evening, buried in the chancel of Hampton church, with the whole office and uſual rites of the Church of England, not at that time reſtored or practiſed by public command. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 123.

Biſhop Burnet has obſerved, that Hammond's death before the reſtoration was an unſpeakable loſs to the church; that he was a man of great learning and of moſt eminent merit, having been the perſon that, during the bad times, had maintained the cauſe of the church in a very ſingular manner; that he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle, and perhaps he would have fallen into healing counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for reviving in the clergy a due ſenſe of the obligations they were under.

reverend Dean of Salisbury[s]. And here the reader may note, that in letters wrote to the said dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have altered his judgment in some points, since he wrote his scheme, called "Pax Ecclesiæ," which he seems to say in his last will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities[t]: But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither,

[s] Dr. Thomas Pierce, for some years President of Magdalen College, Oxford, well known in his time for his skill in the quinquarticular controversy, and for his writings in defence of the ancient establishment of the Church of England, against Baxter, Calamy, and other Nonconformists. On the promotion of Dr. Ralph Brideoke to the see of Chichester, he was appointed Dean of Salisbury. He composed the following epitaph upon himself, a little before his death:——

"Here lies all that was mortal, the outside, dust, and ashes of Tho. Pierce, D.D. once the President of a college in Oxford, at first the Rector of *Brington-cum-membris*, Canon of Lincoln, and at last Dean of Sarum; who fell asleep in the Lord Jesus, [Mar. 28, an. 1691.] but in hope of an awake at the resurrection. He knew himself, and taught others, that all the glorified saints in heaven cannot amount to one Saviour, as all the stars in the firmament cannot make up one sun. Therefore his only hope and trust was in the Lord Jesus, who will change," &c. *Phil.* iii. 21.

"Disce, viator, perinde esse, seu fragile frangi, seu mortale mori." (*Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p.* 862.)

Of his disputes with Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, see Dr. Walter Pope's Life of that prelate, p. 171, 182.

Dr. Pierce, in a letter to Mr. Isaac Walton, dated 1677-8, gives a particular account, from a book written by Dr. Hammond, of Dr. Sanderson's change of sentiments relative to the famous points controverted between the Calvinists and the Arminians—how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets, and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of "Calvin's Institutions," the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin, while he took things upon trust, in the sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, he reduced the quinquarticular controversy into five schemes and tables; and thereupon discerned the necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy.

[t] The King, Queen, and their respective courts, having been entertained this year by the university, on the 29th and 30th of August, it was his Majesty's pleasure, upon his leaving the university,

ther, May 3, Mr. Sanderſon did then attend him, and was then (the 31ſt of Auguſt) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Maſters of Arts with him: Some of whoſe names ſhall be recorded and live with his, and none ſhall outlive it. Firſt, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren[u], who were then Biſhops of Winton and of Norwich, and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge, were with him created Doctors of Divinity in his

univerſity, which was the 31ſt of the ſame month, that there ſhould be a creation in ſeveral faculties. Whereupon the names of thoſe that made ſuit to be actually created being given into the hands of the chancellor, Dr. Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, was a convocation celebrated on the ſame day in the afternoon, wherein were actually created two Bachelors of Arts, two Bachelors of Law, five and forty Maſters of Arts, ten Bachelors of Divinity, three Doctors of Civil Law, three Doctors of Phyſic, and one and twenty Doctors of Divinity. *(Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. I. Col.* 268.)

Archbiſhop Laud has given a full account of his entertainment of their Majeſties, when, at this their ſummer progreſs, they viſited the univerſity. *(Laud's Remains, &c. Vol. II. p.* 100.)

[u] Dr. Matthew Wren, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, died April 24, 1667, aged eighty-one years and upwards. He was diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary attachment to the royal cauſe, having ſuffered an impriſonment for eighteen years with ſingular patience and magnanimity. The preſſures under which he lay during this period were ſuch, that, his eſtate being taken away, he could not allow his children bread, much leſs ſupply their expences for living in colleges. *(Kennet's Regiſter, p.* 220.)——He built the beautiful chapel at Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, "where he was buried with the greateſt ſolemnity ſeen "in the memory of man, performed by the whole univerſity, twenty-four ſcholars of St. "John's, Peter-houſe, and Pembroke, being his relations, in mourning," *(Lloyd's State Worthies, p.* 612.)——The hiſtory of his life has been faithfully written by his great nephew, Chriſtopher Wren, Eſq. who left behind him a treatiſe in manuſcript, with this title, "Parentalia; Memorials of the Lives of the right reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Ely, Chriſtopher Wren, D. D. Dean of Windſor, and Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Knight, Surveyor General of the royal Buildings. With Collections and Records of original Papers." This treatiſe was publiſhed by his ſon, Stephen Wren, Eſq.

It ſhould not be forgotten, that when Cromwell had repeatedly offered to releaſe the biſhop, he refuſed to accept the proffered boon, ſaying "that he ſcorned to receive his liberty from a "tyrant and uſurper." His life was kindly prolonged by Providence, that as he had ſeen the deſtruction ſo he might alſo ſee the happy reſtoration of his order.

his univerſity. So was Meric, the ſon of the learned Iſaac Caſaubon[v]; and Prince Rupert[w], who ſtill lives; the then Duke of Lenox[x], Earl of Hereford[y], Earl of Eſſex[z], Earl of Berkſhire[a], and very many others of noble birth, too many to be named, were then created Maſters of Arts.

Some

[v] Meric Caſaubon, the heir of a great name and a learned race, having for his father Iſaac Caſaubon, who is called by Joſeph Scaliger, "doctiſſimus omnium qui hodie vivunt," (his grandfather Henry Stephens, and his great grandfather Robert Stephens) was born at Geneva, in 1599. He came into England with his father, and was educated at Chriſt-church in Oxford. It will be unneceſſary to expatiate on his vaſt erudition. He was much eſteemed by James I. and Charles I. He nobly rejected the propoſal of Cromwell, who invited him with the offer of a penſion to write the hiſtory of his life: and when Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, ſolicited him to undertake the government of one or more of her univerſities, he declined a compliance with her requeſt, and determined to end his days in England. He was a prebendary of Canterbury, and died in 1671. See the inſcription on his tomb in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

[w] The name of this prince, the third ſon of the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, occurs not unfrequently in the annals of this and of the ſucceeding reign. After innumerable toils, and a variety of heroic actions performed by him both by ſea and land, he ſpent ſeveral years in ſedate ſtudies, and the proſecution of chymical and philoſophical experiments. He died, Nov. 29, 1682, in the 63d year of his age, generally lamented, having maintained ſuch good temper, and exact neutrality in the unhappy diviſions which then prevailed, that he was honoured and reſpected by men of the moſt differing intereſts. See "Echard's Hiſtory of England," Vol. III. p. 666.

[x] Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, created Earl of Richmond, 11 James I.; and afterward Duke of Richmond, in 1623. He was at this time a ſtudent of Trinity College in Cambridge.

[y] Rather, Earl of Hertford. William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, educated in Magdalen College, Oxford. He was admitted B. A. in 1607. In 1643, he was elected Chancellor of the Univerſity, and being deprived by the Parliament in 1647, was reinſtated May 26, 1660. He died Duke of Somerſet in October following.

[z] Robert Devereux, Viſcount Hereford and Earl of Eſſex, who was afterward Captain-general of the army raiſed by the Parliament againſt the King.

[a] Thomas Howard, Viſcount Andover, created Baron of Charlton and Earl of Berkſhire.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, though inwardly ſick of being well[b], namely in the year 1639, a diſcontented party of the Scots Church were zealouſly reſtleſs for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new covenant; for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his aſſent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be preſented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by ſo many thouſands, and they ſo armed, as ſeemed to force an aſſent to what they ſeemed but to requeſt: So that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcaſtle[c], where the King was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty[d] and ſome conceſſions he ſent them back, though not ſo rich as they intended, yet, for that time, without bloodſhed. But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the forerunners of war and the many miſeries that followed: For in the year following there were ſo many choſen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with thoſe very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot ſuch a confuſion by the ſeveral deſires and deſigns in many of the Members of that Parliament (all did never conſent) and at laſt in the very common people of this nation, that they were ſo loſt by contrary deſigns, fears, and confuſions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would reſtore them to that former tranquillity which they had loſt. And to that end the Preſbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: And hither they came marching with it glorioufly upon their pikes and in their hats,

[b] Like the Italian Patient on whom this epitaph was written:

"STAVO BEN, MA, PER STAR MEGLIO, STO QUI."

[c] The Scotch army entered England, Aug. 20, 1640, and by ſlow marches encamped on the 27th of that month at Newbourn-upon-Tyne, four miles weſt from Newcaſtle. The King's forces, under the command of the Lord Conway, attempting to prevent them from paſſing the river, after a fierce but unſucceſsful engagement, retreated in confuſion, and abandoned Newcaſtle, which immediately fell into the hands of the Scots. *(Kennet's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. p. 96.)*

[d] This treaty was made at Ripon, where the Engliſh and Scotch Commiſſioners met.

hats, with this motto,—" FOR THE CROWN AND COVENANT OF BOTH KINGDOMS."—This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it[c]. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common-prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for another reformation: And though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641 desire Dr. Sanderson to call

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[c] See a copy of this " Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland," in " Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion," Vol. II. p. 373.

This Covenant was recommended to the common people, by their preachers, in very strange language.—" See that the Covenant be both taken and performed. It is the Covenant of the " Most High God, who will be much provoked sure with the neglect of it. You have holden " forth a pious example in entering into our Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, " like the honoured Prince Josiah, and that with the same sincerity. Oh! accompany that " King one step farther, in causing all in Jerusalem and Benjamin to make it and stand to it, " when they have made it." *(John Strickland's Sermon before the Lords, Nov. 5, 1644. p. 5.)* " England shall be England, or a Sodom and Gomorrah, according as it keeps or breaks the " Covenant." *(Lazarus Seaman's Fast Sermon before the Commons, Sept. 25, 1644, p. 45.)* " A Covenant is a golden girdle to tie us fast to God; it is a joining and glewing ourselves to " the Lord: It is a binding ourselves apprentice to God: It is not only commendable but very " necessary (and for this cause you are met here this day); to enter into a bond a second " time, to bind and enrol yourselves again unto the Lord, to make up this hedge, to tie this " golden girdle, and to join and glew yourselves once more unto the Lord, in a perpetual " Covenant never to be forgotten. *(Edm. Calamy's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Jan 14, 1645, entitled, The great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking, p. 2.)*

two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end he and two others did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house[f], for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642 proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houses of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an assembly of divines[g], to debate and settle church-controversies;

[f] Dr. John Williams was then Dean of Westminster. He held this Deanery *in commendam* during the whole time of his being Bishop of Lincoln, and likewise three years after his translation to York. *(Le Neve.)*

[g] Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Parliament's general, was wont to call this assembly, which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, "the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel." Mr. Baxter denominates it "the Learned and Pious Synod at Westminster." The order for convening it is inserted in "Sir William Dugdale's View," p. 902.

Of the Members of this Assembly, Lord Clarendon observes, *(Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p.* 530.) that, "of about one hundred and twenty of which it was to consist, there were not above twenty, who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England. The famous Selden, one of their lay assessors, took great delight in exposing their want of learning. When they cited a text to prove their assertions, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your gilt little pocket bibles," (which they would often pull out and read) "the translation may be thus; but the Greek and the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;" and so would totally silence them. See "Whitlock's Memoirs," p. 68. Each member of this Assembly received a salary of four shillings a day, much too little, as some thought, for men of their merit; others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. *(Fuller's Church History, B. X. p.* 200.) "Our English Assembly sate *humdrumming* several years, and after all expectation brought forth nothing worth a mouse."—*(Foulis's Hist. of Wicked Plots, &c. p.* 207.)

controverſies; of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge; in which Dr. Sanderſon was alſo named by the Parliament, but did not appear; I ſuppoſe for the ſame reaſon that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the ſummons wanting the King's authority.

And here I muſt look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Profeſſor Regius of Divinity in Oxford; but though knowledge be ſaid to *puff up*, yet his modeſty, and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and ſome other real or pretended reaſons, expreſſed in his ſpeech, when he firſt appeared in the chair, and ſince printed, kept him from entering into it till October 1646[h].

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchleſs lectures, which were firſt *de Juramento*, a point very ſeraphical and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furniſhed with abilities to ſatisfy the conſciences of men upon that important ſubject; ſo he wanted not courage to aſſert the true obligation of oaths, in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part, or at leaſt very uſeful to their religion. How much the learned world ſtands obliged to him for theſe and his following lectures *de Conſcientia*, I ſhall not attempt to declare, as being very ſenſible that the beſt pens fall ſhort in the commendation of them; ſo that I ſhall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete ſtandard for the reſolution of the moſt material doubts in that part of caſuiſtical divinity: And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading thoſe lectures (the King being then priſoner in the Iſle of Wight) that part of the Parliament then at Weſtminſter ſent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all heads of houſes. And all the other inferior ſcholars, of what degree ſoever, were alſo to take theſe oaths by a fixed day; for thoſe that did not were to abandon their colleges and

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[h] Upon the promotion of Dr. John Prideaux to the See of Worceſter, Dr. Sanderſon was appointed the King's Profeſſor in Divinity, July 21, 1642, and was ejected by the Parliament's viſitors, June 14, 1648. In the beginning of Auguſt, 1660, he was reſtored. *(Le Neve.)*

the univerſity too within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum[i]; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded againſt as ſpies.

Dr. Laud the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others had been formerly murdered, but the King yet was not; and the univerſity had yet ſome faint hopes that in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them, that confined him, or pretended to be ſuddenly, there might be ſuch an agreement made, that the Diſſenters in the univerſity might both preſerve their conſciences, and the poor ſubſiſtence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being poſſeſſed of this miſtaken hope, that the men in preſent power were not yet grown ſo mercileſs, as not to allow manifeſt reaſon for their not ſubmitting to the enjoined oaths, the univerſity appointed twenty delegates to meet, conſider, and draw up a manifeſto to them, why they could not take thoſe oaths but by violation of their conſciences: And of theſe delegates Dr. Shelden, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Morley, now Biſhop of Wincheſter, and that moſt honeſt, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch[k], were a part; the reſt I cannot now

[i] "In 1648, the viſitors appointed by Parliament having ſat ſeveral times in the lodgings of Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, in the laſt yeare, but to little purpoſe, they proceeded, this yeare, with very great rigour to the ruin of the univerſitie. The members of every college were all ſummoned to appeare on a certaine day, and ſometimes two or three colleges appeared in one day, and if they did not give a poſitive anſwer, whether they would ſubmit to them and their viſitation, as appointed by Parliament, they were forthwith ejected." (*Life of A. Wood, by himſelf, p.* 5051.)

[k] Dr. Richard Zouch, the firſt civilian of the age in which he lived, derived his deſcent from the Lord Zouches of Harringworth in Northamptonſhire, and was of the ſame family with Guido or Eudo de Zouch, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and with William Zouch, Archbiſhop of York, whoſe military proweſs, ſignally diſplayed in the defeat of the Scotch army near Durham, is celebrated in the annals of the Engliſh Hiſtory.——Born at Anſtley in Wiltſhire, in 1590, he received his education in William of Wykeham's ſchool, near Wincheſter; was matriculated in the univerſity of Oxford in 1608, and admitted fellow of New College in 1609. He took the degree of LL.B. June 30, 1614, and that of LL.D. April 8, 1619.

In 1613, he publiſhed "The Dove; or, Paſſages of Coſmography;" a poem compriſing a deſcription of Aſia, Africa, and Europe; dedicated to his relation, the friend of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

now name; but the whole number of the delegates requeſted Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderſon, and he was requeſted to

Whitgift and of Sir Henry Wotton, the truly noble and worthy honoured Edward Lord Zouch, St. Maure or Cantelupe. He concludes this poem with an account of Great Britain. Having deſcribed *renowned Exeter*, *ſweet-ſeated Salſ-b'ry*, and *Briſtow, the merchant's magazine*, he proceeds:——

" Old *Wincheſter*, the ancient ſeate of kings,
" For virtue and for valour much renowned,
" So ſubject unto change are earthly things,
" Inſtead of diadem, with bayes is crowned;
" Where worthy WICCHAM's children now maintaine
" The fame once known by great King Arthur's traine.
" *Oxford*, by Iſis' cryſtal ſtreams confin'd,
" And well-diſcerning *Cambridge*, Learning's payre,
" Excell thoſe lamps which once on Ida ſhin'd,
" Bright Juno ſhew'd, cleare Pallas, Venus faire;
" But eyther of theſe thrice illuſtrious eyes
" Doth brightnes, clearneſſe, fairneſſe, all compriſe.
" As that true enſigne of the Almightie's love
" Lively diſplayed in the cloudy ſkye,
" The gazer's eye aſtoniſhed doth move
" To wonder at ſuch ſtrange varietie;
" Rainbow-reſembling *London*, England's bliſſe,
" The heav'n's great mercy, and earth's marvel is."

He no ſooner had obtained his firſt degree than he became an advocate in Doctor's Commons. Through the influence of his noble kinſman, who was then Lord of the Cinque Ports, he was elected, in 1620, a burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament for Hythe in Kent. In the ſame year he ſucceeded Dr. John Budden as Profeſſor of Civil Law; and, in 1625, he was appointed Principal of Alban's Hall, on the death of Dr. Edward Chaloner, of the ancient family of the Chaloners of Guiſborough in Yorkſhire, who died of the plague at Oxford. Though a layman, he held the prebend of Shipſton, in the church of Saliſbury, which was then firſt annexed to the law profeſſorſhip by James I.

When William Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the univerſity, by a letter dated June 23, 1623, had appointed certain perſons nominated by the convocation, to reviſe the ſtatutes, and to reduce them to a better form and order, they choſe a committee among themſelves to prepare materials for the inſpection of the whole body. This committee conſiſted of Robert Pink, D. D. Warden of New College, Richard Zouch, LL. D. Bryan Twine, B. D. and Mr. Peter Turner, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry. On the death of Lord Pembroke, Dr. Laud, then

to methodize, and add what referred to reaſon and conſcience, and put it into form. He yielded to their deſires and did ſo. And then, after they had

then Biſhop of London, being elected Chancellor, April 12, 1630, exerted himſelf with unremitting zeal in promoting the arduous work of completing a ſettled and a known body of ſtatutes. What was begun by his noble predeceſſor was happily accompliſhed in 1634, under the auſpices of this prelate, the moſt munificent patron of learning which that age produced.

The univerſity of Oxford acquired immortal fame by their virtuous oppoſition to the Solemn League and Covenant. Thoſe members of that venerable Society, who joined in this oppoſition appointed twenty delegates to draw up a declaration of the motives which influenced their conduct. To Dr. Zouch was aſſigned the province of compoſing that part of their defence which regarded the law; whilſt his friend Dr. Sanderſon, then Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, was requeſted to arrange the arguments deducible from law and conſcience. The whole was methodized by the latter; and, when finiſhed, was approved in full convocation. That the learned men in Europe might be apprized of the propriety of this determination, it was printed in Latin, under the title of "Judicium Univerſitatis Oxonienſis de 1. Solenni Lega et Fœdere. 2. Juramento Negativo. 3. Ordinationibus Parliamenti circa Diſciplinam et cultum, in plenâ Convocatione, 1 Junii 1647, communibus Suffragiis, Nemine contradicente, promulgatum."

In 1648, when the viſitors appointed by Parliament exerciſed their powers in Oxford, Dr. Zouch acquieſced in their proceedings, actuated probably by the ſame motives, which induced Sir Matthew Hale to accept of a judge's place in the Common Pleas. After a mature deliberation, that great and good man determined, "that it being abſolutely neceſſary to have juſtice and property kept up at all times, it was no ſin to take a commiſſion from uſurpers, if he made no declaration of acknowledging their authority." Yet our civilian reſigned his office in the admiralty, in which he was replaced at the reſtoration.

In 1653, an unprecedented violation of the public peace, attended with aſſaſſination, and every ſpecies of inſult was committed upon the New Exchange in London, by the domeſtics of the Portugueſe Ambaſſador, who was then ſoliciting terms of peace with Oliver Cromwell. The unbridled impetuoſity of their fury had impelled them, for two ſucceſſive nights, to acts of the moſt ſavage cruelty. Several of them were apprehended and committed to priſon, the Ambaſſador having delivered into the hands of the civil magiſtrate his brother, Don Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who was a principal in the riot. The Protector and his privy council differing in opinion on the extent of the privilege of an ambaſſador, and on the legality of proceeding againſt the delinquents, thought it neceſſary to requeſt the advice of Dr. Zouch, who was then, as Anthony Wood calls him, "the living Pandect of the law." By the expreſs direction of our able civilian, the Ambaſſador's brother was declared amenable to a trial in an Engliſh court of judicature. Accordingly he was tried by a ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer.

had been read in a full convocation and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the univerſity's ſufferings might be

ner. The commiſſioners were Lord Rolles, Juſtice Atkyns, Serjeant Steele, Dr. Richard Zouch, and five others. The Ambaſſador's brother was indicted for murder, convicted, and executed. Nothing contributed more effectually to increaſe the reputation of Cromwell in foreign countries, than this act of public juſtice; which is univerſally acknowledged to have been ſtrictly conformable to the law of nations. On this ſubject Dr. Zouch compoſed a learned tract, entitled, "Solutio Queſtionis de Legati delinquentis Judice competente, Oxon. 1657," to which he has annexed a narrative of the whole tranſaction. It was at this critical time, that the Portugueſe Ambaſſador preſented the famous panegyric on the Protector, ſuppoſed to be actually written by Milton, but generally believed to be the work of a Jeſuit. Yet Cromwell remained inſenſible to adulation; and with a reſolution worthy of an upright judge, permitted Juſtice to take her due courſe.

In 1657 he became a candidate for the office of Cuſtos Archivorum, vacated by the death of Dr. Gerard Langbaine. He was oppoſed on this occaſion by Dr. John Wallis, eminent above all his contemporaries for his mathematical knowledge, one of the Savilian Profeſſors, a man of mild and gentle manners, perfectly attached to the ſubſiſting government, and who had, in fact, been one of the ſecretaries to the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, during the whole time of their ſitting. Dr. Wallis was elected in preference to his competitor; and the proceedings of this election were afterward commented on with great aſperity by the celebrated Mr. Henry Stubbs.

After the reſtoration, Dr. Zouch, whoſe loyalty always remained unimpeached, had the honour of being named by the King, along with ſeveral other commiſſioners, to reſtore the ſplendour, and regulate the diſorders of the univerſity. He was re-inſtated in the court of admiralty; and if he had lived, he would doubtleſs have attained thoſe higher dignities in his profeſſion, to which his integrity and great abilities entitled him. He died at his apartments in Doctor's Commons, London, March 1, 1660, and was buried in the church of Fulham, near the remains of Katharine, his eldeſt daughter, the wife of Sir William Powell, alias Hinſon. His works, which principally relate to his profeſſional ſtudies, are enumerated by Anthony Wood. It muſt be remarked to his credit, that at a time when there was a warm conteſt between the civilians and the common lawyers, the latter of which were diſcouraged by the court, he treated the common law of England with reverence and reſpect; herein differing from Dr. Cowell, the King's Profeſſor at Cambridge, who endeavoured to extend the civil law beyond its due bounds. The author of the beſt didactic treatiſe extant, on the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical court, hath paid the greateſt attention to the writings of Dr. Zouch. Indeed they contain the fundamental principles of law and government, the knowledge of which conſtitutes an eſſential part of the education of an Engliſh gentleman. John and Daniel Elzevir have dedicated a beautiful and correct edition of his moſt celebrated work, entitled, "Elementa

be manifested to all nations[1]; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them. But they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment,

"Elementa Juris Civilis," to its learned author. "He was," says Anthony Wood, "an exact "artist, a subtle politician, an expert historian; and for the knowledge and practice of the "civil law, the chief person of his time, as his works, much esteemed beyond the seas, "where several of them are reprinted, partly testify. He was so well versed also in the sta-"tutes of the university, and controversies between the members thereof and the city, that "none, after Twine's death, went beyond him. As his birth was noble, so was his behaviour "and discourse; and as personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, pleasing, and affable. "The truth is, there was nothing wanting, but a forward spirit, for his advancement; but the "interruption of the times, which silenced his profession, would have given a step to his rise "had he been of another disposition."

[1] The assistance of Dr. Gerard Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, was of great service on this occasion. "These delegates," says Lord Clarendon, "to their eternal renown, being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison put over them by the Parliament, the King, in prison, and their hopes desperate, passed a public act and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of divines, which then sat at Westminster, ever ventured to make any answer to it: But it must remain, to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny, that was ever exercised in or over any nation. See the "History of the Rebellion," Vol. III. p. 56.

After the Restoration, when the Parliament sat at Oxford, the Commons ordered thanks to be returned to the university, for their noble and resolute conduct, at this time.

"MARTIS, 31 Octob. 1663.

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of this house be returned to the Chancellor, Masters, and "Scholars of the University of Oxford, for their remarkable loyalty to his Majesty's father "of happy memory, in the late rebellion: Especially, for that extraordinary instance of their "duty, in making a bold opposition to the rebellious visitors, and refusing to submit to their "League and Covenant: And lastly, for the illustrious performance they printed, entitled, "'The Judgment of the University,' in which they have learnedly maintained the justice of "the King's cause."

imprisonment, and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Shelden (the late Archbishop of Canterbury), and Dr. Morley (the now Bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State; but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him by those Independents now in present power. And with some of those divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his Majesty in the Isle of Wight; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, that being the Parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling theirs and the Cathedral Church-Land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his Majesty in this his last attendance on him, the King requested him "to betake himself to the writ-"ing cases of conscience for the good of posterity." To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer "he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be made a "judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, very fit, but not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, that "if he assented not to the Parliament's proposals, the treaty "'twixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be "in danger; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have "done what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their propo-"sals and cannot; and I will not lose my conscience to save my life:" And within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, that "the remembrance of two

" errors did much afflict him, which were, his aſſent to the Earl of Straf-
" ford's death, and the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland; and that if God
" ever reſtored him to be in a peaceable poſſeſſion of his crown, he would
" demonſtrate his repentance by a public confeſſion and voluntary penance
" (I think barefoot) from the Tower of London or Whitehall, to St. Paul's
" Church, and deſire the people to intercede with God for his pardon."
I am ſure one of them, that told it me, lives ſtill, and will witneſs it. And
it ought to be obſerved, that Dr. Sanderſon's lectures *de Juramento* were
ſo approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his impriſonment
and ſolitude he tranſlated them into exact Engliſh, deſiring Dr. Juxſon[m]
(then Biſhop of London), Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert[n] (who
then

[m] Let it ever be remembered to the honour of this prelate, whom Charles I. was wont to call " the good man," and whom he declared to be his greateſt comfort, in his moſt afflictive ſituation, that he delivered his ſentiments without diſguiſe to the King, on the ſubject of Lord Strafford's fate, telling him plainly, that " he ought to do nothing with an unſatisfied con-
" ſcience, upon any conſideration in the world." His character is thus beautifully pourtrayed by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. " There is in him no tumour,
" no ſourneſs, no diſtraction of thoughts; but a quiet mind, a patient care, free acceſs, mild
" and moderate anſwers. To this I muſt add, a ſolid judgment, a ſober plainneſs, and a moſt
" indubitable character of fidelity in his very face; ſo as there needs not much ſtudy to think
" him both a good man and a wiſe man." (*Reliq. Wottonianæ, p.* 31.) The appointment of this divine to the office of Lord High Treaſurer of England gave great diſguſt to the nobility: But he conducted himſelf ſo well in the adminiſtration of it, as to ſilence all complaint.

[n] The learned perſon who publiſhed Obſervations upon his Travels in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, under the patronage and at the expenſe of his kinſman, William Earl of Pembroke, he went abroad in 1626, and ſpent four years in viſiting Aſia and Africa. Upon his return into England, he waited on that nobleman, who having invited him to dinner, the next day, at Baynard's Caſtle in London, died ſuddenly that night, according to the calculation of his nativity, which his father had made ſeveral years before. Thus diſappointed in his expectations of promotion, he again went abroad, and travelled over ſeveral parts of Europe. He afterward joined the Parliament againſt Charles I. whom he was appointed to attend from the very beginning of his impriſonment to the time of his death. He ſhewed himſelf a moſt faithful ſervant to the King, whoſe real character he ſoon diſcovered to be totally different from that which had been repreſented to him. In 1660, Charles II. advanced him to the dignity of a Baronet, by the name of Thomas Herbert of Tinterne, in Monmouthſhire, " for faithfully
ſerving

then attended him in his reſtraint) to compare them with the original. The laſt ſtill lives, and has declared it, with ſome other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately ſhewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms[o]. The tranſlation was deſigned to be put into the King's Library at St. James's, but, I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and tranſlator to be both ſo much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inſerted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderſon in the chair at Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the covenant, negative oath, and Parliament ordinance for church-diſcipline and worſhip, were under a ſad and daily apprehenſion of expulſion; for the viſitors were daily expected, and both city and univerſity full of ſoldiers, and a party of Preſbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to poſſeſs, as the ignorant and ill-natured viſitors were to eject the Diſſenters out of their colleges and livelihoods[p]: But, notwithſtanding, Dr. Sanderſon did ſtill continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of thoſe Preſbyterian divines and ſoldiers, read with ſo much reaſon, and, with a calm fortitude, make ſuch applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been aſhamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborn to do what followed. But theſe thriving ſinners were hardened;

 and

" ſerving his royal father, during the two laſt years of his life."——In 1678 he publiſhed " Threnodia Carolina; containing Memoirs of the two laſt Years of the Reign of King Charles I." A work much commended for the candour, impartiality, and truth, with which it is compoſed. He aſſiſted Sir William Dugdale in compiling the third volume of his " Monaſticon Anglicanum;" and died at York, his native place, in 1682, leaving ſeveral MSS. to the public library at Oxford, and others to that of the Cathedral at York.

Charles I. who always entertained the moſt ſincere affection for this his upright and faithful ſervant, gave him many of his books a little before his death. There is extant a copy of Shakſpeare's Works, fol. 1632, in which is the King's writing, in theſe words, " *Dum ſpiro* " *ſpero. C. R.*" And by Mr. Herbert's hand, " *Ex dono ſereniſſimi Regis Car. ſervo ſuo humi-* " *liſſ. T. Her bert.*"

[o] The Life of this eminent antiquary, written by himſelf, is prefixed to the ſecond edition of his " Hiſtory of St. Paul's Cathedral."

[p] See a full account of this viſitation in " Walker's Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Clergy," P. I. p.122, &c.

and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves immediately of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648[q]) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Shelden, Dr. Hammond[r], and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the university had denied this subscription, and

[q] June 14, 1648.

A transcript of the following order was kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, Provost of Worcester College, and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum:

"AT THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS, FOR REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITIE OF OXON.

"WHEREAS the answeres of Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ-church, and others, the Prebendaries "of Christ-church in Oxford, refusinge to submitt to the authoritie of Parliament for visitinge "the said universitie, were referred to this Committee, by speciall order of both Houses of "Parliament, to hear, and determine, and to apply effectual remedies as the cases should re-"quire: Upon full hearinge and debate of the said answeres, it was resolved, that the matter "hereof was an high contempt, and denyale of authoritie of Parliament; and further resolved, "that Dr. Sanderson was guilty hereof; and that, for an effectual remedy, the said Dr. San-"derson be removed from his place of Prebendary of Christ-church, and Regius Professor "of the universitie of Oxford: And whereas, upon further consideration, this Committee "thought fitt, and ordered, that their former vote should be suspended, in hope of his sub-"mission to the authoritie, and conformity to the orders and ordinances of Parliament, for "the reformation of the universitie: Now upon hearinge the report of the visitors (which is), "That the said Dr. Sanderson hath not, all this while, given any satisfactorie testimony of "his submission: it is therefore ordered, That the last vote of the Committee concerning the "suspension of the said Dr. Sanderson be taken off, and revoked; and the former vote con-"cerning his removall doe stand and be confirmed.

"CAT. MSS. ANGL. N°. 3736. FRANC. ROUS."

[r] During his confinement at this time, Dr. Hammond began his excellent "Paraphrase, and Annotations on the New Testament."—When Dr. Sanderson was ejected from the divinity chair, he was succeeded by Dr. Robert Crosse, Fellow of Lincoln College, who, at the end of three months, resigned it. The regulators of the university then appointed Dr. Joshua Hoyle, on whom they had conferred the Mastership of University College. How this honourable office was filled, Anthony Wood has informed us: "Professoris regii munus obire "cœpit D. Hoyle oratione planè plumbeâ, et eruditionis omnimodæ prorsus experte."

and apprehended the danger of that viſitation which followed, they ſent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Chriſt-church (now Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reaſons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a Committee to hear and report the reaſons to the Houſe, and a day ſet for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the reſt went to inform and fee counſel, to plead their cauſe on the day appointed: but there had been ſo many committed for pleading, that none durſt be ſo bold as to undertake it cordially: For at this time the privileges of that part of the Parliament then ſitting were become a *Noli me tangere;* as ſacred and uſeful to them as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number muſt never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reaſon Dr. Morley was forced for want of counſel, to plead the univerſity's reaſons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reaſon, and a boldneſs equal to the juſtice of his cauſe, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the reſt appearing with him were ſo fortunate as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was ſome few days before the viſitors and more ſoldiers were ſent down to drive the Diſſenters out of the univerſity. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that Committee, obſerving Dr. Morley's behaviour and reaſon, and inquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might expreſs it, ſent for me that relate this ſtory, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had ſuch a love for Dr. Morley, that "knowing he would not take the oaths, and muſt therefore be ejected his "college, and leave Oxford; he deſired I would therefore write to him to "ride out of Oxford when the viſitors came into it, and not return till they "left it, and he ſhould be ſure then to return in ſafety; and that by ſo "doing he ſhould, without taking any oath, or other moleſtation, enjoy "his canon's place in the college." I did receive this intended kindneſs with a ſudden gladneſs, becauſe I was ſure the party had a power to do what he profeſſed, and as ſure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write

write the doctor word; to which his anſwer was, "that I muſt not fail to "return my friend (who ſtill lives) his humble and undiſſembled thanks, "though he could not accept of his intended kindneſs; for when Dr. Fell "(then the dean) Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, "and all the reſt of the college were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he ſhould "take it to be, if not a ſin, yet a ſhame, to be left behind with him only[s]. Dr. Wall I knew, and will ſpeak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be eaſily imagined with what a joyful willingneſs theſe ſelf-loving reformers took poſſeſſion of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and ſubſiſtence: but their conſciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the reformers poſſeſſing them without ſhame or ſcruple, where I will leave theſe ſcruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then preſent affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the biſhops' houſes were turned to be priſons, and they filled with divines that would not take the covenant, or forbear reading-common-prayer, or that were accuſed for ſome faults like theſe[t]. For it may

[s] They were all, except Dr. Wall, ejected in 1647. Dr. Samuel Fell died of grief, the day he was made acquainted with the murder of Charles I. viz. on Feb. 1, 1648-9. Dr. Gardner, Canon of the third ſtall, lived to be reſtored, and died in 1670. Dr. Paine, Canon of the fourth ſtall, died during the rebellion. Dr. Hammond, Sub-dean and Canon of the ſecond ſtall, died in 1660. As for Dr. Wall, Canon of the ſeventh ſtall, he conformed no doubt to the meaſures of the viſitors. He died poſſeſſed of it in 1666.—Wood, in his "Ath. Oxon." Vol. II. p. 375, ſpeaks of Wall's ingratitude to his college, and of his liberality to the city of Oxford, of which ſee "Gutch's Wood's Hiſtory," &c. p. 512.

It appears from a treatiſe, printed in 1660, entitled, "A Defence of Human Learning in the Miniſtry," that Dr. Wall was once domeſtic chaplain to Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, whoſe family he honoured with his learning and piety, and who gave this honourable character of him, that he was the beſt read in the Fathers of any he ever knew. He publiſhed a Latin ſermon preached before the univerſity, on the firſt day of May in that year, under the title of "Solomon in Solio, Chriſtus in Eccleſiâ."

[t] "When all the common jails and compters about town were filled with the principal gentry and clergy of the kingdom, the venerable palaces of the biſhops were converted into priſons. On January the 3d, 1642-3, Lambeth, Ely, and London houſes were ordered to be made

may be noted, that about this time the Parliament ſent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occaſion to complain of their miniſters, for being troubleſome or ſcandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a ſelect Committee for that purpoſe; and the miniſter, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give ſatisfaction, or be ſequeſtered; and you may be ſure no pariſh could want a covetous, or malicious, or croſs-grained complainant: by which means all priſons in London, and in many other places, became the ſad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the Biſhop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die, and the execution ſuſpended for ſome days, many citizens, fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became ſo maliciouſly impudent as to ſhut up their ſhops, profeſſing not to open them till juſtice was executed. This malice and madneſs is ſcarce credible, but I ſaw it.

The biſhops had been about this time voted out of the Houſe of Parliament, and ſome upon that occaſion ſent to the Tower[u], which made many Cove-

made priſons, and Dr. Alexander Leighton was appointed keeper to the firſt of them. The ſame was done, four days after, by the Biſhop of Lincoln's houſe. And the Biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, in Southwark, was applied to the ſame purpoſe. And when all theſe, capacious as they were, could not contain the priſoners, the deanery of St. Paul's was made a priſon." *(Walker's Sufferings, &c.)*——"When the legal or orthodox clergy were thus put under confinement, ſome, to the number of twenty, were impriſoned on board of ſhips in the Thames, and ſhut down under decks, no friend being ſuffered to come to them." *(Dr. Richard Grey's miſerable and diſtracted State of Religion in England, upon the Downfall of the Church Eſtabliſhment, p.* 17.)

[u] The biſhops being declared incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers preſented a proteſting petition, maintaining their indubitable right of ſitting and voting in that Houſe, and expreſſing their willingneſs and readineſs to perform their duties there, if they could obtain protection from force and violence. This act was conſtrued into high treaſon, and the twelve biſhops, who ſubſcribed the petition and proteſtation, were ordered to be committed to the Tower. Theſe were WILLIAMS, Archbiſhop of York; MORTON, Biſhop of Durham; WRIGHT, of LITCHFIELD; HALL, of Norwich; OWEN, of St. Aſaph; PIERS, of Bath and Wells; COOK, of Hereford; SKINNER, of Oxford; WREN, of Ely; GOODMAN, of Glouceſter; TOWERS, of Peterborough; and OWEN, of Landaff. The Biſhops of Durham and Litchfield, in conſideration of their great age and ill health, were conſigned to the care of the gentleman uſher.

Covenanters rejoice, and moſt of them to believe Mr. Brightman[v] (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inſpired when he writ his "Comment on the Apocalypſe;" a ſhort abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the ſtreets, and called "Mr. Brightman's Revelation of the Revelation," and both bought up and believed by all the Covenanters: And though he was groſsly miſtaken in other things, yet becauſe he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no biſhops, to be Philadelphia[x] in the Apocalypſe, "that angel that God loved;" and the

[v] Mr. Thomas Brightman, born at Nottingham, and educated at Queen's College in Cambridge, was Rector of Hawnes in Bedfordſhire. He was the author of "The Revelation of St. John illuſtrated, with an Analyſis and Scholions," &c. and of "A moſt comfortable Expoſition of the laſt and moſt difficult Part of the Prophecie of Daniel, from the 26th Verſe of the 11th Chapter, to the end of the 12th Chapter," written originally in Latin. He alſo compoſed a Latin Commentary on the Canticles, or Song of Solomon, which his warm imagination prompted him to conſider as a prophetic deſcription of the ſtate of the Church from King David's time to after the year 1550. He ſhews himſelf upon all occaſions a moſt inveterate enemy of Epiſcopacy. The tranſlator of the two laſt Works thus characteriſes him:—"He was indeed one of a thouſand, great and gracious many ways, both in life and learning, "*dum ea docuit quæ fecit, et ea fecit quæ docuit, et verba vertebat in opera.* He taught in that he "did practiſe, did practiſe that he taught, and ſo turned words into works. He was a great "artiſt, and a great linguiſt. He had good ſkill in all arts and tongues needful for a com-"plete divine, even in ſong alſo, vocal muſic being the beſt, till his more weighty ſtudies called "him from the Maidens to Divinity, their miſtreſs, wherein he excelled and ſhined above "many of his fellows: all that then lived with him in Queen's College in Cambridge, whereof "he was a fellow, do very well know. He ſhined every way, and was a BRIGHT-MAN indeed "in his life; ſhining to all that heard his learned catechiſing, and common places, and lec-"tures in the college, or his ſermons in the country, in Bedfordſhire. He is ſaid to have al-"ways prayed for a ſudden death. His prayer was granted. As he was reading a book, and "travelling in a coach with his friend and patron, Sir John Oſborn, he was ſeized with a "fainting fit, and being taken out of the carriage for the benefit of the air, he inſtantly ex-"pired, Aug. 24, 1607."

Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the noted Puritan, in alluſion to the name of Mr. Brightman, conſiders him as full of illumination as "a bright ſtar in the church of God." Though no favourable opinion can be entertained of his writings, yet the acknowledged innocence of his life and converſation entitles him to every encomium.

[x] "The Antytipe thereof is the ſecond reformed church, which ſhould ſpring up after that "of Germany. And this is the Church of Helvetia, Suavia, Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland,

the power of Prelacy to be Antichrift, the evil angel, which the Houfe of Commons had now fo fpued up, as never to recover their dignity:—Therefore did thofe Covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for difcovering and foretelling the bifhops' downfal; fo that they both railed at them, and at the fame time rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of all their land, which their friends of the Houfe of Commons did afford both to themfelves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent affiftance to pull them down[y].

"land. I joyn all thefe together into one church, becaufe they almoft live by one and the "fame lawes and manner of government, as touching any matter of moment. Neither doth "the diftance of place breake offe that fociety, which the conjoining of mindes and good will "coupleth together. Yea, this difperfing doth chiefly agree to the Philadelphians, whom "we faid to dwell more thickly in the fields than in the city. Whereby it cometh to pafs, "that this barenefs of the citizens taketh up a great deal of place, though the citizens be not "fo many. We fhall find, that this church I fpeak of arofe up after that of Germany, when "Ulrick Zuinglius began to teach, at Zuirich, among the Zuizers, anno 1519. And the Re-"formation was begun the fourth year after, that is 1523." *(Brightman on the Revelation, p.* 109.)

"Laodicea, the feventh city, wanteth a parallel to match her, as being a peerlefs paragon. "The counterpain of the third reformed church, which before that I do by name fpecifie, I "muft put away from me, by all earneft intreaty, the unjuft fufpicion which fome men may "raife againft me, and the offence which they may take at my words. It was not truly any "diftempered affection of my heart, that hath fet me on work to feek out an odious applica-"tion of this epiftle. God is my witnefs, that I am not grieved through envy either at the "wealth or yet at the honour of any man.——Wherefore let no man blame me for fpeaking "that which not fo much my own mind, as the duty of a faithful interpreter, conftraineth "me to utter. And I hope that thofe, who love the truth, will not difdain and reject fo "equal a petition, on which hope relying, and chiefly on his help, who is the guide of my "way and my life, I will forthwith addrefs myfelf to come to the matter. The counterpain, "I fay, of Laodicea is the third reformed church, OUR CHURCH OF ENGLAND." *(Ibid. p.* 123, 124.)

"Their great admired opener of the Revelation (Brightman on Apoc. c. 3.), maketh our "church the linfey-wolfey Laodicean church, neither hot nor cold." *(Dr. Sanderfon's Sermon on Rom.* xiv. 3.)

[y] The noted Hugh Peters, in an epiftle to the reader prefixed to a book entitled "Church Government, and Church Covenant difcuffed, 1643," was bold to fay, Prefbytery and Independency are the ways of worfhip and church-fellowfhip now looked at, fince we hope *Epifcopacy is coffined up, and will be buried without expectation of another refurrection.*

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did and when he did not preach true doctrine; and by this, and the like means, several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow[z].

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, *for he was beholden to him;* and the other that he was not, *for he was not beholden to him.* And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace if we were but zealous for the covenant, and the other not: for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear to the covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down common prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings;

[z] This dreadful state of things seems, in some measure, to have been predicted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, observing the vast increase of separatists and sectaries, remarks, "That all "cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, "was accounted by those people a kind of Popery, so that time would soon bring it to pass, "if it were not resisted, that God would be turned out of churches into barns; and from "thence again into the fields, and mountains, and under hedges; and the offices of the mi-"nistry, robbed of all dignity and respect, be as contemptible as those places: all order, dis-"cipline, and church-government left to newness of opinion and men's fancies: yea, and "soon after as many kinds of religion spring up, as there are parish churches in England; "every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his "imagination with the gift of revelation: insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, "shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men "will soon die away by degrees; and all religion be held in scorn and contempt." (*History of the World, B. II. c.* 5.)

livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience.

They alſo made other ſtrange obſervations of election, reprobation, and free-will, and the other points dependent upon theſe; ſuch as the wiſeſt of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am ſure I am not, though I muſt mention ſome of them hiſtorically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby Pannell.

And in the way thither I muſt tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good ſequeſtered living by the help of a Preſbyterian pariſh, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Preſbyterian, being well ſettled in this good living, began to reform the churchyard, by cutting down a large ewe tree, and ſome other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a ſhelter to the pariſhioners: and they, excepting againſt him for ſo doing, were by him anſwered, "That the trees were his, and it was "lawful for every man to uſe his own as he, and not as others, thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it) that no action lies againſt him that is ſo wicked as to ſteal the winding-ſheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reaſon to be, becauſe none were ſuppoſed to be ſo void of humanity; and that ſuch a law would vilify that nation that would but ſuppoſe ſo vile a man to be born in it[a]: I ſpeak this becauſe I would not ſuppoſe any man to do what this Covenanter did: And whether there were any law againſt him I know not, but pity the pariſh the leſs for turning out their legal miniſter.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby Pannell, where he hoped to have enjoyed himſelf, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and deſired privacy; but it proved otherwiſe: For all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confuſion, committee-men, and ſoldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glaſs windows, and ſerving each other to their ſeveral ends, of revenge, or power, or profit[b]; and theſe committee-men

 and

[a] But ſee "Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law," Vol. I. p. 364.

[b] "After the military ſtandard was erected, theſe profane outrages were greatly increaſed "Some ſtately religious fabrics were totally demoliſhed; many were converted into ſtables, "or

and ſoldiers were moſt of them ſo poſſeſſed with this covenant, that they became like thoſe that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciouſly reſtleſs to get into company, and to joy (ſo the hiſtorian Thucydides ſaith) when they had infected others, even thoſe of their moſt beloved or neareſt friends or relations; and ſo though there might be ſome of theſe Covenanters that were beguiled and meant well; yet ſuch were the generality of them, and temper of the times, that you may be ſure Dr. Sanderſon, who though quiet and harmleſs, yet was an eminent diſſenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he; for the ſoldiers would appear and viſibly oppoſe and diſturb him in the church when he read prayers, ſome of them pretending to adviſe him how God was to be ſerved more acceptably, which he not approving, but continuing to obſerve order and decent behaviour in reading the church-ſervice, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers[c].

At

" or polluted and profaned by other ſhocking abominations. Their beautiful ſculptures, " though only containing Scripture-hiſtories, were abſurdly broken down with axes and ham- " mers; their monuments erected to illuſtrious and venerable perſonages were defaced; the " very urns, in which their aſhes had been depoſited, were ranſacked; and their conſecrated " utenſils were expoſed to rapine and plunder. Croſſes, whether graved or delineated, whe- " ther in churches or out of them, were peculiar objects of enthuſiaſtic averſion. Nor leſs " was their rage levelled againſt painted glaſs, containing in it either portraitures of prelates " and kings, of fathers and martyrs, of our Saviour and his apoſtles, or repreſentations of " Scripture-hiſtories. The pious captive ſovereign, amidſt all his calamities, could not forbear " taking notice of this breaking of church windows, this pulling down of croſſes, this de- " facing of the monuments and inſcriptions of the dead, &c. as the malignant effects of po- " pular, ſpecious, and deceitful reformations. Εικων βασ. c. 20." (*The Ornaments of Churches conſidered, &c. p.* 116.)

[c] Of ſuch inſolence of behaviour numberleſs inſtances are recorded. " Dr. Layton, one of " the fanatical preachers of that time, brought in a guard of ſoldiers together with their arms, " into Lambeth church, in the time of divine ſervice, tore the Book of Common Prayer in " pieces, pulled the ſurplice from the miniſter's back, and ſcoffing at the good people, who " were at their devotions, ſaid 'Make an end of your pottage;' and the ſoldiers following him " to the communion-table, with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, and committing divers out- " rages to thegreat terror of the congregation." (*Dugdale's Short View, &c. p.* 566.)

" Sunday

At this time he was advised by a Parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the common-prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration; for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the rubric[d].

I will

"Sunday 9th of September, 1649, at the church of St. Peter's-Paul's-Wharf, Master "Williams reading morning service out of the Book of Common Prayer, and having prayed "for the King, as in that Liturgy established by act of Parliament he is enjoined, six sol-"diers from St. Paul's Church, where they quarter, came into the church, commanding him "to come down out of the pulpit, which he immediately did, and went quietly with them "into the vestry; when presently a party of horse from St. Paul's rode into the church, with "swords drawn and pistols spanned, crying out, 'Knock the rogues on the head; shoot them "'and kill them;' and presently shot at random at the crowd of unarmed men, women, and "children, and carried away the minister a prisoner to Whitehall." (*Walker's History of Independency, Part II. p.* 254.)

[d] This mode was adopted by many of the clergy, who were deterred from openly using the liturgy of the Church of England. It is related of Dr. Rainbow, afterward Bishop of Carlisle, that though he could not use the English liturgy, yet he introduced some of those excellent prayers of which it is composed, and that not only in his private family; but he also composed such prayers as he used in the church out of those in the liturgy; and so gradually brought the ignorant people to affect the common prayers a little transformed and altered, who disliked the common prayer book itself, they knew not why.

"The iniquity of the times would not bear the constant and regular use of the liturgy: To "supply therefore that necessity, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions, he offered up in public, "out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and "proper words, upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace "for a supply of the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights "of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice; and his manner of "performing the public service was with so much seriousness and devotion, with so much fer-"vency and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they, "who were most prejudiced against the liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull, as a "person that prayed by the Spirit; though, at the same time, they railed against the common "prayer, as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance." (*Mr. Nelson's Life of Dr. George Bull, p.* 39.)——See also the method observed by Dr. John Hacket, in "Granger's Biogr. Hist." Vol. III. p. 241.

I will ſet down the very words of confeſſion which he uſed, as I have it under his own hand; and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and very much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

"O ALMIGHTY GOD and merciful Father, we thy unworthy ſervants do "with ſhame and ſorrow confeſs that we have all our life long gone aſtray out "of thy ways like loſt ſheep; and that by following too much the vain de-"vices and deſires of our own hearts, we have grievouſly offended againſt "thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed; we have many times left "undone thoſe good duties which we might and ought to have done; and "we have many times done thoſe evils, when we might have avoided them, "which we ought not to have done. We confeſs, O Lord, that there is no "health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us; but all our hope is in "thy mercy; whoſe juſtice we have by our ſins ſo far provoked: have "mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miſerable of-"fenders: ſpare us, good God, who confeſs our faults, that we periſh not; "but, according to thy gracious promiſes declared unto mankind in Chriſt "Jeſus our Lord, reſtore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and "favour. And grant, O moſt merciful Father, for his ſake, that we hence-"forth ſtudy to ſerve and pleaſe thee by leading a godly, righteous, and "a ſober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of "our own ſouls, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*"

In theſe and other provocations of tearing his ſervice-book; a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening ſervice was ended, to viſit and condole with him for the affront offered by the ſoldiers. To whom he ſpake with a compoſed patience, and ſaid: "God hath reſtored me to my deſired "privacy, with my wife and children, where I hoped to have met with "quietneſs, and it proves not ſo; but I will labour to be pleaſed, becauſe "God, on whom I depend, ſees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praiſe "him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making ſhipwreck of a "good conſcience to maintain me in a place (Doctor of the Chair) of great

"reputation

"reputation and profit: and though my condition be ſuch, that I need the "laſt, yet I ſubmit; for God did not ſend me into this world to do my own, "but ſuffer his will, and I will obey it."——Thus by a ſublime depending on his wiſe and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully ſubmit to what God had appointed; ſtill juſtifying the truth of that doctrine and the reaſon of that diſcipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of "The King's Meditations in his Solitude" was printed, and made public[e]: and Dr. Sanderſon was ſuch a lover of the author, and ſo deſirous that not this nation only, but the whole world ſhould ſee the character of him in that book, and ſomething of the cauſe for which he and many others then ſuffered, that he deſigned to turn it into Latin; but when he had done half of it moſt excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and moſt intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet converſation and reſt with him for ſome days at Boothby Pannell, and did ſo. And having formerly perſuaded him to truſt his excellent memory, and not read, but try to ſpeak a ſermon as he had wrote it. Dr. Sanderſon became ſo compliant as to promiſe he would. And to that end, they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbouring miniſter, and requeſted to exchange a ſermon, and they did ſo. And at Dr. Sanderſon's going into the pulpit, he gave his ſermon (which was

[e] Dr. Gauden's too luxuriant imagination, which betrayed him into a ranknefs of ſtyle in the Aſiatic way, is an argument with Biſhop Burnet, that he was not the author of Εικων βασιλικη, "in which there is a noblenefs and juſtnefs of thought, with a greatnefs of ſtyle, that made it be looked on as the beſt written book in the Engliſh language. It has gone through forty-ſeven impreſſions, and the number of copies printed is ſaid to have been forty-eight thouſand.——Of this work Biſhop Warburton remarks, "it is ſo far from being certain," as Neale in his hiſtory pretends, "that it is ſpurious, that it is the moſt uncertain matter I ever took the pains to examine. There is ſtrong evidence on both ſides; but I think "the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable is on that which gives it to the King." (*Warburton's Works, Vol. VII. p. 920.*)

The controverſy concerning the real author of this performance is diſcuſſed in the "General Dictionary," Vol. III. p. 359, &c. Vol. X. p. 76, and in the "Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer," p. 631.

was a very ſhort one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looking on his ſermon as written, obſerved him to be out, and ſo loſt as to the matter, eſpecially the method, that he alſo became afraid for him; for it was diſcernible to many of that plain auditory: But when he had ended this ſhort ſermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderſon ſaid with much earneſtneſs, "Good doctor, give me my ſermon; and know, that "neither you nor any man living ſhall ever perſuade me to preach again "without my books. To which the reply was, "Good doctor, be not "angry; for if I ever perſuade you to preach again without book, I will "give you leave to burn all the books that I am maſter of[f]."

Part of the occaſion of Dr. Hammond's viſit was at this time to diſcourſe Dr. Sanderſon about ſome opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtleſs differed formerly: It was about thoſe knotty points which are, by the learned, called the Quinquarticular Controverſy[g]; of which I ſhall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that), but ſome ſhort hiſtorical account which ſhall follow.

There had been ſince the unhappy covenant was brought and ſo generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (thoſe of London eſpecially) to preach and be too poſitive in the points of univerſal redemption, predeſtination, and thoſe other depending upon theſe. Some of which preached, "That all men were, before they came into this "world, ſo predeſtinated to ſalvation or damnation, that it was not in their "power

[f] "It was remarked of Dr. Hammond himſelf, that his memory was ſerviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and buſineſs; but unwillingly containing the texture, and punctuality of words; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one ſermon by heart, than to pen twenty." See "Fell's Life of Dr. Hammond," p. 96.

[g] It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that the Calviniſts and Arminians differed in opinion on 1. The eternal decrees. 2. Free-will. 3. Grace and converſion. 4. The extent of Chriſt's redemption and univerſal grace. And, 5. The perſeverance of the ſaints.——On theſe ſubjects are ſeveral letters written by Dr. Sanderſon to Dr. Hammond, and printed in the works of the latter.—The angelic Dr. Henry More has, in a letter to a foreigner, expreſſed his wiſh, that the quinquarticular points were all reduced to this one, "That none ſhall be ſaved without ſincere obedience."

" power to ſin ſo, as to loſe the firſt, nor, by their moſt diligent endeavour, " to avoid the latter. Others that it was not ſo; becauſe then God could " not be ſaid to grieve for the death of a ſinner, when he himſelf had " made him ſo by an inevitable decree, before he had ſo much as a being in " this world;" affirming therefore, " that man had ſome power left him to " do the will of God, becauſe he was adviſed to work out his ſalvation with " fear and trembling;" maintaining, " that it is moſt certain every man " can do what he can to be ſaved; and as certain, that he that does what he " can to be ſaved ſhall never be damned:" And yet many that affirmed this to be a truth would yet confeſs, " That that grace, which is but a per- " ſuaſive offer, and left to us to receive or refuſe, is not that grace which " ſhall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon theſe or the like occaſions come to be ſearched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend Dean of Saliſbury), of which I ſhall proceed to give ſome account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London Miniſters (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aſperſed Dr. Hammond moſt heinouſly, for that he had in his " Practical Catechiſm" affirmed, that " our Saviour died for the ſins of all mankind[h]." To juſtify which truth, he preſently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters paſt betwixt the ſaid Dr. Hammond,

[h] Dr. Sanderſon, on the firſt publication of this work, was attacked by Mr. Francis Cheynel, one of the aſſembly of divines, the ſame perſon whoſe extraordinary treatment of Mr. Chillingworth is related by himſelf, in a tract entitled " Chillingworthi Noviſſima." See Cheynel's Life, in " Dr. Johnſon's Works," Vol. XII. p. 190.

It was uſual with Dr. Hammond, in the ſummer ſeaſon, to ſpend an hour before evening prayer in catechiſing, according to the form of the Church Catechiſm, which he rendered fully intelligible to the meaneſt capacities by his explanations, which were much the ſame in ſubſtance with the work which he afterward publiſhed, his " Practical Catechiſm." Though it firſt appeared without a name, it preſently met not only with approbation, but with univerſal eſteem and veneration; the cavils of Cheynel being not worth notice, though Dr. Hammond condeſcended to anſwer them. King Charles I. in his laſt inſtructions to his children, recommended this, among other books, as a moſt ſafe and ſound guide in religion.

Dr. Sanderſon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderſon was with much unwillingneſs drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneaſy to him, who, in his judgment of God's decrees, differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he reverenced and loved dearly) and would not therefore engage himſelf in a controverſy, of which he could never hope to ſee an end: Nevertheleſs they did all enter into a charitable diſquiſition of theſe ſaid points in ſeveral letters, to the full ſatisfaction of the learned; thoſe betwixt Dr. Sanderſon and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what paſſed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter ſent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderſon was by theſe debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent ſermons were firſt printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find ſome accuſation of Arminius for falſe doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting thoſe ſermons in folio in the year 1657, that accuſation of Arminius is omitted[1]. And the change of his judgment ſeems more fully to appear in his ſaid letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may ſeem to be perplexed with theſe ſeveral affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a poſtſcript to the laſt letter of his to Dr. Sanderſon, ſays "God can reconcile his own contra-"dictions, and therefore adviſes all men, as the Apoſtle does, to ſtudy mor-"tification, and be wiſe to ſobriety." And let me add further, that if theſe 52 Miniſters of Sion College were the occaſion of the debates in theſe letters; they have, I think, been the occaſion of giving an end to the Quinquarticular Controverſy; for none have ſince undertaken to ſay more; but ſeem

[1] In the quarto edition, p. 34, is the following marginal remark: "Of late our Engliſh Ar-"minians have got the trick to fetch in within the compaſs of this title of Puritans, all ortho-"dox divines, that oppoſe againſt their Semipelagian ſubtleties, of purpoſe to make ſound "truth odious, and their own corrupt novelties more paſſible and plauſible." And again, in page 35: "So Pelagius, from whoſe root Popery (in that branch) and Arminianiſm ſprouted, "was a man as ſtrict for life as moſt Catholics, yet a moſt dangerous and peſtilent heretic." In the ſubſequent editions in folio, the firſt remark is entirely omitted; and in the ſecond quotation, the words "and Arminianiſm" are wanting.

ſeem to be ſo wiſe, as to be content to be ignorant of the reſt, till they come to that place, where the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader alſo, that if the reſt of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderſon, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confeſs it to the honour of God and themſelves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious diſputes, and fuller of recantations.

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon where we left them together at Boothby Pannell, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and thoſe others ſcattered up and down in London, and given ſome account of their proceedings and uſage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe life ſeemed to be ſacrificed, to appeaſe the popular fury of that preſent time. And though I will forbear to mention the injuſtice of his death, and the barbarous uſage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my deſire is, that what follows may be noted, becauſe it does now, or may hereafter concern us, that is, to note, that in his laſt ſad ſermon on the ſcaffold at his death, he did (as our bleſſed Saviour adviſed his diſciples) "Pray for thoſe that perſecuted and deſpitefully uſed him." And not only pardoned thoſe enemies, but paſſionately begged of Almighty God that he would alſo pardon them: and beſought all the preſent beholders of this ſad ſight, "That they would pardon and pray for him." But though he did all this, yet he ſeemed to accuſe the magiſtrates of the city, for not ſuppreſſing a ſort of people whoſe malicious and furious zeal had ſo far tranſported them, and violated all modeſty, that though they could not know whether he were juſtly or unjuſtly condemned, were yet ſuffered to go viſibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the Parliament would haſten his execution[k]." And he having declared how unjuſtly he

 thought

[k] "The ſecond particular," ſays Archbiſhop Laud, in his laſt ſpeech, "is concerning this "great and populous city, which God bleſs. Here hath been of late a faſhion taken up to ga- "ther hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the Parliament, and clamour "for juſtice; as if that great and wiſe court, before whom the cauſes come which are un- "known to many, could not, or would not, do juſtice, but at their appointment. A way "which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, "and

thought himſelf to be condemned, and accuſed for endeavouring to bring in Popery (for that was one of the accuſations for which he died[1]); he declared with ſadneſs, " That the ſeveral ſects and diviſions then in England " (which he had laboured to prevent) were now like to bring the Pope a " far greater harveſt than he could ever have expected without them." And ſaid, " theſe ſects and diviſions introduce profaneneſs under the cloak " of an imaginary religion;" and, " that we have loſt the ſubſtance of reli- " gion by changing it into opinion; and that by theſe means, the Church " of England, which all the Jeſuits' machinations could not ruin, was " fallen into apparent danger by thoſe Covenanters, which were his ac- " cuſers." To this purpoſe he ſpoke at his death; for which, and more to the ſame purpoſe, the reader may view his laſt ſad ſermon on the ſcaffold. And it is here mentioned, becauſe his dear friend Dr. Sanderſon ſeems to demonſtrate the ſame fear of Popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of ſermons; and ſeems alſo with much ſorrow to ſay the ſame again in his laſt will, made when he was, and apprehended himſelf to be, very near his death. And theſe Covenanters ought to take notice of it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war, begun by them, Dr. Sanderſon was ejected out of the profeſſor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable caſes of conſcience, ſo rationally ſtated, and ſo briefly, ſo clearly, and ſo convincingly determined, that poſterity might have joyed and boaſted, " that Dr. Sanderſon was born in this nation, for the eaſe and benefit

" and, perhaps, upon the city's alſo: and this hath been lately practiſed againſt myſelf, the " magiſtrates ſtanding ſtill, and ſuffering them openly to proceed from pariſh to pariſh, with- " out any check. God forgive the ſetters of this (with all my heart I beg it); but many well- " meaning people are caught by it."

[1] Mr. Evelyn informs us, that he was at Rome in the company of divers of the Engliſh fathers, when the news of the Archbiſhop's ſufferings, and a copy of his ſermon made upon the ſcaffold, came thither. They read the ſermon, and commented upon it, with no ſmall ſatisfaction and contempt, and looked on him as one that was a great enemy to them, and ſtood in their way; while one of the blackeſt crimes imputed to him was his being Popiſhly affected.

" nefit of all the learned that ſhall be born after him:" But this benefit is ſo like time paſt, that they are both irrecoverably loſt.

I ſhould now return to Boothby Pannell where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon together, but neither can now be found there: For the firſt was, in his journey to London, and the ſecond ſeized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried priſoner to Lincoln, then a garriſon of the Parliament's. For the pretended reaſon of which commitment, I ſhall give this following account:

There was one Mr. Clarke (the miniſter of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannell) who was an active man for the Parliament and covenant; and one that, when Belvoire caſtle (then a garriſon for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's ſoldiers, was taken in it, and made a priſoner of war in Newark (then a garriſon of the King's); a man ſo active and uſeful for his party, that they became ſo much concerned for his enlargement, that the Committee of Lincoln ſent a troop of horſe to ſeize and bring Dr. Sanderſon a priſoner to that garriſon; and they did ſo. And there he had the happineſs to meet with many that knew him ſo well as to reverence and treat him kindly; but told him, "he muſt conti-"nue their priſoner, till he ſhould purchaſe his own enlargement by pro-"curing an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then priſoner in the King's garriſon "of Newark." There were many reaſons given by the doctor of the injuſtice of his impriſonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were ineffectual: For done it muſt be, or he continue a priſoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions:

Firſt, that Dr. Sanderſon and Mr. Clarke being exchanged ſhould live undiſturbed at their own pariſhes; and if either were injured by the ſoldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, ſhould procure him a redreſs, by having ſatisfaction made for his loſs, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be uſed in the ſame kind by the other party. Nevertheleſs Dr. Sanderſon could neither live ſafe, nor quietly, being ſeveral times plundered and once wounded in three places; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both: and poſſeſſed his ſoul in a contented quietneſs, without the leaſt repining. But though he could not enjoy the ſafety he

expected

expected by this exchange, yet by his providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned ſo much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been ſequeſtered from the year 1644, and continued to be ſo till this time of his impriſonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his ſequeſtration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented ſubſiſtence for himſelf, his wife, and children, till the happy reſtoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his caſuiſtical learning, peaceful moderation, and ſincerity became ſo remarkable, that there were many that applied themſelves to him for reſolution in perplexed caſes of conſcience; ſome known to him and many not; ſome requiring ſatisfaction by conference, others by letters; ſo many, that his life became almoſt as reſtleſs as their minds; yet, as St. Paul accounted himſelf "a debtor to all men," ſo he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert ſays, "that all wordly joys ſeem leſs, when com-"pared with ſhewing mercy, or doing kindneſſes;" then doubtleſs this Barnabas, this ſon of conſolation, Dr. Sanderſon, might have boaſted for relieving ſo many reſtleſs and wounded conſciences; which, as Solomon ſays, "are a burden that none can bear," though their fortitude may ſuſtain their other calamities; and if words cannot expreſs the joy of a conſcience relieved from ſuch reſtleſs agonies; then Dr. Sanderſon might rejoice, that ſo many were by him ſo clearly and conſcientiouſly ſatisfied; and would often praiſe God for that ability, and as often for the occaſion; and that "God had inclined his heart to do it, to the meaneſt of "any of thoſe poor, but precious ſouls, for which his Saviour vouchſafed to "be crucified."

Some of thoſe very many caſes that were reſolved by letters have been preſerved and printed for the benefit of poſterity; as namely:——

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recuſant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of ſcandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a raſh vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wiſh the world might ſee it, that it might undeceive ſo many miſ-

taken

taken patrons, who think they have difcharged that great and dangerous truft, both to God and man if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends lefs juftifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown reftlefs and giddy by the many falfehoods, and mifapplications of truths frequently vented in fermons, when they wrefted the fcripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their facrilege and zealous phrenzies in this time[m], he did fo compaffionate the generality of this mifled nation, that though the times threatened fuch an undertaking with danger; yet he then hazarded his fafety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his laft 20 fermons, (firft printed in the dangerous year 1655), in which there was fuch ftrength of reafon, with fo powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Non-conformifts, as being read by one of thofe diffenting brethren, who was poffeffed of a good fequeftered living; and with it fuch a fpirit of covetoufnefs and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifefted (his confcience having flept long and quietly in that living) was yet at the reading of it fo awakened, (for there is a divine power in reafon) that after a conflict with the reafon he had met, and the damage he was ftill to fuftain, if he confented to it, and being ftill unwilling to be fo convinced, as to lofe by being over-reafoned, he went in hafte to the bookfeller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he had fold a book in which there was falfe divinity; and that the preface "had upbraided the Parliament, and many godly minifters of that party for "unjuft

[m] Of the impious and infolent familiarity, with which the preachers of thefe times addreffed the Supreme Being, too many proofs are extant.

One of thefe preachers thus boldly expoftulates. "O Lord, when wilt thou take a chair, "and fit among the Houfe of Peers? And when, O God, when, I fay, wilt thou vote among "the honourable Houfe of Commons, who are fo zealous of thine honour?" Again, "Lord, "thou haft faid, that he is worfe than an Infidel, that provides not for his own family.— "Give us not reafon to fay this of thee, Lord; for we are of thine own family, and yet have "been fcurvily provided for of a long time." See many other inftances in "Scotch Prefbyterian Eloquence."

" unjuſt dealing." To which his reply was, ('twas Tim. Garthwaite[n]) that " 'twas not his trade to judge of true or falſe divinity, but to print and ſell " books; and yet if he, or any friend of his, would write an anſwer to it, " and own it by ſetting his name to it, he would print the anſwer, and pro- " mote the ſelling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in ſad-coloured clothes, and God knows, far from being coſtly: The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand: We had no inclination to part preſently, and therefore turned to ſtand in a corner under a penthouſe (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind roſe, and the rain increaſed ſo much, that both became ſo inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly houſe, where we had bread, cheeſe, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were ſo obliging to me, as to force our ſtay there for at leaſt an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many uſeful obſervations of the preſent times with much clearneſs and conſcientious freedom. I ſhall relate a part of them, in hope they may alſo turn to the advantage of my reader. He ſeemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to aboliſh our Liturgy, to the grief and ſcandal of ſo many devout and learned men, and the diſgrace of thoſe many martyrs, who had ſealed the truth and neceſſary uſe of it with their blood: And that no miniſter was now thought godly that did not decry it; and, at leaſt, pretend to make better prayers ex tempore: And that they, and only they that could do ſo, prayed by the ſpirit, and were godly; though in their ſermons they diſputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did diſlike this, ſo he did moſt highly commend the Common Prayer of the church, ſaying, " The Holy " Ghoſt

[n] Several books which appeared at this time were printed for "Timothy Garthwaite, at the little north door of St. Pauls." In 1660 "The Gentleman's Calling" was publiſhed, with an epiſtle addreſſed to Mr. Garthwaite, recommending an impreſſion of it, dated "Sarum, *Oct.* 27, 1659, your aſſured friend, HUM. H."—that is, Humphrey Hinchman, afterward Biſhop of Saliſbury, and then of London. To this induſtrious bookſeller the literary world is obliged for the preſervation of the Letters of Mr. John Hales of Eton, written from the Synod of Dort. See Mr. Faringdon's addreſs to Mr. Garthwaite, prefixed to "Golden Remains," 1673.

"Ghoſt ſeemed to aſſiſt the compoſers; and, that the effect of a conſtant "uſe of it would be, to melt and form the ſoul into holy thoughts and "deſires; and beget habits of devotion." This he ſaid; and that "the "collects were the moſt paſſionate, proper, and moſt elegant comprehen- "ſive expreſſions that any language ever afforded; and that there was in "them ſuch piety, and that, ſo interwoven with inſtructions, that they "taught us to know the power, the wiſdom, the majeſty, and mercy of "God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour; and that a "congregation behaving themſelves reverently, and putting up to God, "theſe joint and known deſires for pardon of ſins, and their praiſes for "mercies received, could not but be more pleaſing to God, than thoſe raw "unpremeditated expreſſions which many underſtood not, and to which "many of the hearers could not ſay, *Amen*."

And he then commended to me the frequent uſe of the Pſalter or Pſalms of David, ſpeaking to this purpoſe, "That they were the treaſury of "Chriſtian comfort, fitted for all perſons and all neceſſities, able to raiſe "the ſoul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to re- "pentant ſinners; able to ſtir up holy deſires; to increaſe joy; to moderate "ſorrow; to nouriſh hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's lei- "ſure for what we beg: Able to beget a truſt in the mercy, power, and "providence of our Creator; and to cauſe a reſignation of ourſelves to his "will; and then (and not till then) to believe ourſelves happy[o]." This he ſaid the Liturgy and Pſalms taught us; and that by the frequent uſe of the laſt they would not only prove to be our ſouls' comfort, but would become ſo habitual, as to transform them into the image of his ſoul that compoſed them. After this manner he expreſſed himſelf and ſorrow, concerning the Liturgy and Pſalms; and ſeemed to lament that this, which was the

 devotion

[o] "The Pſalms," ſays Dr. Donne, (*Donne's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 663.*) "are the Manna of "the Church." As Manna taſted to every man like that that he liked beſt, ſo do the Pſalms miniſter inſtruction and ſatisfaction to every man in every emergency or occaſion. How beautiful are the late Biſhop Horne's ſentiments on this ſubject. Happier hours than thoſe which have been ſpent in meditations on the ſongs of Sion he never expects to ſee in this world; and he has juſtly remarked, that the Pſalms are calculated alike to profit and to pleaſe; they inform the underſtanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination.

devotion of the more primitive times, ſhould in common pulpits be turned into needleſs debates about free-will, election, and reprobation, of which, and many like queſtions, we may be ſafely ignorant, becauſe Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard queſtions, but by meekneſs and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he ſeemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiſcreet preaching, the generality of the nation were poſſeſſed with ſuch dangerous miſtakes, as to think, "they might be religious firſt, and then "juſt and merciful; that they might ſell their conſciences, and yet have "ſomething left that was worth keeping; that they might be ſure they "were elected, though their lives were viſibly ſcandalous; that to be cun-"ning was to be wiſe; that to be rich was to be happy, though it is evi-"dently falſe; that to ſpeak evil of government, and to be buſy in things "they underſtood not, was no ſin." Theſe, and the like miſtakes, he lamented much, and beſought God to remove them, and reſtore us to that humility, ſincerity, and ſingle-heartedneſs, with which this nation was bleſſed, before the unhappy covenant was brought amongſt us, and every man preached and prayed what ſeemed beſt in his own eyes. And he then ſaid to me, "that the way to reſtore this nation to a more meek, and Chriſ-"tian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or ſo much of it as was "needful to be known by the common people) to be put into fifty-two ho-"milies, or ſermons, of ſuch a length as not to exceed a third or fourth "part of an hour's reading; and theſe needful points to be made ſo clear "and plain, that thoſe of a mean capacity might know what was neceſſary "to be believed, and what God requires to be done; and then ſome plain "applications of trial and conviction: and theſe to be read every Sunday "of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a ſet time; "and then as certainly begun again, and continued the year following[p].

And

[p] Of the homilies appointed to be read in churches, it muſt be allowed, that they abound with ſtrange phraſes, with obſolete and uncouth expreſſions, with coarſe and inappoſite applications of ſcripture; not to enumerate ſome more eſſential defects. And though an entire diſſent may not be withheld from the declaration of an eminent prelate, that "the ſecond, "third, fourth, and fifth homilies exhibit an unexceptionable ſummary of doctrine, upon the "important

And he explained the reafon of this his defire, by faying to me, "All "grammar fcholars that are often fhifted from one to another fchool, learn "neither fo much, nor their little fo truly, as thofe that are conftant to one "good mafter: becaufe, by the feveral rules of teaching in thofe feveral "fchools, they learn lefs, and become more and more confufed; and, at laft, "fo puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves ufelefs both to them-"felves and others. And fo do the immethodical, ufelefs, needlefs, notions "that are delivered in many fermons, make the hearers; but a clear and "conftant rule of teaching us what we are to know, and do, and what not, "and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the "nation to a more confcientious practice of what we know, and ought to "do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reafon of this his defire: and oh! that he had undertaken what he advifed; for then, in all probability, it would have proved fo ufeful, that the prefent age would have been bleffed by it; and pofterity would have bleffed him for it.

And, at this happy time of my enjoying his company and this difcourfe, he expreffed a forrow by faying to me, "O that I had gone chaplain to that "excellently accomplifhed gentleman, your friend, Sir Henry Wotton! "which was once intended when he firft went ambaffador to the ftate of "Venice: for by that employment I had been forced into a neceffity of con-"verfing, not with him only, but with feveral men of feveral nations; and "might thereby have kept myfelf from my unmanly bafhfulnefs, which has "proved very troublefome, and not lefs inconvenient to me; and which I "now fear is become fo habitual as never to leave me[q]: and befides, by

3 T 2 that

"important points which they tend to illuftrate, and an excellent model of compofition for "popular inftruction;" yet the profecution of the plan recommended by Dr. Sanderfon, with the addition of fome difcourfes to be ufed on the feftivals, cannot fail of being attended with the moft beneficial confequences. The expediency of fuch a work will appear to be at this time more immediately neceffary, when we confider the recent introduction and too extenfive circulation of thofe miferable and motley difcourfes, which, under the direction of venal compilers, are fold at a low price, to fupply the lazy and the ignorant.

[q] "Is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor plufquam fubrufticus, et, quam facile patior "amicos, amoris quodam errore, modeftiam interpretari, invirilis quædam verecundia.— "Infuperabilis

"that means, I might alſo have known, or at leaſt have had the ſatisfaction "of ſeeing one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning, pru-"dence, and modeſty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padre Paulo, who, "the author of his life ſays, was born with a baſhfulneſs as invincible as I "have found my own to be: A man whoſe fame muſt never die, till virtue "and learning ſhall become ſo uſeleſs as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's converſation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happineſs, and his great humility and condeſcenſion. I had alſo a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am deſirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in thoſe times of confuſion many pariſhes where the maintenance was not great, there was no miniſter to officiate; and that many of the beſt ſequeſtered livings were poſſeſſed with ſuch rigid covenanters as denied the ſacrament to their pariſhioners, unleſs upon ſuch conditions, and in ſuch a manner as they could not with a good conſcience take it: This he mentioned with much ſorrow, ſaying, "The bleſſed ſacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occa-"ſion to all conſcientious receivers to examine the performance of their "vows, ſince they received that laſt ſeal for the pardon of their ſins paſt; "and alſo to examine and reſearch their hearts, and make penitent reflec-"tions on their failings; and, that done, to bewail them ſeriouſly, and then "make new vows or reſolutions to obey all God's commands better, and "beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then "the ſacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, "gives us grace to beg God's grace, and then gives us what we beg; "makes us ſtill hunger and thirſt after his righteouſneſs, which we then "receive, and being aſſiſted with our own endeavours, will ſtill ſo dwell in "us, as to become our ſanctification in this life, and our comfort on our "laſt ſick-beds." The want of this bleſſed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that deſired, but could not obtain it.

I hope

"Inſuperabilis illa quidem, ut quam natura inſevit, formavit educatio, fovit hactenus atq; "etiamnum fovet tenuitatis propriæ conſcientia: Sed quâ tamen vix aliud comperi quidquam "a primâ pueritiâ ad hunc uſq; diem aut rationibus meis, aut exiſtimationi magis adverſa "rium." (*Oratio habita in Scholâ Theologicâ Oxon. a R. S. ſacræ Theologiæ, &c.* 12. *Oct.* 1646.)

I hope I ſhall not diſoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his perſon and temper. As firſt, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comelineſs, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtſhip; his looks and motion manifeſted an endearing affability and mildneſs, and yet he had with theſe a calm and ſo matchleſs a fortitude, as ſecured him from complying with any of thoſe many Parliamentary injunctions that interfered with a doubtful conſcience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wiſdom uſeful, his integrity viſible, and his whole life ſo unſpotted, ſo like the primitive Chriſtians, that all ought to be preſerved as copies for poſterity to write after, the clergy eſpecially, who with impure hands ought not to offer ſacrifice to that God whoſe pure eyes abhor iniquity, and eſpecially in them.

There was in his ſermons no improper rhetoric, nor ſuch perplexed diviſions, as may be ſaid to be like too much light, that ſo dazzles the eyes that the ſight becomes leſs perfect: But in them there was no want of uſeful matter, nor waſte of words; and yet ſuch clear diſtinctions as diſpelled all confuſed notions, and made his hearers depart both wiſer, and more confirmed in virtuous reſolutions[r].

His memory was ſo matchleſs and firm, as it was only overcome by his baſhfulneſs: for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Perſius, without book; and would ſay, "the repetition of one of the odes of Horace to himſelf (which

[r] If we had not the moſt convincing proofs of the indefatigable diligence, with which the divines of the two laſt centuries applied themſelves to ſtudy, it would be difficult to ſuppoſe that they could find time to collect the vaſt maſs of matter, that forms the ſubſtance of their works. And to digeſt that matter ſeems to require a man's whole life.——In extent of erudition, Dr. Sanderſon was ſurpaſſed by none of his contemporaries. He is clear and perſpicuous in his argumentation, eaſy and natural in his language. But his far-fetched introductions, his tedious repetitions of diviſion and ſubdiviſion, are diſguſting. In compliance with the prevailing mode of the times, he introduces Latin quotations, even when he preaches to the common people; herein unlike to Dr. Edward Pocock, who was deſcribed by one of his country pariſhioners, as "a plain honeſt man, but no Latiner." In his diſcourſes, we meet with the moſt comprehenſive and the moſt accurate knowledge of claſſic antiquity. Thoroughly converſant in the beſt writings of Greece and Rome, he illuſtrates his own ſentiments by the moſt appoſite applications from thoſe treaſures of learning.

" (which he did often) was to him ſuch muſic, as a leſſon on the viol was " to others, when they played it voluntarily to themſelves or friends."

And though he was bleſſed with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was ſo diſtruſtful of it, that he did uſually over-conſider of conſequences, and would ſo delay and reconſider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the ſcholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, reſolved and writ what he meant to determine; ſo that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend, Dr. Sheldon would often ſay of him, namely, " That his judg- " ment was ſo much ſuperior to his fancy, that whatſoever this ſuggeſted, " that diſliked and controlled; ſtill conſidering and reconſidering, till his " time was ſo waſted, that he was forced to write, not, probably, what " was beſt, but what he thought laſt." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to to be ſo uſeful, clear, and ſatisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applauſe.

Theſe tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him ſome averſeneſs to enter into the toil of conſidering and determining all caſuiſtical points; becauſe during that time they neither gave reſt to his body or mind. But though he would not ſuffer his mind to be always loaden with theſe knotty points and diſtinctions; yet the ſtudy of old records, genealogies[s], and heraldry[t], were a recreation, and ſo pleaſing, that he would ſay they gave a pleaſant

[s] " He was the moſt diligent collector of genealogies I ever knew in theſe parts, eſpecially of Lincolnſhire." (*Thorotsn's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p.* 475.)

[t] In his Articles of Viſitation, in 1662, the clergy within the county of Lincoln are deſired to bring with them, in writing, a note of all ſuch coats of arms as are in the church windows, and of all ſuch monuments, grave-ſtones, and inſcriptions, whether of ancient or later times, as are yet remaining in their ſeveral reſpective churches or chapels, or the chancels thereof.

In one of his ſermons he has a continued alluſion to this his favourite ſcience: " Conſider " this, you that are of *noble* or *generous* birth. Search your *pedigrees*, collect the ſcattered *mo-* " *numents* and *hiſtories* of your *anceſtors*, and obſerve by what ſteps your worthy *progenitors* " raiſed their houſes to the height of *gentry* or *nobility*. You uſurp their *arms*, if you inherit " not their *virtues*: and thoſe enſigns of *honour* and *gentry*, which they by induſtry achieved, " fit

a pleasant rest to his mind[u]. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes, and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble man had so conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness; always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, "That his praise should be always in his "mouth."

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and much more might be added of all: But I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men (clergymen especially) were sufferers; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate[x]: And in that time Mr. Robert Boyle, a gentleman

"fit no otherwise upon your shoulders, than as rich *trappings* upon asses' backs. If you, by "brutish sensuality, and spending your time in swinish luxury, *stain the colours* and *embase the* "*metals* of those badges of your *gentry* and *nobility*, which you claim by descent." (*Sanderson's Sermons, p.* 212.)

[u] Thus did this good man innocently employ the hours of his relaxation from severer studies. Animated by this bright example, let the clergy be induced occasionally to extend their inquiries to other matters besides divinity. Dr. Sanderson observed it "very requisite "that ministers should have a competent skill in history, mathematics, law, and physic, to en-"tertain the ingenious and to advise the ignorant, who expect the priest's lips should preserve "all knowledge, and that the people should receive it from their mouths." (*Reason and Judgment, &c. p.* 27.)

[x] "Dr. Sanderson had at that time a wife and children, *was reduced to great poverty, and, in the year* 1658, *was in a very pitiful condition.* But, living to the restoration, he was reinstated in his professorship and canonry in August, 1660; and in October the same year consecrated to the bishopric of Lincoln, the palace of which, at Buckden, he repaired; and, as fines came in, augmented several poor vicarages, notwithstanding he was old and had a family; which when his friends suggested to him, he made them this return, "that he left them to God, "and

man of a very noble birth[r], and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would ſay much more, but that he ſtill lives, having

"and hoped he ſhould be able to give them a competency;" though whether he did or not I am not informed, only the contrary ſeems probable, becauſe he enjoyed the biſhopric but a very little time." (*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p.* 105.)——Of his ſtate of poverty, ſee "Tracts by Morley, Biſhop of Wincheſter," publiſhed in 1683, and "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 209.

The following incident, which is ſaid to be well authenticated, proves the indigence to which Dr. Sanderſon was reduced at one time, as well as the eſteem in which he was held by thoſe who knew him. Having been pillaged by ſoldiers, and left deſtitute, he ſent his old ſervant, as he was wont in better times, to Grantham, to purchaſe proviſions, telling him, that though he could not ſupply him with money, he doubted not but that God would provide for his family. A company of gentlemen, ſeeing the ſervant loitering in the market, reproved his idleneſs. The ſervant related his maſter's great diſtreſs, and the errand upon which he was ſent. The good doctor's wants were cheerfully and liberally ſupplied by the company, and the ſervant was diſmiſſed, loaded with proviſions.

Yet the author of "The Confeſſional" hath obſerved, that Dr. Calamy exhibits a different repreſentation, informing us, that "a certain worthy clergymen of the Church of England, Mr. Stephens of Sutton, in Bedfordſhire, gave him an account, that, to his knowledge, the doctor was far from being reduced to any poverty, in thoſe times; nor was he in a pitiful condition in 1658. He lived in as much plenty as the better ſort of clergy did, upon his rectory, and maintained his children faſhionably. His living was valued at 130 or 140 pounds per annum, and he had money beſides which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to intereſt in the ordinary way, which he had written againſt; yet did he diſpoſe of it in a way really more advantageous to the lender, and ſometimes to the borrower. For he would give a hundred pounds for twenty pounds for ſeven years. This he thought lawful, but not the common way, which occaſioned reflections from ſeveral on his caſuiſtical ſkill. This, he (Mr. Stephens) ſaid, was the common report; and one that was his agent in diſpoſing of the money, aſſured him of the truth of it." (*The Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, p.* 78.)——From the general character of Dr. Sanderſon, thus cruelly aſperſed, the candid reader will determine what degree of credit is due to the above evidence. The ſarcaſms on the caſuiſtry of this eminent divine, if they deſerve notice, are beſt anſwered by the words of Archbiſhop Uſher: "I propoſed," ſays he, "the caſe to judicious Dr. Sanderſon, who "graſped all the circumſtances of it, and returned that happy anſwer, that met all my "thoughts, ſatisfied all my ſcruples, and cleared all my doubts."

[r] Mr. Boyle, the glory of his age and nation, died December 30, 1691, having ſurvived his beloved ſiſter, Lady Ranelagh, only one week. To the accompliſhments of a ſcholar and a gentle-

having casually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition, by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow[z] (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) 50l. and

 with

a gentleman, he added the most exalted piety, the purest sanctity of manners. His unbounded munificence was extended to the noblest and most honourable purposes—the advancement of true religion in almost all parts of the world. A firm friend to the Church of England, he was one of her brightest ornaments. So long as goodness, learning, and charity, are held in estimation, the name of Boyle will be revered.

At Oxford, which was then the asylum of learned men, Mr. Boyle fixed his residence in 1654, that he might pursue his philosophical, critical, and theological studies. Here he formed a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time principal Librarian of the Bodleian Library.——Lord Orrery, in his notes on "Pliny's Epistles," B. VI. Ep. 16. has compared Mr. Boyle, in his philosophical character, to Pliny the Elder, as resembling him in "his constitution of body, and his speculative turn of mind, and his too great credulity in believing "all men as sincere and ingenuous as himself."

[z] Dr. Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1675, and dying, in 1691, was buried on the north-side of the chancel of the church of Bugden, near to the body of Dr. Sanderson, and, at his own request, in the grave of Dr. William Barlow, one of his predecessors, whose monument being destroyed in the late civil war, he caused another to be erected, and also one for himself, with an inscription written by him, a few days before his death. From his incomparable knowledge both in theology and church-history, and the ecclesiastical law, the character which Cicero gave of Crassus has been applied to him: "Non unus e multis, sed unus inter omnes singularis." His great zeal against Popery was considerably abated after the accession of James II.; and it is much to be regretted, that we do not find his name among those ever-venerable prelates, who, in the hour of danger, stood forth the champions of the Protestant religion, by their steady opposition to the mandates of arbitrary power.

Dr. Sanderson, in consequence of this application, communicated by Dr. Barlow from Mr. Boyle, published his treatise entitled "De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Scholâ Theologicâ habitæ, Anno Domini 1647," and addressed it to Mr. Boyle in an elegant dedication, dated at Boothby Pannell, Nov. 22, 1659, wherein he commends his patron, "cum natalium splendore illustrem, tum generosæ mentis indole, amore literarum, "humanitate, pietate, et omni virtutum genere multo etiam illustriorem, mihi tamen, *delite-* "*scenti nimirum in parvâ Casulâ suaviter, nec quid rerum foris geratur, præsertim ut nunc sunt* "*tempora, multum solicito*, de facie nunquam ante paucos menses, nec de nomine quidem, "adeoq; ne nunc tandem nisi solâ munificentiâ notum."

with it a requeſt and promiſe: The requeſt was, "that he would review "the Lectures *de Conſcientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of "the Chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of poſterity;" and this Dr. Sanderſon did in the year 1659. And the promiſe was, "that he "would pay him that, or, if he deſired it, a greater ſum yearly, during his "life, to enable him to pay an amanuenſis, to eaſe him from the trouble of "writing what he ſhould conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the ſaid Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1600, when the many mixed ſects, and their creators, and mercileſs protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confuſion both in church and ſtate; when amazement and fear had ſeized moſt of them by foreſeeing they muſt now not only vomit up the Church's and the King's land, but their accuſing conſciences did alſo give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god of oppoſition, diſobedience, and confuſion, which they had ſo long and ſo diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with ſuch wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him[a]; when theſe wretches (that had ſaid to themſelves, "we ſhall ſee no ſorrow") were come to foreſee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and ſuch ſufferers as Dr. Sanderſon (and with him many of the oppreſſed clergy and others) could foreſee the cloud of their afflictions would be diſperſed by it; then the 29th of May following, the King was by our good God reſtored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace ſeemed to breath through the three nations; the ſuffering and ſequeſtered clergy

[a] This alluſion may admit ſome apology, when it is conſidered, that the opinion concerning the reality of witchcraft was not exploded even at the end of the ſeventeenth century. The prejudices of popular credulity are not eaſily effaced. Men of learning, either from conviction, or from ſome other equally powerful motive, adopted the ſyſtem of demonology advanced by James I.; and it was only at a recent period that the Legiſlature repealed the act made in the firſt year of the reign of that monarch, entitled "an Act againſt Conjuration, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits."

A preacher from Queen's College, Cambridge, is required to deliver a diſcourſe againſt witchcraft, diabolical contracts, &c. at Huntingdon, every year, on the 25th day of March. See "Smith's Select Diſcourſes," p. 442.

clergy (who had, like the children of Ifrael, fat long lamenting their fad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were, after many thoughtful days and reftlefs nights, now freed from their fequeftration, reftored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praife, and pray to Almighty God publicly, in fuch order as their confciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will eafily believe that Dr. Sanderfon and his dejected family rejoiced to fee this happy day, and be of this number[b].

At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the Prefbyterian feverities, the doctor faid to a friend, " I look back on this ftrange and " happy turn of the late times, with amazement and thankfulnefs; and " cannot but think the Prefbyterians ought to read their own errors, by " confidering that by their own rules the Independents have punifhed and " fupplanted them, as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (fo " many as ftill live) reftored to their lawful right; and, as the prophet Da- " vid hath taught me, fo I fay, with a thankful heart, ' Verily there is a " ' God that judgeth the earth: and a reward for the righteous.' "

It ought to be confidered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue, were ufually fought for, and folicited to accept of Epifcopal government, and often refufed it. For they confcientiouffly confidered, that the office of a bifhop was not made up of eafe and ftate, but of labour and care: that they were trufted to be God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the church's good and the poor; to live ftrictly themfelves, and ufe all diligence to fee that their family, officers, and clergy, became examples of innocence and piety to others; and that the account of that ftewardfhip muft, at the laft dreadful day, be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and, for thefe reafons, they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be faid, that Dr. Sanderfon was accomplifhed with thefe, and all the other requifites required in a bifhop, fo as to be able to anfwer them exactly; but

 it

[b] On July 20, 1660, fome of the clergy of the county of Lincoln, in the name of the reft, being brought into the royal prefence, the Earl of Manchefter prefented an addrefs to the King, by the hands of the reverend and moft learned Dr. Sanderfon, accompanied by that worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Meers. This addrefs, of which there is a copy in "Kennet's Regifter," p. 209, was probably penned by Dr. Sanderfon.

it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of ſeventy-three years (for he was ſo old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man than are apparent in others in theſe days, in which, God knows, we fall ſo ſhort of that viſible ſanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Chriſtianity.—This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I ſhall ſay more of Dr. Sanderſon; as namely, that at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Archbiſhop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderſon more or better), was by his Majeſty made a chief truſtee to commend to him fit men to ſupply the then vacant biſhoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderſon, and therefore humbly deſired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly deſire Dr. Sanderſon that he would, for God's and the Church's ſake, take that care and charge upon him. Dr. Sanderſon had, if not an unwillingneſs, certainly no forwardneſs to undertake it, and would often ſay, "he "had not led himſelf, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, "which he had daily prayed againſt; and beſought God, if he did undertake "it, ſo to aſſiſt him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares, "and endeavours might promote his glory, and help forward the ſalvation "of others[c]."

This

[c] "He was made Biſhop, with the univerſal vote of all good men in 1660, as who expected his prudence, counſel, equanimity, and moderation, equal with his other abilities, might allay animoſities, cloſe differences, heal men's diſtempers, and work a right underſtanding; all men imagining his gravity might awe, his goodneſs oblige, his moderation temper, his reaſon perſuade, and his approved ſincerity prevail upon all men otherwiſe minded; for he was not only a man of much learning and reading, but of a mature underſtanding, and a mellow judgment, in all matters politic and prudential, both eccleſiaſtical and civil." (*Reaſon and Judgment*, *p.* 39.)——"He had this advantage of other men, that, when he entered upon that employment which lay open to the malice and envy of ſo many, his life was ſo ſpotleſs, his integrity ſo eminent, that partiality itſelf could not accuſe him: he being a man of ſolid worth, in whom was nothing dubious or dark, nothing various or inconſtant, nothing formal or affected, nothing as to his public carriage that was ſuſpected, nothing that needed palliation or apology. I never heard of any thing ſaid or done by him, which a wiſe and good man would have wiſhed not ſaid or undone." (*Ib. p.* 40.)

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric, and am next to tell that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, at Westminster, the 28th of October, 1660[d].

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church-service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last, some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy, in the Strand[e]: and the points debated

[d] A sermon was preached at the consecration of the right reverend Fathers in God Gilbert (Sheldon) Lord Bishop of London, Humphrey (Henchman) Lord Bishop of Sarum, George (Morley) Lord Bishop of Worcester, Robert (Sanderson) Lord Bishop of Lincoln, George (Griffith) Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, on Sunday October 28, 1660, at St. Peter's, Westminster, by John Sudbury, D. D. and one of the prebendaries of that church, on 1 *Tim.* iii. 1.—It was dedicated to Lord Hyde the Chancellor, who was present, and at whose desire it was printed.

[e] At the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy. A person in the least degree conversant in the transactions of this memorable period will determine whether this conference deserves to be called "a complication of sophistry, hypocrisy, and virulence, on the part of the "orthodox, hardly to be paralleled in a Popish history." See the Preface to the first edition of "The Confessional," p. xxix.

"The Bishops, being provoked by their long sufferings, and not brooking to have laws prescribed to them by those who had been the occasion thereof, were not very forward to make any alterations which were proposed by the Presbyterians, even in some things as might have deserved consideration; refusing them so much as the change of *deadly sin*, in the Liturgy, into *heinous sin*.

"The Presbyterians, on the other hand, heaped together all the old exceptions, which the Puritans, for two years, had raised against the Liturgy, with the addition of some new ones. But Mr. Baxter's new-fangled Liturgy, drawn up in a method which was warranted by no ancient

bated were, I think, many (and I think many of them needleſs); ſome affirmed to be truth and reaſon, ſome denied to be either; and theſe debates, being at firſt in words, proved to be ſo looſe and perplexed, as ſatisfied neither party. For ſometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or miſtaken, or denied, and ſo no ſatisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more ſatisfactory and uſeful, it was therefore reſolved, that the day following the deſires and reaſons of the Nonconformiſts ſhould be given in writing, and they in writing receive anſwers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the diſſenting brethren; yet I am ſure Mr. Richard Baxter[f] was one, and I am ſure alſo one

ancient forms, either Greek or Latin, was looked on by all, on the church ſide, with the greateſt diſdain. And, indeed, it is an occaſion of no little wonder to think, that ſo many learned men of the Preſbyterian ſide could ever be perſuaded to give their conſent to let ſuch an odd performance of that kind be laid before Biſhops Coſin, Morley, Nicholſon, Pearſon, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Heylin, Mr. Thorndike, &c. men ſo admirably verſed in antiquity and liturgical learning: and this eſpecially, when they were directed by the commiſſion to compare the Common Prayer Book with the moſt ancient Liturgies, which have been uſed in the church, in the moſt primitive and pureſt times; and to avoid, as much as may be, all unneceſſary alterations of the Forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have ſo long received in the Church of England." *(Dr. Nicholls Preface to his Comment. on the Common Prayer, p. ix, x.)*——Charles II. in his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, propoſed to the diſſatisfied part of the clergy, that they would read ſo much of the Liturgy, as they themſelves had no exception againſt. But, in many of them, he could not prevail for ſo much as one ſyllable, not one collect, no nor ſo much as one chapter, according to the rubric; ſo much doth yielding work upon that good generation. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 432.

[f] Mr Baxter's genius, like that of many other reformers, was "ten times apter for pulling "down than for building up." "Baxter," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "was a man of great piety, and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been eſteemed one of the learned men of the age. He writ near two hundred books. Of theſe three are large folios. He had a moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and ſimplicity, but was moſt unhappily ſubtile and metaphyſical in every thing. Great ſubmiſſion was paid to him by the whole party. So he perſuaded them, that, from the words of the commiſſion, they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good

one of the points debated was, "Concerning a command of lawful Superiors, what was ſufficient towards its being a lawful command?—This following propoſition was brought by the conforming party:

"That command which commands an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act or circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reaſons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One was, "Becauſe that may be a ſin *per accidens*, which is not ſo in itſelf; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command." Another was, "That it may be commanded under an unjuſt penalty."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, "That command which commandeth an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act whereby any unjuſt penalty is enjoined, nor any circumſtance whence *per accidens* any ſin is conſequent which the commander ought to provide againſt, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reaſon, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: "Becauſe the firſt act commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjuſt penalty, though no other act or circumſtance commanded be ſuch."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, "That command which commandeth an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act whereby any unjuſt penalty is enjoined, nor any circumſtance whence directly, or *per accidens*, any ſin is conſequent, which the commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all things requiſite to the lawfulneſs of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per*

good or peace of the church, without conſidering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding ſo much might have in irritating the minds of thoſe who were then the ſuperior body in ſtrength and number.

"The good Sir Matthew Hale lived in habits of intimacy with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour, and whom he conſidered as a perſon of great devotion and piety, and of a very ſubtile and quick apprehenſion: their converſation lay moſt in metaphyſical and abſtracted ideas and ſchemes." (*Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p.* 35.)

"*per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjuſt pe-
"nalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the ſame reaſons.

PETER GUNNING[g].
JOHN PEARSON[h].

Theſe

[g] Dr. Peter Gunning was a reſolute defender of his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt's cauſe and right, and the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, againſt all ſorts of ſectaries, with whom he had almoſt daily public diſputes in their congregations, for which he underwent all ſorts of obloquy, hardſhips, and impriſonments. At the reſtoration, he was made, firſt, Prebendary of Canterbury, Maſter of Bennet, and ſoon after of St. John's College in Cambridge; then Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and, laſtly, of Ely, in poſſeſſion of which ſee he died, in 1684. (*Magna Britannia*, *p.* 575, 576.)

Biſhop Burnet has obſerved, that Gunning was a man of great reading, and noted for a ſpecial ſubtilty of writing; that in this conference all the arts of ſophiſtry were made uſe of by him in as confident a manner as if they had been ſound reaſoning. He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpoſe. He was much ſet on reconciling us with Popery, and ſet himſelf with great zeal to clear the Church of Rome from idolatry. This made many ſuſpect him as inclining to go over. But he was far from it, and was a very honeſt, ſincere man, but of no ſound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs. He was for conforming in all things to the rules of the primitive church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the uſe of oil, and many other things. He formed many in Cambridge upon his own notions, who have perhaps carried them farther than he intended. Baxter and he ſpent ſome days, in much logical arguing, to the diverſion of the town, who ſaid, "here were a "couple of fencers engaged in diſputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any "good effect." See "Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times."

[h] Dr. John Pearſon, the ſon of a private clergyman in Norfolk, and grandſon to Vaughan Biſhop of London, was elected from Eton ſchool into King's College in Cambridge, in 1632. He was fellow of that college for ſome time, and in 1639 was collated by Biſhop Davenant to the prebend of Netherhaven in the church of Sarum, the ſame which Mr. Hooker formerly enjoyed. In 1642, he was miniſter of St. Clement's Eaſt Cheap, London, where he preached thoſe excellent ſermons, which he afterward digeſted into his juſtly celebrated "Expoſition of the Creed." In 1657, he and Mr. Gunning diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a conference with two diſputants of the Church of Rome. At the reſtoration he was rewarded with preferment, being appointed Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge, and ſucceſſively Maſter of Jeſus College, and of Trinity College; and at length was promoted to the ſee of Cheſter, on the death of Dr. Wilkins.

Of

Theſe were then two of the diſputants, ſtill live, and will atteſt this; one being now Lord Biſhop of Ely, and the other of Cheſter. And the laſt of them told me very lately, that one of the Diſſenters (which I could, but forbear to name,) appeared to Dr. Sanderſon to be ſo bold, ſo troubleſome, and ſo illogical in the diſpute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderſon (who was then Biſhop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other biſhops) to ſay, with an unuſual earneſtneſs, "that he had never met with a man of more "pertinacious confidence, and leſs abilities, in all his converſation[1]."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great ſatiſfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the deſires, and underſtood

3 X the

Of the manner in which Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearſon conducted themſelves at the Savoy conference, Mr. Baxter has given the following account:—"Dr. Pearſon and Dr. Gunning did all their work (beſide Biſhop Morley's diſcourſes), but with great difference in the manner. Dr. Pearſon was their true logician and diſputant, without whom, as far as I could diſcern, we ſhould have had nothing from them, but Dr. Gunning's paſſionate invectives, mixed with ſome argumentations. He diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly, being but once in any paſſion, breeding in us a great reſpect for him, and a perſuaſion, that, if he had been independent, he would have been for peace; and that, if all were in his power, it would have gone well:———He was the ſtrength and honour of that cauſe, which we doubted whether he heartily maintained. Dr. Gunning was their forwardeſt and greateſt ſpeaker, underſtanding well what belonged to a diſputant, a man of greater ſtudy and induſtry than any of them, well read in fathers and councils, and of a ready tongue (and I hear and believe of a very temperate life as to all carnal exceſſes whatſoever), but ſo vehement for his high impoſing principles, and ſo over zealous for Arminianiſm, and formality, and church-pomp, and ſo very eager and fervent in his diſcourſe, that, I conceive, his prejudice and paſſion much perverted his judgment; and, I am ſure, they made him lamentably over-run himſelf in his diſcourſes." (*Reliq. Baxt. p.* 364.)

We muſt here regret a ſad and melancholy inſtance of human imbecillity. This acute reaſoner, this profound divine, the author of "The Expoſition of the Creed," and of many other moſt learned works, was, for ſome years before his death, reduced to a ſtate of childhood, and became totally deprived of his memory, and of the uſe of his mental faculties.

[1] "At this conference in the Savoy," Biſhop Morley tells us, "the generality of the nonconforming divines ſhewed themſelves unwilling to enter upon diſpute; and ſeemed to like much better another way tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was fruſtrated by a certain perſon's furious eagerneſs to engage in a diſputation." (*The Proteſtant Peacemaker, by Biſhop Ruſt*, 1682.)——There is little doubt, but that Mr. Baxter is here meant.

the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late diſtreſſed clergy, that were now reſtored to their former rights and power, were ſo charitable, as at their next meeting in convocation to contrive to give the diſſenting party ſatisfaction, by alteration, explanation, and addition, to ſome part both of the Rubric and Common Prayer; as alſo by adding ſome new neceſſary collects, with a particular collect of thankſgiving. How many of theſe new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderſon, I cannot ſay; but am ſure the whole convocation valued him ſo much, that he never undertook to ſpeak to any point in queſtion, but he was heard with great willingneſs and attention; and when any point in queſtion was determined, the Convocation did uſually deſire him to word their intentions, and as uſually approve and thank him.

At this convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete by adding three new neceſſary offices; which were, "A Form of Humiliation for the murder of King Charles the Martyr;" "A Thankſgiving for the Reſtoration of his Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing of Perſons of riper Age[j]." I cannot ſay Dr. Sanderſon did form or word them all, but doubtleſs more than any ſingle man of the convocation; and he did alſo, by deſire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be uſed at ſea (now taken into the Service-Book). And it may be noted, that William[k], the now moſt Reverend Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was in theſe employments

[j] "It was thought convenient, that ſome prayers and thankſgivings, fitted to ſpecial occaſions, ſhould be added in their due places, particularly for thoſe at ſea, together with an office for the baptiſm of ſuch as are of riper years; which, although not ſo neceſſary, when the former book was compiled, yet, by the growth of Anabaptiſm, through the licentiouſneſs of the late times, crept in amongſt us, is now become neceſſary, and may be always uſeful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith." *(Preface to the Common Prayer.)*

[k] Dr. William Sancroft was, as his name imports, a man of incorrupt ſincerity. If innocence of life, and rectitude of heart, ever demanded our eſteem and veneration, this prelate is juſtly entitled to them. To a good conſcience he ſacrificed every worldly conſideration.—When he lay upon his death-bed, he was viſited by Mr. Needham, formerly one of his chaplains, who had differed from him in his political conduct. Having given him his benediction moſt affectionately, he ſaid, "You and I have gone different ways in theſe late affairs; but I "truſt

employments diligently uſeful, and eſpecially in helping to rectify the Kalendar and Rubric. And laſtly, it may be noted, that for the ſatisfying all the diſſenting brethren and others, the convocation's reaſons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them deſired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderſon; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be now known by this title, "The Preface[1]:" and begins thus, "It hath been the wiſdom of the church."

I ſhall now follow Dr. Sanderſon to his biſhopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that buſy and weighty employment. And firſt, that it was with ſuch condeſcenſion and obligingneſs to the meaneſt of his clergy, as to know and be known to moſt of them. And indeed he practiſed the like to all men of what degree ſoever, eſpecially to his old neighbours or pariſhioners of Boothby Pannell, for there was all joy at his table when they came

 to

"truſt that heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both." Upon Mr. Needham's modeſt attempt to give an account of his own conduct, his Grace was pleaſed to reply; "I always "took you for an honeſt man: What I ſaid concerning myſelf was only to let you know, "that what I have done I have done in the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great integrity "of my heart." See his character finely drawn by Mr. Nelſon, in "The Life of Dr. George Bull," p. 354.

Dr. John Pell, the firſt mathematician of the age in which he lived, and celebrated for his knowledge of ancient and modern languages, was the perſon, who, on Dec. 5, 1661, brought into the upper Houſe of Convocation, the Kalendar reformed by him, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Sancroft.

[1] "The Preface is ſaid to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderſon, and it ſhould ſeem by the ſtyle thereof to be his. However no mention of his being the author of it is made in the acts of the Upper Houſe of Convocation. It is there only ſaid, "Die Lun. 2. Decemb. Præfatium ſive. Exordium Libri Precum fuit Introduct. et Public. Perfect." On Monday the 2d of December, the Preface or Introduction to the Common Prayer-Book was brought in and read: But it is not ſaid by whom. It was referred to a committee of the Upper Houſe, to conſider of it, who were Dr. Matthew Wren, Biſhop of Ely; Dr. Robert Skinner, Biſhop of Oxon; Dr. Humphrey Henchman, Biſhop of Sarum; and Dr. George Griffith, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. On the 13th of that month, the acts ſay, ſome amendments were made to the Preface."—*(Dr. Nicholl's Comment on the Common Prayer.)*—It may be further remarked, that the Prayers "for Ember Weeks," "for the Parliament," "for all Conditions of Men," were added at the review of the Liturgy in 1661.

to visit him: Then they prayed for him, and he for them with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denyed, but that the care and toil required of a bishop may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his diocese) having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge[m]. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended

[m] Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, did wonders at his seat of Bugden, with the will of a liberal man, and the wit of a good surveyor: For, in the space of one year, with many hands and good pay, he turned a ruinous thing into a stately mansion. The out-houses were re-edified with convenient beauty, as well for use as uniformity: And the outward courts, which were next them, he cast into fair alleys, and grass-plats. Within doors, the cloisters were the trimmest part of his reparations: The windows of the square beautified with stories of coloured glass; the pavement laid smooth and new; and the walls, on every side, hung with pieces of exquisite workmen in limning, collected and provided long before. The like and better was done for the chapel in all these circumstances, and with as much cost as it was capable of. He loved stirring and walking, which he used two hours or more every day in the open air, if the weather served; especially if he might go to and fro, where good scents and works of well-formed shape were about him. But that this was his innocent recreation, it would amount to an error, that he should bury so much money in gardens, arbours, orchards, pools for water-fowls, and for fish of all variety, with a walk raised three foot from the ground, of about a mile in compass, shaded and covered on each side with trees and pales. He that reports this knows best that all the nurseries about London for fair flowers and choice fruits were ransacked to furnish him. Alcinous, if he had lived at Bugden, could not have lived better. And all this, take it together, might have stood to become five ages after his reparation. *But what is there that appears now? or what remains of all this cost and beauty? All is dissipated, defaced, pluckt to pieces to pay the army;* following the rule, which Severus the Emperor gave to his sons Antoninus and Geta, "*Locupletate Milites, cæteros contemnite!*" Here's nothing standing of all the bishop's delights and expence. "Nebuzar-adan, the servant of the King of Babylon, hath been there," 2 *Kings*, xxv. 8. and made profit of the havoc of the palace, though the building would have yielded more gain to have let it stood, than to be demolished. See "Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams," P. II. p. 29.

commended to the care of the bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small vicarages; he, when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: So fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, "he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and "children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity "were considered[n]." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian Bishop to suffer those houses "built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less justi-"fiable to suffer any of those poor vicars that were called to so high a calling "as to sacrifice at God's altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when "he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of "cheerfulness; and wished, that as this was, so it were also in his power "to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his "wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence, and in the "hands of a God that would provide for all that kept innocence, and "trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found "enough to make and keep him happy[o]."

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness: This minister asked the bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, "That he declined reading many books; but what he did read were well chosen[p]

[n] Dr. Sanderson had issue three sons, and two daughters. 1. Catharine, baptized May 27, 1621. Thomas, baptized Feb. 2, 1621, which Thomas was married at Lenton, otherwise Lavington, to Elizabeth Winlup, one of the daughters of Samuel Winlup, S. T. P. June 19, 1655, and is styled Doctor in Divinity. 3. Mary, baptized May 30, 1625, who was married to William Geery of Braunston, Clerk, Oct. 16, 1649. 4. Robert, baptized Nov. 18, 1630, and married to Anne Foxley, grand-daughter of Edward Foxley, senior, parish-clerk, May 17, 1658. 5. Henry, baptized Dec. 3, 1633. *(From the Parish Register of Boothby Pannell.)*

[o] Among the subscribers towards the repair of the dilapidated buildings of Christ Church in Oxford, we find the name of Dr. Sanderson contributing eighty pounds. *(Kennet's Register, p.* 345.)

" chosen[p], and read so often, that he became very familiar with them;" and told him, " they were chiefly three, " Aristotle's Rhetoric," " Aquinas's " Secunda Secundæ[q]," and " Tully," but chiefly his " Offices[r]," which he had " not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age repeat without " book."

[p] Luther advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sorts of books oftentimes over and again; for to read many sorts of books produceth more and rather confusion, than to learn thereout any thing certainly or perfectly, like as those that dwell every where and remain certainly in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are any where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of some few selected, even so likewise ought we to accustom ourselves to the best books, and to make the same familiar unto us, that is, to have them, as we use to say, at our finger's ends. *(Luther's Table Talk, p. 507.)* " Nihil æque sanitatem impedit, quam remediorum crebra mutatio. Distrahit animum librorum multitudo. Itaque cum legere non possis quantum habueris, sat est habere quantum legas. Sed modo, inquis, hunc librum evolvere, modo illum. Fastidientis stomachi multa degustare: Quæ, ubi varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt. Probatos itaque semper lege: Et si quando ad alios divertere libuerit, ad priores redi." *(Senecæ Epistola. II.)*

[q] Thomas Aquinas, usually styled " The Angelic Doctor," and " The Eagle of Divines," was the great luminary of the scholastic world, in the fourteenth century. He first introduced the philosophy of Aristotle, in direct opposition to several divines, and particularly to the Roman Pontiffs. It was usual, at that time, to compose and publish sums, or systematical collections of virtues and vices. " The Second Part of the Sum of Thomas Aquinas was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them." *(Moscheim's Eccles. Hist. Vol. III. p. 102.)* " Not-" withstanding the ridicule, which, in these days, attends the mere mention of the Angelic " Doctor, I will venture to affirm," says an eminent writer of the present age, " That in that " work 'The Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas,' there are, mixed indeed with many " difficult subtleties and perverse interpretations of scripture, not a few theological questions " of great moment, stated with clearness and judgment."

[r] " 'Tully's Offices,' a book which boys read and men understand, was so esteemed of my Lord Burleigh, that, to his dying day, he always carried it about him, either in his bosom or his pocket, as a complete piece, that, like 'Aristotle's Rhetoric,' would make both a scholar and an honest man." *(Lloyd's State Worthies.)*——En itaque quem in hoc scriptionis genere ducem sequaris illum olim in Academiâ Oxoniensi Theologiæ Professorem regium, SANDERSONUM: Hominem in primis dialecticum, neque vero minus oratorem: Qui horridiorem illam scholasticorum ἀκριβειαν, elegantiæ cujusdam novæ et singularis condimento temperatam exhibuit;

"book." And told him alſo, "The learned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who "died lately) had writ "Elementa Juriſprudentiæ;" which was a book "that he thought he could alſo ſay without book; and that no wiſe man "could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much:" And he told him "the ſtudy of theſe had been his toil; but for himſelf, he always had "a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts "were haraſſed with any perplexed ſtudies, he left off, and turned to them "as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him ſo perfect in "them, that he could in a very ſhort time give an account of the deſcent, "arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation."

Before I give an account of his laſt ſickneſs, I deſire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful conſtitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet[s], and had had little ſickneſs, till ſome few years before his death; but was then every winter puniſhed with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: And this diſtemper did, as he grew older, ſeize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indiſpoſed than ſick, and did no way diſable him from ſtudying (indeed too much). In this decay of his ſtrength, but not of his memory or reaſon (for this diſtemper works not upon the underſtanding), he made his laſt will, of which I ſhall give ſome account for confirmation of what has been ſaid, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He

exhibuit; ita ut de qualibet re ſubjectâ apté, diſtinctè, graviter, nec inornatè verba faceret. Unde illi hæc eximia dicendi facultas acceſſerit rogas? Inde nimirum unde eandem et ipſe facilè poſſis depromere. Verſabatur ille in M. T. Ciceronis Operibus non quidem oratoriis, quæ plus admirationis, quam imitationis habere videbantur, ſed in philoſophicis; quippe ad uſus morales communeſque magis attemperatis: Hæc ille continuo legere, relegere, eorum ſuccum atque ſanguinem haurire, in ſcripta ſua transfundere. Itaque illi verborum neque delectus neque copia deerat." (*Dr. John Burton's Addreſs to the Reader, prefixed to his Latin tract, entitled* "Samuel.")

[s] "In his apparel none more plain; in his diet none more temperate, 'eating,' as he would ſay, 'rationally, only for health and life:' One meal a-day ſufficed him, with ſome fruit at night: in his ſleep none more ſparing; eleven or twelve at night being his uſual time of going to reſt, five, or very rarely ſix, the hour of his riſing." (*Reaſon and Judgment, p.* 16.)

He did, in his last will, give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and church-government, in these very words:——

I Robert Sanderson, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my Will and Testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former Wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin), but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus Christ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and unpartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition

tion which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God the Father of Mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious Sovereign, the reverend Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens this Church in point of religion by the late great increase of Popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late.

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows:

As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish-church of Bugden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or, at the farthest, the third day after my decease; and that with as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person, how near soever related to me, other than the inhabitants of Bugden; without the unnecessary expence of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning-gown for the preacher; whereof the former, after my body shall be interred, to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish, for the time-being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my

own household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains five pounds, upon condition that he speak nothing at all concerning my person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription, in legible Roman characters:—DEPOSITUM ROBERTI SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS.——This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death, what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time, my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expences otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments,

[c] Prefixed to the inscription on his monument are his arms: and there is also an addition denoting the day on which he died, viz. January 29, 1662. Mr. James Heath (of whom see "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 337.) wrote an elegy with an epitaph on the much lamented death of Dr. Sanderson.

"It was the request of Rainbow Bishop of Carlisle, that no pomp or state should be used at his funeral, no more than any eulogium should be made of him (such was his rare modesty and humility); so did he desire to be buried in Dalston churchyard, and to have a plain stone laid over his grave, with no other inscription but that such a day and year died Edward, Bishop of Carlisle." *Life of Bishop Rainbow, p.* 81.)

entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which, if bestowed in pious and charitable works, might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons.——This is a part of his will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662, and that his body was buried in Bugden, the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation, as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have, to his just praise, told this truth, that he died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his last sick-bed.

His last will, of which I have mentioned a part, was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. Thus, as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed: still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his clergy (which are more numerous than any other bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did, by commission, empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin[u], with episcopal power, to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends said their prayers backward for him; and that it was "not his desire to live an useless life, and, by filling up a place, keep ano-"ther out of it that might do God and his church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "that during his

 "being

[u] Mr. John Pullin, B. D. and formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. We find his name subscribed to a copy of commendatory Latin verses prefixed to "Duport's Greek Version of Job." He was a Prebendary of Lincoln, and also Chancellor of Lincoln.

" being a houſekeeper, which was more than forty years, there had not " been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the " firſt." He would alſo mention with thankfulneſs, " that, till he was " threeſcore years of age, he had never ſpent five ſhillings in law, nor, upon " himſelf, ſo much in wine: and rejoiced much that he had ſo lived, as " never to cauſe an hour's ſorrow to his good father; and that he hoped " that he ſhould die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night ſome prayers read to him and a part of his family, out of "The Whole Duty of Man." As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his ſtudies and actions, ſo he uſed himſelf to be for his meals: and his dinner being appointed to be conſtantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he, expecting and calling for it, was anſwered, " It " would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, with ſome earneſtneſs, " A quarter of an hour!—Is a quarter of an hour no- " thing to a man that probably has not many hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become ſo weak and weary either of motion or ſitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed. In which I deſire he may reſt, till I have given ſome ſhort account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new aſſurance for the pardon of his ſins paſt, and be ſtrengthened in his way to the New Jeruſalem, took the bleſſed ſacrament of the body and blood of his and our bleſſed Jeſus, from the hands of his chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could expreſs[z]. After the praiſe and thankſgiving for this bleſſing was ended,

[z] This narrative entirely confutes the rumour that was induſtriouſly propagated concerning this good man, " that, before his death, he repented of what he had written againſt the Preſ- " byterians, and that on his death-bed, he would ſuffer no hierarchical miniſter to come to " pray with him, but deſired, and had only Preſbyterians about him:" And further to contradict

ended, he ſpake to this purpoſe: "I have now to the great joy of my ſoul "taſted of the all-ſaving ſacrifice of my Saviour's death and paſſion; and "with it received a ſpiritual aſſurance that my ſins paſt are pardoned, "and my God at peace with me: and that I ſhall never have a will or "power to do any thing that may ſeparate my ſoul from the love of my "dear Saviour. Lord confirm this belief in me; and make me ſtill to re-"member that it was thou, O God, that tookeſt me out of my mother's "womb, and haſt been the powerful Protector of me to this preſent mo-"ment of my life: thou haſt neither forſaken me now I am become grey-"headed, nor ſuffered me to forſake thee in the late days of temptation, "and ſacrifice my conſcience for the preſervation of my liberty or eſtate. "It was not of myſelf but by grace that I have ſtood, when others have "fallen under my trials; and theſe mercies I now remember with joy and "thankfulneſs; and my hope and deſire is, that I may die remembering this, "and praiſing thee, my merciful God."——*The frequent repetition of the Pſalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Chriſtians: The Pſalms having in them, not only prayers and holy inſtructions, but ſuch commemorations of God's mercies, as may preſerve, comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator.* And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Pſalmiſt ſaid, that "his eyes ſhould prevent both the dawning of the day and the "night-watches, by meditating on God's word;"—ſo it was Dr. Sanderſon's conſtant practice every morning to entertain his firſt waking thoughts with a repetition of thoſe very pſalms that the Church hath appointed to be conſtantly read in the daily morning-ſervice; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as conſtantly cloſed his eyes with a repetition of thoſe appointed for the ſervice of the evening; remembering and repeating the very pſalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, ſo did this exerciſe of his devotion. And if the firſt-fruits of

dict this report, Mr. Pullin, his houſehold chaplain, publiſhed a ſermon, preached at a viſitation holden at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641, the laſt ſermon that Dr. Sanderſon wrote with his own hand. This ſermon was printed in 1681, with all his other ſermons, in one volume folio.

of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it; he would arraign and condemn himſelf for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he deſired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him abſolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this deſire of his was ſatisfied, his body ſeemed to be at more eaſe, and his mind more cheerful; and he ſaid often, "Lord, forſake "me not now my ſtrength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my "mouth be ever filled with thy praiſe." He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his eaſe and refreſhment[7]: and, during that time, did often ſay to himſelf the 103d Pſalm; a pſalm that is compoſed of praiſe and conſolations, fitted for a dying ſoul, and ſay alſo to himſelf very often theſe words, "My heart is fixed O God! my heart is fixed where true joy is to "be found." And now his thoughts ſeemed to be wholly of death, for which he was ſo prepared that that king of terrors could not ſurpriſe him "as a thief in the night;" for he had often ſaid, "he was prepared, and "longed for it." And as this deſire ſeemed to come from heaven, ſo it left him not, till his ſoul aſcended to that region of bleſſed ſpirits, whoſe employments

[7] Thus Dr. Hammond, in his laſt ſickneſs, did not by peeviſhneſs diſquiet his attendants; but was pleaſed with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought.—(*Life of Dr. Hammond, p.* 227.)—There are three of Archbiſhop Secker's ſermons which I read repeatedly with ſerious attention—becauſe they apply to a condition in which the lot of humanity will one day aſſuredly place me; unleſs it ſhould pleaſe Almighty God to take me out of this world by a ſudden death. They are "on the Duties of the Sick," from *Iſai.* xxxviii. 1, 2. The following paſſage relates to our behaviour towards all who are about us in our ſickneſs:—"We are ſtrictly bound to ſhew them, peculiarly at that time, great humanity and "goodneſs; not requiring from them more fatiguing and conſtant attendance than is fit; "nor more care, ſkill, and dexterity than is to be expected: recollecting that our illneſs in-"clines us to imagine things amiſs in a degree beyond reality, and that others ought not to "ſuffer merely becauſe we do: thinking often how diſagreeable an office they go through, "and what benefit and comfort we receive from it: begging them to forgive us thoſe haſty "ſallies of fretfulneſs and impatience, that ſometimes will eſcape us; and making them good "amends, in every way that we can, for all the trouble which they take about us." (*Secker's Sermons, Vol. III. p.* 281.)

ploymenſ are to join in concert with his, and ſing praiſe and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them into that place, "into which ſin and "ſorrow cannot enter[z]."

Thus this pattern of meekneſs and primitive innocence changed this for a better life:—It is now too late to wiſh that mine may be like his: for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age; and God knows it hath not; but I moſt humbly beſeech Almighty God that my death may: and I do as earneſtly beg, that if any reader ſhall receive any ſatisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be ſo charitable as to ſay *Amen*[a].

I. W.

BLESSED IS THAT MAN IN WHOSE SPIRIT THERE IS NO GUILE. PSAL. XXXII. 2.

[z] "Thus was he taken away with a happy euthanaſia, compoſedly, peaceably, and comfortably departing, giving himſelf to prayer, meditations, and diſcourſes, which his own ſtrength could bear, full of the grace and peace of God, and confirmed by the abſolution of the church." (*Reaſon and Judgment, &c. p.* 43.)

[a] However diverſified the conditions of men are, there is one common event to all. When the hour of death approaches, the diſtinctions of worldly pomp are of no avail. At that awful period every conſolation will vaniſh, except that which flows from the conſcioufneſs of doing well, and the expectance of another life.——The examples recorded in the preceding pages preſent to our view the nobleſt of all ſpectacles—the calm compoſure, the pious reſignation of good men, who, having finiſhed their earthly courſe of virtuous conduct, anticipate the bleſſedneſs of the heavenly ſtate, and, full of joyful hope and humble confidence in the merits of a Redeemer, cloſe the laſt ſcene with dignity and honour.

"Sic mihi contingat vivere, ſicque mori!"

THE Letter of Dr. Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, mentioned in page 482, is inſerted in the Life of Mr. Iſaac Walton, prefixed to this work.

APPENDIX.

THE WORKS OF DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

I. " LOGICÆ ARTIS COMPENDIUM. *Oxon.* 1615."—8vo.

II. " PHYSICÆ SCIENTIÆ COMPENDIUM, a ROBERTO SANDERSON, Coll. Lincoln. in almâ Oxonienſi olim ſocio, &c. ante multos annos Lucis uſuræ deſtinatum, nunc vero ex authentico Manuſcripto primo Impreſſum. *Oxoniæ*, 1671."

III. SERMONS. " Dr. Sanderſon's XII. Sermons, 1632." 4to.—" Dr. Sanderſon's Sermons, (including the twelve before printed) 1664." Folio.—" Ditto, with his Life by Iſaac Walton, 1689." Folio.

IV. " NINE CASES of CONSCIENCE DETERMINED, 1678, 1685." 8vo.—Several of theſe were printed ſeparately. Two in 1658 (not in 1628, as Wood aſſerts). Three more in 1667. Another in 1674, and one in 1678.

The laſt of theſe Nine Caſes is " Of the Uſe of the Liturgy;" the very ſame tract which was publiſhed by Iſaac Walton in his " Life of Dr. Sanderſon, 1678," under the title of " Biſhop Sanderſon's Judgment concerning Submiſſion to Uſurpers." In this tract is given a full account of the manner in which Dr. Sanderſon conducted himſelf, in performing the ſervice of the church, in the times of the Uſurpation.

V. " DE JURAMENTI PROMISSORII OBLIGATIONE PRÆLECTIONES SEPTEM: HABITÆ in SCHOLÂ THEOLOGICÂ OXONII, Termino Michaelis, anno Dom. MDCXLVI. a ROBERTO SANDERSON. Præmiſsâ Oratione ab eodem habitâ cum publicam Profeſſionem auſpicaretur, 26 October, 1646. *Lond.* 1647."

Theſe Lectures were tranſlated into the Engliſh language by Charles I. during his confinement in the Iſle of Wight, and printed at London, in 1655.—8vo.

VI. " DE OBLIGATIONE CONSCIENTIÆ PRÆLECTIONES DECEM OXONII in SCHOLÂ THEOLOGICÂ HABITÆ, anno Dom. MDCXLVII. An Engliſh tranſlation of the " Prelections on the Nature and Obligation of Promiſſory Oaths and of Conſcience" was publiſhed in 3 vol. 8vo. *London*, 1722.

VII. " CENSURE of Mr. ANTON. ASCHAM his BOOK of the CONFUSIONS and REVOLUTIONS of GOVERNMENT. *London*, 1649."—8vo. Of Anthony Aſcham, who was appointed by the Rump Parliament their agent, or reſident in the Court of Spain, in 1649, and who was killed in his apartments, at Madrid, by ſome Engliſh Royaliſts, ſee " Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. II. col. 385.

VIII. "EPISCOPACY (as eſtabliſhed by Law in England) NOT PREJUDICIAL to REGAL POWER. Written in the Time of the Long Parliament, by the ſpecial Command of the late King. *London*, 1673."

IX. "DISCOURSE CONCERNING the CHURCH, in THESE PARTICULARS: Firſt, concerning the Viſibility of the true Church: Secondly, concerning the Church of Rome. *London*, 1688." Publiſhed by Dr. W. Aſheton, of Brazen-noſe College, Oxford, from a MS. communicated to him by Mr. John Pullen, the Biſhop's domeſtic chaplain.

X. 1. "BISHOP SANDERSON's JUDGMENT concerning SUBMISSION to USURPERS." 2. "PAX ECCLESIÆ." 3. "BISHOP SANDERSON's JUDGMENT in ONE VIEW for the SETTLEMENT of the CHURCH." This tract is written by way of queſtion and anſwer. Anthony Wood tells us, that the queſtions were formed by the publiſher, and that the anſwers were made up of ſcraps, without any alteration, taken out of the prefaces and ſermons of the Biſhop. 4. "REASONS of the preſent JUDGMENT of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD, concerning the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT, the NEGATIVE OATH, the ORDINANCES concerning DISCIPLINE and WORSHIP. *London*, 1678." Theſe tracts are annexed to "Iſaac Walton's Life of Dr. Sanderſon." 1678.

XI. A large "PREFACE" to a book written at the command of Charles I. by Archbiſhop Uſher, and publiſhed by Dr. Sanderſon, entitled "The POWER communicated by GOD to the PRINCE, and the OBEDIENCE required of the SUBJECT. *London*, 1661."—4to. A ſecond corrected edition of this work was publiſhed in 8vo, 1683. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 347.

XII. "A PREFATORY DISCOURSE" prefixed to a collection of Treatiſes, entitled 'CLAVI TRABALES, or NAILES faſtened by ſome great MASTERS of ASSEMBLYES, concerning the KING's SUPREMACY and CHURCH GOVERNMENT under BISHOPS; the particulars of which are as followeth:

'1. Two Speeches of the late Lord Primate Uſher's. The one of the King's Supremacy; the other of the Duty of Subjects to ſupply the King's Neceſſities.

'2. His Judgment and Practice in point of Loyalty, Epiſcopacy, Liturgy, and Conſtitutions of the Church of England.

'3. Mr. Hooker's Judgment of the King's Power in Matters of Religion, Advancement of Biſhops, &c.

'4. Biſhop Andrews of Church Government, &c.; both confirmed and enlarged by the ſaid Primate.

'5. A Letter of Dr. Hadrianus Saravia, of the like ſubjects. Unto which is added a Sermon of Regal Power, and the Novelty of the Doctrine of Reſiſtance. Publiſhed by Nicholas Bernard, Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Whitchurch in Shropſhire.

'Si totus orbis adverſus me conjuraret, ut quidquam molirer adverſus regiam Majeſtatem, ego tamen Deum timerem, et ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem. *Bern. Ep. I.* 70. *ad Ludovicum Regem, an.* 1130. *London*, 1661.'

The Preface, written by Dr. Sanderſon, is dated "London, Aug. 10, 1661;" and ſubſcribed "The unworthy ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, Ro. LINCOLN."

XIII. "PRO-

XIII. "PROPHECIES concerning the RETURN of POPERY," inſerted in a book entitled 'Fair Warning: The ſecond Part. *London*, 1663.' This volume containing alſo ſeveral extracts from the Writings of Archbiſhop Whitgift, and Mr. Richard Hooker, was publiſhed with a view to oppoſe the Sectaries, who were ſaid to be opening a door at which Popery would certainly enter.

XIV. "The PREFACE to the BOOK of COMMON PRAYER," beginning with theſe words; "It hath been the wiſdom of the church"——

XV. "ΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΣ, ſeu EXPLANATIO JURAMENTI," &c. inſerted in the 'Excerpta e Corpore Statutorum Univ. Oxonienſis,' p. 194. It was written to explain the Oath of Obligation to obſerve the penal Statutes.

XVI. "ARTICLES of VISITATION and ENQUIRY concerning MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL, exhibited to the Miniſters, Churchwardens, and Sidemen of every Pariſh within the Dioceſe of Lincoln, in the firſt epiſcopal Viſitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, ROBERT, by Divine Providence, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; with the Oath to be adminiſtered to the Churchwardens, and the Biſhop's Admonition to them. *London*, 1662."—4to. See an account of this excellent tract in "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 727.

XVII. Mr. Peck, in the 'Deſiderata Curioſa,' Vol. II. has inſerted "The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of the Bleſſed Virgin St. MARY, at LINCOLN; containing an exact Copy of all the monumental Inſcriptions there, in Number 163, as they ſtood in 1641; moſt of which were ſoon after torn up, or otherwiſe defaced. Collected by ROBERT SANDERSON, S. T. P. afterwards Lord Biſhop of that Church, and compared with and corrected by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's MS. Survey."

Dr. White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, had in his poſſeſſion the copies of two letters tranſcribed from the originals that were in the hands of Biſhop Barlow. 1. Superſcribed "For Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the Library in Oxon," and ſubſcribed "Your very loving friend and ſervant, ROBERT SANDERSON," dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656," importuning Dr. Barlow, "to undertake the managing that diſpute in the queſtion of great importance upon the ancient landmarks, by Dr. Jeremy Taylor; ſo unhappily (and ſo unſeaſonably too) endeavoured to be removed in the doctrine of original ſin." 2. Another letter of Dr. Sanderſon to Dr. Barlow, at Queen's College, dated "Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657," expreſſing himſelf, "That Dr. Taylor is ſo peremptory and pertinacious of his errors, as not to hearken to the ſober advices of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidſt the diſtractions of theſe times," &c. See "Kennet's Regiſter," p. 633.

The treatiſe here alluded to is entitled "Unum Neceſſarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance, deſcribing the Neceſſity and Meaſures of a ſtrict, holy, and a Chriſtian Life, and reſcued from popular errors. By JER. TAYLOR, D. D." In the ſixth chapter of this treatiſe the author diſcuſſes the ſubject of original ſin otherwiſe than it is commonly explained in the Church of England; whoſe ninth article affirms, that "the natural propenſity to evil, and the perpetual luſting of the fleſh againſt the ſpirit, deſerves the anger of God and damnation." See alſo another tract inſerted in Taylor's Polemical and Moral Diſcourſes, under the title

of " Deus Juſtificatus; or a Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes in the Queſtion of original Sin, in a Letter to a Perſon of Quality."

It is foreign to my purpoſe to examine this ſubject of controverſy. What Dr. Jeremy Taylor has advanced upon the queſtion proceeded from the beſt motives, according to his own motto,—" Nihil opinionis gratiâ, omnia conſcientiæ faciam."

Dr. Sanderſon and Dr. Hammond were jointly concerned in a work entitled " A PACIFIC DISCOURSE of GOD's GRACE and DECREES," and publiſhed by the latter in 1660.

It would be improper not to obſerve, that in the preface to the Polyglott Bible, printed at London in 1657, Dr. Bryan Walton has claſſed Dr. Sanderſon among thoſe of his much honoured friends who aſſiſted him in that noble work.

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

Page 62, line 5, *his beloved London.*] When it is recollected how much Dr. Donne was attached to London, we are surprised to find that in one of his letters he speaks of *plaguy* London. Let it be remarked, that this word had not at that time a burlesque sense. Donne, in one of his elegies, has "Death's *plaguy* jaws;" i. e. affected with the plague.

Page 65, line 11, *Dr. Gataker.*] Mr. Walton tells us, that Dr. Donne was chosen preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, upon the removal of Mr. Thomas Gataker. But this is a mistake: for Mr. Gataker, who is improperly styled Doctor, having never taken any degree but that of Bachelor of Divinity, left Lincoln's Inn for the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey, in 1611; six years before Dr. Donne was chosen there.

Page 94, line 5, *that glass.*] "In the account of churchwardens of St. Helens, in Abington, Berks, IVd. was paid for an hourglass for the pulpit, 1591. *Archæolog. Vol. I. p.* 22. There is scarcely perhaps an earlier mention of this implement. It was used at Paul's Cross in 1616; for in a painting of that and the church of that date, now in the library of the Society of Antiquarians of London, I observed an hourglass near the preacher; and the custom continued till after the Restoration; for a very fine one which cost XVIII shillings, was brought from Holland to Lynn in Norfolk. *Blomefield's History, Vol. IV. p.* 131. The iron frames in which they stood are sometimes still seen near pulpits." *(Sir John Cullum's Hist. and Antiq. of Hansted, p.* 34.*)*

Page 116.] A satirical poem, called "A Scourge for Paper Persecutors, by I. D. 1625," 4to, has been attributed to Dr. Donne. It was written by John Davies of Hereford, and is printed in his "Scourge of Folly," 8vo, which is not inserted by Wood among the works of Davies. See "Wood's Ath. Ox." Vol. I. col. 444.

Dr. Donne is esteemed the author of a Latin epitaph, inscribed on a monument erected in the church of Hansted in Suffolk, to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Drury, Knight, who died in 1610, in the 15th year of her age. She was the heiress of an immense fortune, and is said to have been destined for the consort of Henry Prince of Wales. The Lines by Dr. Donne, inserted in "The Spectator," No. 41, and affirmed to allude to his mistress, were really written on this lady, the innocent and lovely daughter of his friend. Tradition reports, that she died of a box on the ear, which her father gave her. This conceit rose probably from her being represented on her monument as reclining her head on one hand; just as the story of Lord Russel's daughter dying of a prick of her finger,

finger, took its origin from her ſtatue in Weſtminſter Abbey, which repreſents her as holding down her finger, and pointing to a Death's head at her feet.

In the ſame church of Hanſted, is another monument, with an inſcription, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. Donne, commemorating both Sir William Drury, who, in 1589, was killed in a duel, in France, by Sir John Borough, Knight, and Sir Robert Drury, Knight, his ſon, who died in 1615. See "Hiſt. and Antiq. of Hanſted," p. 143.

"A Copy of Verſes, by Dr. Donne," is prefixed to "Captain Smith's Hiſtory of Virginia, 1626." Fol.

Page 152, line 20, *a will of conceits.*] The paſſage, to which Iſaac Walton alludes, is in a poem of Dr. Donne's, entitled "The Will."

> "I give my reputation to thoſe
> "Which were my friends; mine induſtry to foes;
> "To ſchoolmen I bequeath my doubtfulneſs;
> "My ſickneſs to phyſicians, or exceſs;
> "To Nature all that I in rhyme have writ,
> "And to my company my wit."

Page 156, line 26, *Biſhop of Spalato.*] The opinion uſually entertained concerning the conduct of "De Dominis," upon his return to Rome, is leſs favourable to his character than he deſerves, if we may judge from the narrative of Dr. John Coſin, Biſhop of Durham, in his "Hiſtory of Tranſubſtantiation," C. II. § vii. We are aſſured, that on his departure from England, he left in writing this memorable declaration: "I am reſolved, even with the danger of my life, to profeſs before the Pope himſelf, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Chriſt." This he not only promiſed, but faithfully performed. He could never be perſuaded by the Jeſuits or others, either to ſubſcribe to the *new-deviſed* tenets of the Council of Trent, or to retract thoſe orthodox books which he had printed in England and Germany, or to renounce the Communion of the Church of England, in whoſe defence he conſtantly perſiſted to the very laſt.

Page 176, line 21, *Hiſtory of England.*] "Sir Henry Wotton had a penſion of 200l. ſettled on him in the third year of this reign (of Charles I.), which was now augmented to 500l. to enable him to compoſe "The Ancient Hiſtory of England," and to beſtow 100l. on the amanuenſes and clerks neceſſary to be employed in that work." (*Acta Regia, p.* 815.)

Page 191, line 14, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.*] In Cibber's, or rather Shield's Lives of the Poets, the only ſpecimen given of Sir Henry Wotton's poetry, is the famous compoſition, "The World's a Bubble," which, in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," is ſaid to have been found among his papers, the author unknown. Farnabie, in his "Epigrammata Selecta, 1629," aſcribes it to Lord Bacon. He has tranſlated it into Greek, and has ſome various readings.

Of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin Panegyric on Charles I. there are two tranſlations by unknown hands: The one is inſerted in "The Reliquiæ Wottonianæ;" the other is very ſcarce,

ſcarce, printed in a very ſmall twenty-fours, on a large type, containing 118 pages, beſides the Dedication and Preface.

A
Panegyrick
of King Charles,
being obſervations
upon the inclination
life & govern-
-ment of our Sove-
-raign Lord the
King.
Written by
Sir Henry Wotton, Knight,
Provoſt of Eaton Colledg,
a little before his Death,
And printed for Richard Marriott,
London.

Several of Sir Henry Wotton's letters are inſerted in "Cabala, or Myſteries of State. *London*, 1654." in 4to; and in "Cabala, or Scrinia ſacra. *London*, 1663." Fol.: Alſo in "Strafford's Letters and Deſpatches, 1739." Fol.

The two following tracts, which are noticed in p. 191, as written by Sir Henry Wotton, were never printed; namely,

"The Journal of his Embaſſies to Venice;" a MS. fairly written, and formerly in the library of Lord Edward Conway.

"Three Propoſitions to the Count d'Angoſciola;" not as it has been erroneouſly printed, "The Court of Angoſciola, in Matters of Duels;"—a MS. preſerved in the library of the College of Arms

Page 216, line ult, *remarkable ſcholars.*] The celebrity of this college, founded in 1516, by Dr. Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was in ſome meaſure predicted by Eraſmus, in a letter to his friend, Dr. John Claymond, the firſt preſident: "Mihi præſagit Animus futurum olim ut iſtud Collegium, ceu Templum ſacroſanctum, optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe, inter præcipua Decora Britanniæ numeretur." See "Knight's Life of Eraſmus," p. 211.

Page 253, line 3, *Tom Naſh.*] The three titles mentioned by Walton belong all to one pamphlet, which Gabriel Hervie ſuppoſes to be written by Lylly.

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Page 264, line 12, *in that church.*] In Queen Elizabeth's time, the form of ſubſcription, required from thoſe who were preferred in the Church, was in theſe words: "We, whoſe "names are here underwritten, do declare and unfainedly teſtify our aſſent to all and ſingular "the Articles of Religion, and the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of "the Sacrament, compriſed in a book, intituled 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the "Archbiſhops and Biſhops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation "holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the Computation of "the Church of England, for the avoiding of the Diverſities of Opinions, and for the eſta-"bliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion, put forth by the Queen's Authority.' And in "teſtimony of ſuch our aſſents, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names, with our own "proper hands, as hereafter followeth."

Among thoſe who ſubſcribed to this form, "it pleaſed me," ſaith Dr. Bernard, "to find "the hand of the reverend and learned Mr. Hooker thus ſubſcribing: 'Per me RICHARDUM "'HOOKER, Clericum, in Artibus Magiſtrum, præſentatum ad Canonicatum et Præben-"'dam de Neather-haven, in Eccleſiâ cathedrali Sarum, 17 Julii, 1591.'" *(Clavi Trabales.)*

Page 494, line 1, *well choſen.*] Aquinas, when aſked with what compendium a man might beſt become learned, anſwered, "By reading of one book:" meaning, that an underſtanding entertained with ſeveral objects, is intent upon none of them, and profits not. *(Taylor's Life of Chriſt, p.* 337.)

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